THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

OR THE

CONFLICT BETWEEN MAN AND ALCOHOL

HENRY WILLIAM BLAIR

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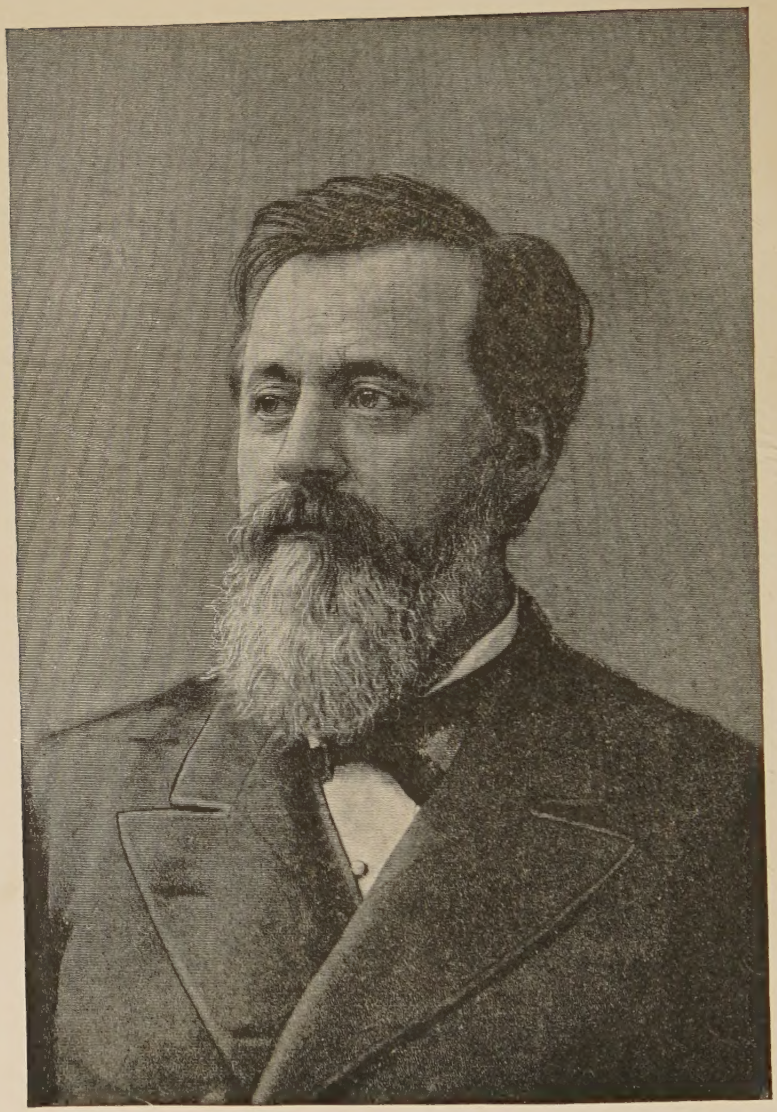

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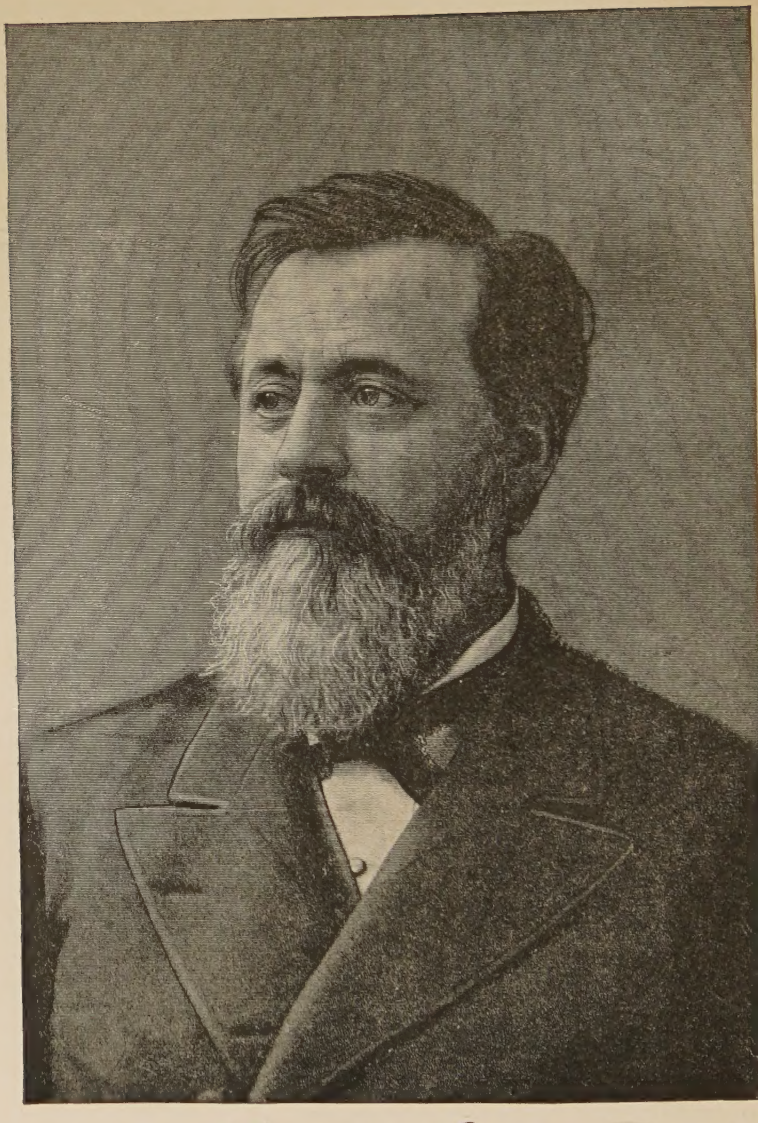

H. W. Blair

THE

TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT:

OR,

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN MAN AND ALCOHOL.

BY

HENRY WILLIAM BLAIR,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE.

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To the Memory

OF

MY FATHER AND MOTHER.

HENRY WILLIAM BLAIR.

PREFACE.

The conflict between man and alcohol is as old as civilization, more destructive than any other form of warfare, and as fierce to-day as at any time since the beginning.

It is not an exaggeration to say that no other evil known in human history has been of such vast proportions and lamentable consequences as that of alcoholic intemperance. As the whole past of the race has been cursed by it, so its whole future is threatened with increasing calamity, unless there be a period put to its ravages.

It is a peculiarity of this curse that it is developed by civilization, and then, like the parricide, it destroys the source of its own life.

But although alcohol is his special foe, it by no means confines its dagger and chalice to civilized man.

Combining with the spirit of a mercenary commerce, this active essence of evil is hunting and extirpating the weaker races and indigenous populations of uncivilized countries from the face of the earth.

The object of this book is, if possible, to arrest the attention of the American, if of no other people; to place before them the leading facts which enter into the great debate now pending on our own and the European continents, and to assist man, however feebly, in this great struggle with alcohol for his life.

The plan attempted has been to place clearly before the mind the nature of alcohol as a poison to the healthy human system; its destructive effects upon the body and soul of its victim; to portray its tremendous proportions and malignant influence upon society, nations and races of men; to discuss the remedies of this great evil by the exercise of moral suasion and educative forces, both spiritual and physical, and

by the action of society in the enactment and enforcement of law. This is followed by some account of the organizations and agencies, religious, secular and political, which are and must be engaged in the effort to remove the gigantic evil and crime of alcoholic intemperance from the world.

The plan has failed in execution unless it be found that this book contains a systematic and comprehensive discussion of the evil and of its appropriate remedy; but it cannot be hoped that so vast and important a subject is treated in a single volume with that completeness which will be desired by many.

If I shall have been able to induce others with greater powers and opportunities to perform the work more satisfactorily, I shall rejoice in even that degree of success.

The views of the author upon this great problem are not of recent formation, and their former expression is repeated in parts of some of the chapters which treat of remedial measures; but it is believed that the public will not regret the restatement of facts and arguments which have never been refuted, which are vital to the subject, and new to the great mass of the people.

The truth is that the alcoholic evil is now the subject of a crucial investigation, such as the public mind has never before given to it, and I believe that as a result, although the end may be long delayed, the miserable and pernicious traffic will perish forever, execrated by man and consumed in the fiercest flames of God's wrath.

THE AUTHOR.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
December, 1887.

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THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

CHAPTER I.

A BRIEF STUDY OF ALCOHOL.

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THERE is no thing of his own manufacture which has such power over the body and soul of man as the mysterious substance to which has been given the name—alcohol.

Indeed, so subtile and canny are its methods of asserting its influence, so commanding is its control over the spiritual as well as the physical structure, and so direct do its relations appear to be with the eternal essence, as well as with the material parts of human nature, that from time immemorial this strange drug has maintained a personified existence in the imaginations of men.

From whatever source, and by whatever process derived, and by whatever name the preparation containing it has been known, ever since fermentation evolved the substance which has been the one common principle of intoxicating beverages, in all ages and among all the inhabitants of the earth, even to our own times, superstition has placed it among her gods and her devils; poetry has celebrated its qualities with her choicest numbers; religion has appropriated its powers to her sacred

rites; war and peace, joy and sorrow, all ranks and conditions of men, in all the events of life, including its origin and its catastrophe, have associated with themselves the fascinations of alcohol.

The discovery of vinous fermentation, which is supposed to be the earliest manifestation of this spirit in the economy of human life, is lost among the impenetrable clouds that forever settle over prehistoric times; but it must have been considered a wondrous event, which, no doubt, was carried from the place of its origin to surrounding tribes and nations as a new art and marvelous instrumentality.

We are told that when first civilization developed society into nations, and these new organizations concentrated their aggressive powers in the form of armies and navies to place the yoke of power upon the neck of savage tribes, or sought by peaceful commerce to stimulate and appropriate the productions of nature, and of savage or barbarous men in other regions of the earth, "the wine god, the wine cup and wine" were everywhere unknown. The art of its manufacture spread from some common center by the agency of commerce and war. The Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, all claim that wine, the earliest known beverage of intoxication, was the invention of one of their own particular line of gods.

The discovery, as it spread from tribe to tribe and land to land, impressed itself as a landmark upon universal mythology. It must have produced an effect similar to the discovery of artificial fire. If Prometheus brought the one from heaven, Bacchus, who was the god of intoxication, and held full rank with the celestial representatives of love and war, must have brought his withering flame from the hottest regions of Tartarus.

Alcoholic drinks are the work of man. They are a part of the history of the human race. When in the twelfth century the discovery of distillation greatly increased their potency, and a few centuries later the process was appropriated by all civilized nations, intoxicating beverages assumed an importance and asserted a destructive power in the affairs of mankind, which has grown with the progress of civilization and spread with enlightenment, as the night follows the day, until now they fill the world, and no problem

of superior consequence or difficulty confronts the Christian, the patriot, or the lover of mankind, than how to remove them from the face of the earth. Whatever may be the differences among men as to the necessity, the usefulness or at least the innocence of alcohol in the economy of life, it is conceded by all that great evils arise from its abuse, and that its record on the whole is one of calamity—some say with mitigation, others without.

It is now as active as ever, and its use is increasing with great rapidity. Owing to the rapid colonization of the world by civilized and commercial nations which are its chief producers and hitherto have been its principal consumers, it can be but a few years before every man, woman and child of the whole fifteen hundred millions of the race, at least four-fifths of whom are as defenseless as little children against its Circean power, will find the bottles of Christendom at their lips.

If cursed is he who putteth the cup of intoxication to his neighbor's lip, then it becomes necessary for those engaged in the foul work to examine the nature of their occupation for their own good. I propose in this book to investigate the subject as fairly and thoroughly as possible in the brief time and with the facilities at my command. I have no desire to exaggerate or intensify. The subject is broad, and high, and deep. But it is upon the American people and compels the attention of the whole world. It cannot be evaded. Postponement even is no longer possible, and, if it were, would but aggravate existing evils and multiply the difficulty of their removal. The operation must be performed.

It is important in the first place to obtain *a clear idea of the thing itself*, and of its action upon the body and soul.

Webster defines Alcohol as follows:

"Pure or highly rectified spirit, extracted by simple distillation from various vegetable juices and infusions of a saccharine nature which have undergone vinous fermentation; the spirituous or intoxicating element of fermented liquors."

Worcester thus:

"*Alcohol.*—The intoxicating principle of all spirituous liquors; highly rectified or pure spirit obtained by distillation of the fermented solution or infusion of any substance containing sugar,

and thus capable of undergoing vinous fermentation; the chemical name of ardent spirit; spirits of wine so called from having been first obtained by the distillation of wine."

Dunglison's Medical Lexicon thus:

"*Alcohol.*—An Arabic word formerly used for an impalpable powder and signifying 'very subtile, much divided.' At the present day it is applied to highly rectified spirit of wine; . . . . . In the Ph. U. S. (Pharmacopœia United States) 'Alcohol is rectified spirit of the specific gravity 0.835.' 'Alcohol is an inflammable liquor, lighter than water, of a warm, acrid taste, colorless, transparent, and of a pungent, aromatic smell. It is the product of the distillation of vinous liquors; is miscible (mixable) with water in all proportions and is the direct solvent of resins, balsams, etc. Various other vegetable principles are soluble in it and hence it is used in different states of concentration in the preparation of elixirs, tinctures, essences," etc.

The chemist has sought for the elusive essence of the article of commerce known as alcohol for centuries, and only in very recent times has he succeeded in stating it in the terms of his science.

Dr. Benj. W. Richardson, M. A., M. D., F. R. S., probably the highest European authority who has ever lived, on this subject, after reviewing the researches of the past, says in his Second Cantor Lecture, p. 42, "If, passing over the intervening hundred years, you asked the chemist of to-day, 'What is alcohol?' he would tell you that it was an organic radical called ethyl, combined with the elements of water. He would explain that water was no longer considered to be an element, but to be composed of two elements called hydrogen and oxygen, two equivalents of hydrogen being combined in it with one equivalent of oxygen. He would inform you that the radical he had called ethyl was a compound of carbon and hydrogen, and he would add that this radical in alcohol took the place of one of the equivalents of hydrogen of water.

He thereupon would give you symbols for water and alcohol, but symbols of a very different kind to those presented by his learned predecessor. He would express the names of the elements composing the water and spirit by the first letters of their names, and add their equivalents or parts by figures attached to the letters. Thus his symbols for water would

be H^2 O; for the radical ethyl, C^2 H^5; and for alcohol (C^2 H^5) HO or C^2 H^6 O.

Then we are to understand that alcohol is not ethyl any more than alcohol is water, but a combination of the two, and that both ethyl and water are themselves compound substances.

When the ethyl and the water combine one of the parts of hydrogen disappears; for whereas the ethyl has five parts, hydrogen and the water two, mathematically there should be seven, and actually there are but six. What becomes of it the chemical deponent saith not, therefore we are at liberty to infer that it is the missing link which connects the whole thing with the devil.

I have examined the recent great work of Dr. William Hargreaves, published last year, "Alcohol and Science," and find these high authorities agreeing; and so we can assume that we know common alcohol when we see it.

It is ethylic alcohol which this book is about; the alcohol which has laughed at the puny ravages of war, pestilence and famine throughout the cycles of authentic history.

There are five others in the family, methylic, propylic butylic, amylic, and caproylic; but while these are of one blood with the ethylic and have the same innate capacity for mischief, they are less demonstrative in human affairs, and the plan of this book does not require their description. Some of them are very important and dangerous when used either by themselves or when mixed with the alcohol in common use, and the reader interested in their further study will do well to consult the above authorities and other recent writers, for many of the accepted ideas even of professional men are disproved by the late investigators.

We will, however, search for the nature of alcohol, and for its relation to the elements of our own organism a little further.

All vegetable forms receive their nourishment from the atmosphere; all animals feed either upon vegetables or upon other animals which have been nourished by vegetables, so that in the end animal as well as vegetable life feeds largely if not entirely upon the air.

Although the pure air, which is most favorable to animal life when appropriated through the lungs, is composed almost

wholly of four parts of nitrogen and one of oxygen, with a slight admixture of carbonic acid, yet the atmosphere which surrounds the world contains four elements, all in the gaseous state. These are easily reducible to solid, and again to the gaseous form by the operations of natural law. These elements of the atmosphere and, when vitalized by the life principle, of organic existence are oxygen, hydrogen, carbon and nitrogen. From these plant life is supported "and they compose almost the entire vegetable kingdom."

Few and simple as are these original elements, yet from them nature has constructed a great variety of foods for the sustenance of organic life.

Foods are divided into the "nitrogenized" and the "non-nitrogenized."

The latter again into three groups, all composed of the same original substances, carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen, but combined in varying proportions of such of them as may enter into the composition of each particular food.

1. Sugar and saccharine substances.
2. Acids or sour substances.
3. Fats and oils.

Non-nitrogenized foods are supposed to be specially designed for the development of heat, without which the organic processes cannot be carried on; and it is a fact that they are found to exist in proportions corresponding to this requirement of life; the fats and oils predominate in the cold regions—the acids in the tropical regions, while all are commingled in more nearly equal parts between the two. Heat is developed from the carbon and hydrogen contained in them, and these elements are found to prevail in this class of food, according to the necessity for combustion, resulting from climatic conditions.

"Thus animal oil and blubber are furnished for the inhabitants of the higher latitudes of the polar regions; the fruits and acids and starch for those within the tropics; while they are varied and blended between the two extremes of heat and cold. That thus the different necessities of the whole animal kingdom are provided for," is the testimony of Dr. Hargreaves in "Alcohol and Science."

The nitrogenized foods "are formed by the addition of nitrogen to the elements comprising the first class."

These aliments are vegetable albumen, vegetable fibrin and vegetable casein, and from them, in use with the sugars, acids and fats and oils, the animal economy is built up and kept in action.

The changes produced by chemical affinity when these various substances of the first class are brought into certain relations to the system constitute force of which heat is the manifestation, and motion the result; and, by the action of both affinity and force or motion, the nourishment of the body becomes possible and is prolonged.

Alimentary substances become exceedingly complicated in their numerous forms and combinations, and hence from the action of chemical laws liable to be easily dissolved by new attractions, and by the same laws reconstructed in new and it may be non-vitalized forms.

Alcohol is not produced or obtained by any process which forms foods, or which nourishes animal or vegetable life. It is developed only by the putrefaction and decay of organic forms.

NITROGENIZED ALIMENTS are said to be the most transient and changeable of all organized matter. Dr. Hargreaves further says:

"At the common temperature, under the influence of moisture and oxygen, their decomposition or putrefaction rapidly takes place. Milk, meat, dough, etc., containing large quantities of nitrogenous matter, when placed in a moist condition, rapidly become putrid. The nitrogenized substances not only become rapidly putrid themselves but communicate putrefaction to the non-nitrogenized. Pure starch, sugar, etc., are very enduring, and are able to resist putrefaction for a long time; but when brought into contact with nitrogenized substances in the process of decay, they are at once affected, and go on to the same condition." "The substances," says Liebig, "which constitute the principal mass of every vegetable, are compounds of carbon, with oxygen and hydrogen *in the proper relative proportion for forming water*. For example, a rotten peach or apple placed in contact with one that is sound soon causes it to rot and its atoms return to their original condition or elements: carbonic acid and water."

Having ascertained what alcohol is as developed and defined

by the highest and latest scientific investigation and authority (and I am aware of no controversy over their conclusions) and briefly explained the elementary structure and nourishment of animal and vegetable life as a necessary preliminary, we can now proceed to the actual process by which the alcohol with which we have to deal, the alcohol of commerce, is obtained, and to describe it in the various concrete forms, and under the numerous names and combinations with other substances which it assumes when it becomes a factor in human life.

The process by which alcohol is evolved is called fermentation, which is rotting, or putrefaction, and it is obtainable in no other known way.

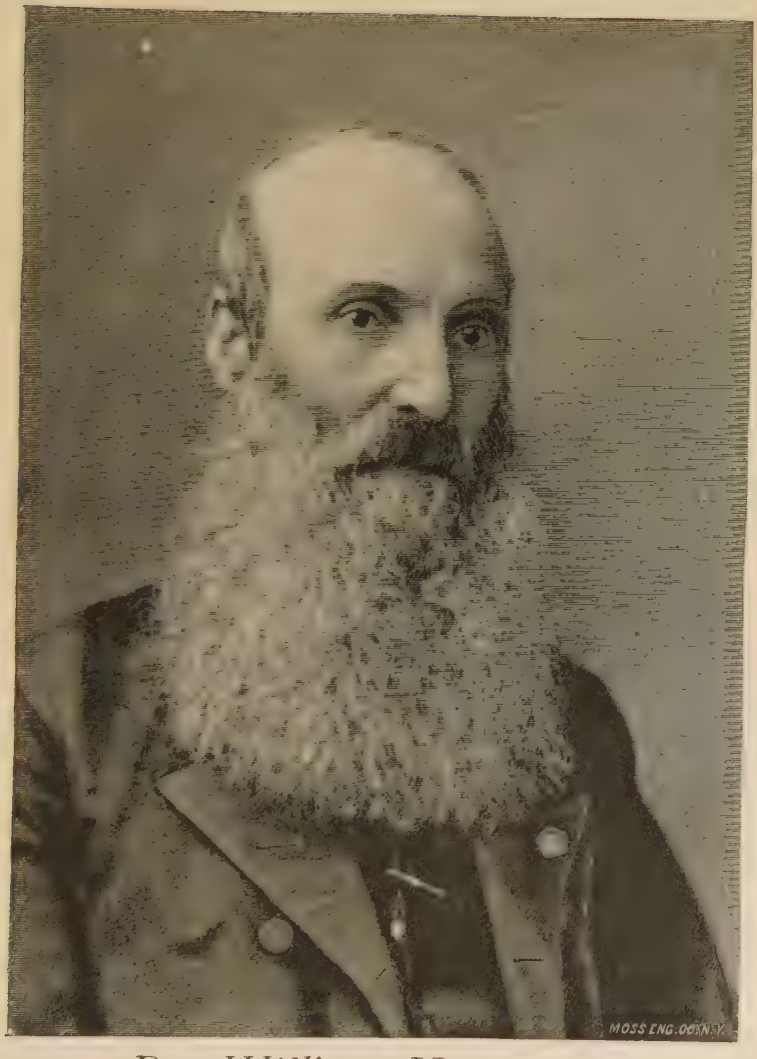
Fermentation is defined "as the term applied to the change which occurs in one organic substance when brought into contact with and influenced by another in a state of decay or putrefaction."

The non-nitrogenous substances, sugar, starch, etc., have no power of themselves to decay; but the nitrogenous elements, albumen, fibrin, casein, gluten, and tissues, the mucous, etc., composed of them, when subjected to moderate heat and to moisture, putrefy, and those which do so spontaneously are called ferments. While decaying or fermenting these substances communicate their own condition to other bodies capable of decay or of separation into new combinations; and this power remains until decomposition has so far proceeded that putrescence is over.

Sugar is a principal ingredient of the grape, and vinous fermentation, by which alcohol is chiefly produced, is occasioned by the action "of a peculiar ferment called yeast, upon a saccharine liquid." It is believed that in all vinous fermentation —perhaps in all fermentation—living organisms, animal or vegetable, are present, and the microscope, at least in the case of yeast, reveals the organized and vitalized cells or globules of which it is made.

Both Berzelius and Liebig, after strenuously denying this theory, were finally convinced of its truth by microscopical tests.

Fermentation proceeds at a temperature of from 60 to 80 degrees, best at about 70 degrees Fahrenheit, and "according to every theory is the process by which the food of man is



Dr. William Hargreaves,

Author of "Alcohol and Science."

destroyed and alcohol produced." Sugar is the only constituent element from which alcohol can be produced. M. M. Duplain says: "Among the proximate principles of organic substances, sugar alone gives occasion to vinous fermentation from which alcohol is derived," and the great chemist, A. F. Fourcroy, in "Philosophy of Chemistry," declares that "the fermentation of alcohol takes place at the expense of the destruction of a vegetable principle."

Dr. Hargreaves adds, p. 33 of his work already cited, "The juices of all vegetables, and other liquids containing sugar, are capable of alcoholic or vinous fermentation when sufficient albuminous matter is present to produce and sustain the process, which is usually the case when the juice of apples, pears, peaches, currants, grapes, etc., are employed as sources of alcohol;" . . . . . and of the "several kinds of sugar, grape sugar alone is capable of being converted into alcohol; the others must be converted into grape sugar before they are capable of the transformation." It appears to be an humble imitation of the practice of the quack, who so treated all his patients as to produce "fits" because that was the only disease he knew how to cure.

"The cereals contain little sugar, but much starch which is convertible into sugar. This is accomplished by diastase, a peculiar ferment, which is mingled in very small proportions with the malt. Malt is barley or other grain in which the process of germination has been artificially produced and then arrested."

If bruised malt is mingled with ground meal or any other grain and water at the requisite temperature, the *diastase* of the malt converts the additional starch into sugar. This sweet liquid contains the newly formed grape sugar, and can be changed into alcohol by fermentation.

Fermented liquors can be obtained from the juices of many fruits and vegetable substances. Wine is the fermented juice of the grape, cider of the apple; various wines are made from the juices of different fruits and named accordingly, as from the currant, the elderberry and the like. Ale and beer made from the infusion of malt, chiefly of barley, but sometimes from other grains, are the principal fermented drinks now in

use. All are alcoholic beverages, and the alcohol can be separated from them, in part at least, by distillation, a process soon to be described.

The alcohol in fermented liquors is never more than seventeen per cent., the remainder being mostly water; and but for the discovery of a means of obtaining it in more concentrated form there would be no intoxicating liquor containing a larger proportion of alcohol.

The process of distillation however, has enabled the maker to load any of the fermented liquors with a greater proportion of the intoxicating element, so that now many of them are nearly as powerful as the distilled liquors themselves.

Until the twelfth century of the Christian era only fermented drinks in which by the laws of nature, according to Dr. Richardson, no larger proportion than seventeen per cent. could be alcohol, were in use among the nations of Europe, or any other portion of the earth, unless to a limited extent in China.

True, that history abounds with cases of gross individual and national indulgence, as in that of Alexander, and of the Babylonians in the times of Belshazzar, but all this was done with an article of comparatively trifling potency.

In the twelfth century the learning of the world had fled to the protection of the Arabians, and a physician named Albucassis is credited with the discovery of the process of separating more or less successfully alcohol from the innocuous fluids with which it had until then been associated. Various authorities however are to the effect that distillation was known before the dawn of authentic history. But the matter is not important to us.

The specific gravity of alcohol is 792 as compared with water 1000—about four-fifths the weight of water. Alcohol is highly inflammable, and its atoms vaporize at forty degrees lower temperature than water—which boils or is converted into steam at 212 degrees F. When a quantity of fermented liquor is confined in a vessel and subjected to a temperature of 172 degrees the particles of alcohol expand, are converted into gas, and rise from the mass with which they have been united.

Taking advantage of these facts the distiller confines the

fermented liquor in a closed vessel before the application of heat, and connects the space in the top of the vessel with another empty chamber by means of a "worm" or hollow tube. When the mass is heated to the proper temperature the alcohol leaves the water in the form of vapor and seeks the other vessel through the tube, which, being surrounded by cold, the vapor is condensed and finds its way into the other vessel in the form of a liquid, from which a large proportion of the water has disappeared. After a second distillation the result is called spirits of wine, and after the third, rectified spirits of wine. Owing, however, to the strong chemical affinity of alcohol for water, there will yet remain from ten to twenty per cent. of water, with some other impurities, one of which is fusel oil. Fusel oil is most abundant in spirits from Indian corn and potatoes.

To remove the remainder of the water, and obtain anhydrous, absolute alcohol, requires a substance having stronger affinity for water. Lime is generally used for this purpose, but it is for various reasons difficult to procure absolute alcohol, and the commercial article varies greatly in actual strength.

Brandy, whisky, rum and gin are usually classed by themselves as distilled or ardent spirits, and all other spirituous liquors as fermented. Ardent or distilled liquors contain, or should contain, as the result of distillation, from forty per cent. upwards of alcohol, while fermented, according to Dr. B. W. Richardson, can contain no more than seventeen per cent. by the natural process, and from that proportion downward even to less than two per cent., as in small beer.

But owing to the manipulations of the maker and vendor, with colors, drugs, gums and various ingredients and methods of adulteration, the dilution of the stronger with water and the fortification of the weaker with spirits, the line of distinction between distilled and fermented liquors seems to be well nigh lost, to all save the eye of faith or of the analytical chemist.

The following tables give the proportions of alcohol in various liquors as stated by Brande, Bence Jones and by Prof. John C. Draper, of the Medical College, New York.*

*See Hargreaves, p. 37.

Beverages.	Alcoholic Percentage.			Number of ounces in imperial pt. of 20 ozs.
	By Brande	By Bence Jones	By Prof. Draper	
Bourbon,	.....	.....	28. to 55	
Whisky,	54.11	.....	29. to 49	
Rum,	53.68	72.0 to 77.1		
Brandy,	53.39	50.4 to 53.8	22. to 56	10½ ounces.
Holland Gin,	51.60	49.4 to	31.	
Raisin Wine,	25.12			
Maderia,	24.17	19.0 to 19.7	.....	4 ounces.
Port,	22.96	20.7 to 23.2	.....	4 ounces.
Sherry,	19.17	15.4 to 24.7	.....	4½ ounces.
Claret,	15.10	9.1 to 11.1	.....	2 ounces.
Burgundy,	14.57	10.1 to 13.2	.....	2½ ounces.
Champagne,	12.80	14.1 to 14.8	.....	3 ounces.
Elderberry,	8.79			
Cider,	7.54	5.4 to 7.5		
Perry,	7.26			
Strong Ale,	6.20			
Brown Stout,	6.80	.....	.....	1½ ounces.
Porter,	4.20	.....	.....	1½ ounces.
Small Beer,	1.28	.....	.....	¾ ounce.

The following table shows the percentage of alcohol in most European alcoholic beverages.*

BEVERAGES.	PERCENTAGE OF ALCOHOL
German Beer,	from 1.9 to 4.62
Cider,	" 5.4 " 7.4
Ale and Porter,	" 5.4 " 8.5
Very strong Ale,	" 10.5 " 12.4
Moselle and Rhine Wines,	" 7.5 " 9.5
Claret,	" 8.0 " 9.0
Champagne,	" 11.5 " 14.1
Sherry,	" 15.4 " 16.0
Port,	" 10.0 " 20.7
Maderia,	" 19.0 " 19.8
Marsala,	" 19.9 " 20.0
Gin (London),	" 31.73 " 20.0
Geneva spirit,	" 49.4 " 20.0
Brandy,	" 50.4 " 53.6
Whisky,	" 59.2 " 59.4
Rum,	" 72.7 " 77.1

The alcohol contained in these liquors is not chemically combined with the rest of the mass, but maintains its individuality for action according to its true nature whenever brought in contact with the new surroundings whether in the human organism or elsewhere.

In this chapter I have endeavored to set forth the origin and actual composition of the article known as alcohol in the concerns of common life.

It is a product of putrefaction; never of any life-generating or life-supporting process.

*See Samuelson's "History of Drinks," page 160. Also cited in Dr. Dorchester's "Liquor Problem," page 101.

Neither plants nor animals in any of the mysterious processes of appropriation or assimilation from the soil or the air extract or use it. It has no part in the economy of life save only as it is forced there by the art or the unnatural appetite of man. Nature never uses it in any of her wonderful, God-invented methods of production, growth, or healing. All the presumptions are against it except such as may arise from the medicinal use which morbid and diseased conditions of the human system, and its place among the agencies of art, may justify, and in some cases make necessary.

In the next chapter we will inquire into the action of alcohol upon the structure of the body, and afterward upon the intellectual and moral nature of man.

CHAPTER II.

EFFECT OF ALCOHOL UPON THE HUMAN BODY AND SOUL.

Liquor as an Article of Commerce—Alcohol in the Body—Importance of Medical Testimony—The Development of Drunkenness during the Past Three Centuries—The Experiments of Lallemand, Perrin and Duroy—A Terrier Dog under the Influence of Liquor—The Latest Demonstrations of Dr. Richardson—How Alcohol Travels with the Blood, and What it does on its Travels—Experiments of Parkes and Wallowicz on a Healthy Man—How his Heart was Affected by Alcohol—Effect of the Social Glass at a Dinner Party.

IT is matter of common knowledge that rum, gin, brandy and whisky, ale, beer, cider, wines, all in great variety and with divers peculiarities of color, taste and potency, enter largely as commercial articles into the consumption of daily life, especially among the civilized nations of the world. In another part of this work I shall endeavor to show approximately the tremendous proportions and effects of the traffic in alcohol in the various disguises which it assumes in order to catch the unwary, or to hold in its iron captivity the already enslaved consumer. But before doing this it seems to me more logical to ascertain from observation, experience, and especially from scientific and professional sources, in which from the nature of the investigation, must be the most decisive evidence, the effect of alcohol administered in these numerous forms upon our physical, mental, and moral being. If that influence be beneficial, it will materially change the conclusions to which we shall arrive from the vastness of the traffic, and will enable us to withdraw much severe comment made by "temperance fanatics," including myself as one of the chief of sinners, so far at least as hostile intent has been concerned; and the remaining pages of this work shall be devoted to the repair of past injury, real or attempted, and to encomiums for the blessings which shall have been demonstrated to flow from the activities of this colossal trade.

Those who are engaged in producing beverages which di-

rectly affect the body and soul, whose labor, capital and profits all depend upon a consumption which takes direct hold of the immortal as well as the mortal nature of themselves and of their fellow-men all made in the image of God must be willing to abide the test of a candid examination of this subject.

If it be found that alcohol used as a beverage is good for man, then the libels and slanders of the past must be withdrawn, and shall be so far as I am concerned; the great moral agencies of Christendom will hereafter lend their support through the press, the pulpit and platform; hostile legislation will be repealed; the highest and holiest energies of the race, hitherto active for the destruction of the trade, will become hereafter its strongest allies, and all men will unite to do honor to these long-derided and execrated benefactors of the race.

If the result of our examination leaves the truth in doubt, then, while charity must hereafter suffer long and be kind, while we must upbraid no more, still, as alcohol is an innovator, as great, real injury is apparent and still greater hurt is charged and not disproved, the *affirmative* of the issue is upon alcohol; and if its advocates do not prove it to be good, the ordinary presumption against an intruder should prevail, and the traffic should be restrained within the limits until its effects are shown to be not evil.

If the result of our examination should be a demonstration beyond rational doubt that alcohol is in its nature hurtful in the healthy human system, then it should not be necessary to go further and portray the gigantic dimensions of the alleged "crime of crimes," but upon this showing alone the waste of useful materials should be arrested; the perversion of productive labor and capital to pernicious uses should cease, and the forces which now direct, as many believe at least, and as Mr. Bourne has proved, one-tenth of all human capacity night and day, through war and peace, remorselessly, and awfully, to the destruction of the race, should be turned into other fields of achievement whereon God has pronounced no curse.*

Alcohol reaches the human being through the organs of the body—that body so fearfully and wonderfully made, the high-

*Bourne, on the National Expenditure on Alcohol. *Statistical Journal* XLV., 1882, p. 312.

est and most mysterious visible manifestation of the wisdom and power of the Creator. No subject of study ever has been or can be of such importance or of such absorbing interest to us as this body, save alone the impenetrable spirit which dwells within it, and which, from its invisible but glorious throne, with brain and hand discovering, seizing and wielding all the forces of nature, reigns over this lower world, while with the upturned eye of faith and conscious kinship, it touches, as of right with spirit hand the very scepter of its Father and its God. This wonderful and sacred structure, the temple of the body, has been in all ages the field of profound exploration to the wisest and best men of the race. It matters not that ignorance and imposture have infested this holy domain. They will continue to infest it because of the intense and constant interest which must forever surround the subject, until science shall have completely illuminated the most recondite secrets of our frames, and the holy art of healing shall have poured its successful balm into every wound, and found a specific for every form of disease.

That will be the golden age.

The noble profession of medicine has wrought on patiently, fervently, honestly, and profoundly, from the beginning, and will do so forever, until the race is extinct or perfection be attained. Its votaries have been always among the most advanced thinkers, the least superstitious, the most acute and logical investigators, and the closest in their relation to the actual facts of human experience, in their largest variety, of all those who have been devoted to intellectual pursuits.

More of good has come to humanity in daily ministrations from the medical than from any other profession or class of scientific men. Not always wise, not uninfluenced by the darkness around them, its members have, nevertheless, during the lapse of ages, reared a pyramid of glory to their profession resting upon the everlasting foundations of truth; and thus deservedly have won the confidence and affection of the masses of men, in proportion to the degree of general intelligence prevailing among those who, in every grave emergency of suffering and disease, turn to their good physician for relief.

Upon a great question like this before us, if indeed it be a

question, we must, as reasonable beings, rely upon the evidence of medical men.

I say "if indeed it be a question," because there are those who believe that, but for the vast pecuniary interests and the death clutch of appetite already existing, the common judgment and indignant spontaneous action of society would destroy the liquor traffic as instinctively as we destroy the poisonous snake. But, as things actually are, as we find them in the daily contacts of life, we have abundant reason to bear with one another, and to reason together upon many as open questions, which may to one of the parties seem to be already clearly settled. So it now is in regard to the effect of alcohol upon the body.

The parties to this controversy cannot agree. The issue is before the country and the world. It must be settled. The physicians are the experts; not all who belong to the profession in a general way, for its departments are numerous, and each specialty may absorb the powers of the greatest of men; many of the profession have never studied or observed specially with reference to the ascertainment of the truth bearing upon our subject. But there have been, and there now are, some of the controlling intellects of the race, and most eminent members of the medical profession whose conclusions, based upon scientific observation and experiment, are accepted as authoritative by their peers in other departments wherein they are themselves "the end of the law." There are chemists who have pursued our subject with patient and profound investigation until the truth has been revealed too vividly for contradiction. To the testimony of such men as these it is proper that we should give heed, as do their brethren, conforming their own faith and practice to the conclusions of the wisest and best who have specially investigatad the subject. Upon such evidence as this we act in all the important concerns of life; and he who should adopt any other rule of action would universally be dealt with as bereft of reason—a drunkard or a fool.

Nor can we expect that all doctors will agree, for it must be remembered that the profession is made up of men, and that, in common with the rest of humanity, they are influenced by their surroundings, by the traditions and circumstances and interests

which have enveloped them, so that, in a certain sense, they, with the laity, are all emerging into the light together. But we follow the lead of those nearest the sun, and who have specially examined this subject. Thus upon the whole mass of evidence, from every source, let us finally turn the clear, cold, steady eye of American common sense, and *decide*.

Whatever may be the conclusion of American intellect, thus formed, let us act upon it with steady and irreversible determination. In considering the effect of alcohol upon the body and mind, care should be taken to guard against any prepossession either way.

No presumption should arise from the drinking customs of society, existing from the earliest time, in favor of this drink, any more than in favor of war or slavery among all nations, or the self-inflicted cruelties of superstition, the hasheesh and opium habits, which afflict hundreds of millions of the race, or any other admitted evil whose long existence is rather a reason for its instant removal than its further toleration. Any gratification, indulgence or evil whatever, which becomes entrenched in the habits and prejudices of men, and which is the foundation of important industries and occupations, will be sure to find hosts of friends. Its removal, however necessary, will never be popular, at least not until the constant demonstration and iteration of startling truth has at last aroused both the conscience and self-interest of society as a whole. This latter stage may be nearer than we think with the alcoholic drinking customs of the world, but in the examination of the evidence it is important to act alike without prepossession for that which has been because it has been and still may be, on the one hand, or against it because of the wrongs and crimes which are charged on the other.

We should, however, keep clearly in mind that there is no evidence whatever, nor any pretence by any one that alcohol is, or in any form ever was, one of the general and indispensable necessaries of life, like milk, water or bread.

At most, its use is only claimed to be desirable and pleasant as a part of the general habit, and occasionally necessary in sickness and emergencies. When tremendous evils are admitted to follow from its use, or its *abuse*, if you please, when that abuse is shown to be the rule and not the exception, the

Hon. William Windom,

Ex-Secretary of the Treasury.

affirmative is upon the friends of this enticing and powerful agency.

It is said of Albucassis, the Arabian chemist, physician and philosopher, who discovered the art of distillation in the twelfth century, and of those who came to the knowledge of the dreadful nature of the invention, that they concealed the process from general knowledge, so that its use for centuries was mostly confined to the laboratory, and perhaps to some extent was known in the practice of medicine.

However this may be, the common use of distilled liquors, or of fermented liquors, fortified with spirits, has existed for but two or three centuries. The result has been the development of a destructive drunkenness among civilized nations never before known, and of something akin to the annihilation, in some instances, of barbarous or savage tribes, with whom their mercenary superiors have waged a deadly commerce in these modern commodities.

The world being already enchanted and enchained by fermented drinks, and capital, appetite and labor already invested largely in their production, and the spirit of enterprise awaking everywhere, and abandoning the fields of senseless wars of superstition and false glory for those of maritime discovery and colonization and for the development of the material, political and social interests of the common people of the world, the general application of distillation to the manufacture of alcohol necessarily followed. The liquor traffic, sanctioned by public toleration, based upon custom, appetite and ignorance, developed everywhere with startling rapidity.

The existence of evils manifest to all, and of others unknown before in like extent, traceable to no other cause, compelled inquiry in the interest of self-preservation, and, during the last century, the investigation has been diligently conducted by some of the most eminent and impartial among scientists and practitioners of the healing art. Their researches have been of the most laborious, recondite and difficult character. The accomplishment of their task has been the work of no one man.

It was early agreed that the abuses of alcohol, in its use, were so wide-spread and devastating as to be almost universal in their character. But still the one vexed question, "is the use of alcohol as a beverage injurious to the human system

in a state of health?" remained unanswered, because actual demonstration, based upon scientific experiment, had not yet been achieved.

In 1860, it was supposed to be settled, by the experiments of Lallemand, Perrin and Duroy, that alcohol was never a food; that it never was decomposed or absorbed, but was always a hostile and poisonous intruder in the human system. They actually proved that alcohol was ejected from the body in its pure, unchanged condition. They smelled it in the breath, and in the cutaneous exhalations; they found it in the renal and other rejections; the post mortem revealed it in the drunkard's brain; the microscope in the blood where it shriveled and coagulated the floating particles of life; animals living and dead were submitted to innumerable and various experiments for a long period of time; always these laborious and learned observers discovered the immaculate, irreducible article, just as it had been introduced, whether by the victim or the investigator—the absolute alcohol.

A series of such experiments is no trifling matter; and when these able and faithful men had closed their labors, had written out their conclusions, men of science, who best could judge, rested in the belief which they announced, that alcohol "taken into the living body accumulates in the tissues, especially in the liver and in the brain, and that it is eliminated by the fluid secretions, notably by the renal secretion as alcohol. . . . . The experiments carried on by these inquiries were so numerous and careful and the results they arrived at were so definitely stated, that their labors were for a season accepted as conclusive by many men of science and by the majority of the public. It was ascertained by other experimentalists that alcohol is eliminated by the system in the direct way, as alcohol, and the question of elimination rested as if it had been solved." *

But what had actually been proven? Not all that was inferred, by any means. There had been—there could be no test to prove that all the alcohol taken into the body had been ejected. The conclusion was too broad for the premises.

Then came the doubts of the lamented Dr. Anstie, whose experiments and inferences with those of Dr. Thudicum, and

* Richardson's Lectures on Alcohol, p. 106.

Dupré, and Schulinus, gave great comfort to the friends of alcohol and were the medical foundation of Gov. Andrews' famous argument before the committee of the Massachusetts legislature, in the year 1867.

"They prove that while it is true that, under certain circumstances alcohol taken into the body will pass off in the secretions unchanged, the quantity so eliminated is the merest fraction of what has been injected; and that there must be some other means by which the spirit is disposed of in the organism."*

Dr. Anstie gave to a terrier dog which weighed ten pounds, 2000 grains of absolute alcohol in ten days. On the tenth day, from all the channels of elimination 1.13 grains were obtained. Something was the matter with that dog, and another experiment was tried in which the same quantity of alcohol was administered, in the same time, to another animal. On the tenth day, two hours after the last dose—95 grains—had been given the animal was killed, and every particle of the body and contents subjected to analysis, and only 23.66 grains of alcohol obtained.

This then was demonstration that Lallemand and his friends were in error: not in what they proved, but in what they inferred beyond the scope of their experiments. The truth always proves itself, but no more.

Dr. Anstie and his friends did not disprove any part of what Lallemand had established. On the contrary he and others demonstrated it all over again, and showed that a part of what is taken into the system, if there be more than the system otherwise disposes of, is eliminated from the body in the form of absolute alcohol.

Thereupon, all over the world, the other side of the controversy proceeded to infer a great deal more than Anstie and his compeers had demonstrated, to be in their turn overthrown by the indefatigable scientific querist.

We are apt to forget the atom of demonstration—the little silent but mighty truth in the mass of clamorous assertion and unwarranted inference which surrounds it. It is not necessary for the sun to shine but once to demonstrate its power to shine, but a thousand electric lights cannot prove it.

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*Dr. Richardson, p. 107.

One real experiment is sufficient, but that experiment must cover the case and tell the truth. The truth once told is the truth forever.

The false inferences drawn from his experiments by others, and perhaps also by Dr. Anstie himself, and all the arguments and conclusions based upon them, have since been destroyed by Dr. B. W. Richardson and other great scientists. But, before proceeding to detail their demonstrations, I will quote the touching tribute of Dr. Richardson to the memory of Dr. Anstie, his dead co-laborer and friend, who wrote his last paper in the year 1874.

"Respecting this observer, whose friendship I owned for many years, it is meet for me to pay this public tribute of respect; that no man I ever knew combined with vigor of mind more incomparable industry and courage, or a more honorable regard for scientific truth and honesty. The subject we are now considering has lost no investigator more ably learned for the work that still remains to be done."

In stating the final, or at least the latest, demonstrations of science upon this subject, we must follow those who made them, Dr. Richardson and his co-laborers, and I therefore will state the case as it stood upon the evidence when Dr. Anstie and those who follow him left it, and the inferences then or since entertained by them in the language of Dr. Richardson himself, which goes to the full length of all that was demonstrated or fairly claimed in favor of the beneficial action of alcohol upon the vital economy. "We are driven by the evidence now before us to the certain conclusion that in the animal body alcohol is decomposed; that is to say, a certain portion of it (and if a certain portion why not the whole?) is transmutable into new compounds. The inference that might be drawn is fair enough that the alcohol is lost by being burned in the body. It is lost in the body, and out of the body it will burn. If it will burn in the organism it will supply force, for it enters as the bearer of so much potential energy. In combining with oxygen is there then a development of force or heat to the extent that would be developed in the combustion of the same quantity in the lamp or from the distribution of it over the platinum block? At the same time, and in corroboration, is the product of its combus-

tion, carbonic acid, to be discovered in the excretions? If there be heat, and if there be product of carbon, consumed in oxygen, then alcohol must rank as a heat-forming food." We have here then the simple but comprehensive question: The alcohol being in the body, and the greater part of it not being ejected in its original state, what becomes of it, and what effect does it produce in its new situation?

It may be well to trace it as closely as possible in accordance with admitted facts.

Substances introduced into the body may have a mere mechanical or physiological action, or they may act as food or nourishment of its structure.

Chloroform and opium have a marked effect upon the system, but no one would think of classing them as foods.

"The living animal body is constructed out of a few simple forms of matter which possess, during life, the power of motion. . . . . Whatever helps to maintain it in perfect order of construction, whatever enables it to move of its own free will and motion, may be considered as food." *

Here then are two classes of substances, one of which nourishes structure, the other produces motion, and in their function as food the one builds and the other burns. The growth and the bulk of the body come from one, action from the other.

Allusion to this has been made in the first chapter.

Alcohol must be found among the foods, or those poisons which, like opium, produce physiological action, or those which go into and out of the body mechanically or remain there without structural change.

But we have already seen that alcohol is in the body for business, and hence must be a food, or must be classed with those other agents which produce physiological, that is functional, action—action by the organs of the body.

Alcohol may be injected under the skin into the venous circulation. It may be taken directly to the stomach, or absorbed through the pores, or vaporized and inhaled. In any and in all ways, it is taken up by the appropriate vessels and carried by the venous system to the heart. Before pure alcohol will flow in the blood, however, it will remain in the stomach or wherever it first finds itself, until it has attracted

* Richardson, p. 97.

water, for which it has an intense affinity, to its liking, when it goes on its way with the tide of life. It flows with the venous blood to the right auricle, thence downward to the left ventricle, by which it is thrown upon the lungs, when the blood is oxygenized by contact with the atmospheric air; thence returning to the left auricle and to the left ventricle, which forces the current to every tissue and fiber of the body. The arteries divide and subdivide until in their minute extremities they become coterminous with like infinitesimal vascular tubes, which are the origin of the venous system. Here in these, but for the microscope, invisible arenas the vital process is accomplished; the exhausted and devitalized waste matter gives way to particles just from living nature, which, after organic incorporation and service are themselves rejected in their turn, the venous mass flows on through millions of trickling rivulets into brooks and rivers which drain the vast and mysterious system again into the ocean of the heart. What is the power which moves this organ with a perpetual throb, that ceases only with life, and thus carries on this constant creation and rebuilds this unceasing decay?

Thus alcohol travels with the blood, floating in it, not of it. What does it on its travels? Something thereof is known.

A little passes off in expiration from the lungs—the breath smells of it. In its passage through the minute cells or apertures which connect the arterial and venous systems it comes in contact with the entire, the *atomic*, structure of the whole body. In these recesses it remains, in some a longer, in others a shorter, time. Organs like the liver and the kidneys, have tubes through which it is rapidly taken up and eliminated from the body—the disposition of the rest is what we are trying to find out.

It is said that unless the dose be large—semi-poisonous—the blood is not seriously affected. Seven hundred and ninety parts in a thousand of the blood are water, yet if the quantity of alcohol be great it will attack the fibrine, the plastic matter which coagulates, and of which there are but two or three parts in a thousand; it also comes in contact with the albumen, of which there are seventy parts in a thousand; with the salts, ten parts, with the fatty matter, and then with the blood globules, the corpuscles or cells. These are red in

color and give that hue to the blood. There are white cells also which float on the outside, next the vascular walls, while the red globules move more quickly in the center of the tide. The red corpuscles are the most important. They absorb the oxygen in the lungs and distribute it in the tissues, while they take up carbonic acid gas and carry it back to the lungs for ejection from the system. These red blood corpuscles are in fact the tools of the life—"the vital instruments of the circulation." I cannot follow this matter minutely, however important it is, but must refer the reader to the professional works from which I necessarily borrow it. I can only specify in sentences what there occupies pages. Sometimes alcohol will cause these all-important corpuscles to adhere in rolls; it may shrivel them up; it may change them from a round to an oval, or into a truncated form. This is owing to the power of the alcohol to chemically attract or extract the water in the globule for itself. If the dose of alcohol be small, it satisfies this inclination from the general mass of water and the globule escapes.

To whatever extent the globule is affected its power to absorb gases is impaired, while changes in its mechanical form and their aggregation interferes with their functions and with their passage through the minute passages of their circuit, by which mechanical injury is done, and the general current fails or is impeded in its flow.

Says Dr. Richardson,

"From this distribution of blood in these minute vessels (those connecting the arterial and venous systems) the structures of organs derive their constituent parts; through these vessels brain matter, muscle, gland, membrane is given out from the blood by a refined process of selection, which up to this time is only so far understood as to enable us to say that it exists. . . . . The minute and intermediate vessels are more intimately connected than any other part with the construction and with the formation of the living matter of which the body is composed." "Infinitely refined in structure, they nevertheless have the power of contraction and dilatation, *which power is governed by nervous action of a special kind.*"

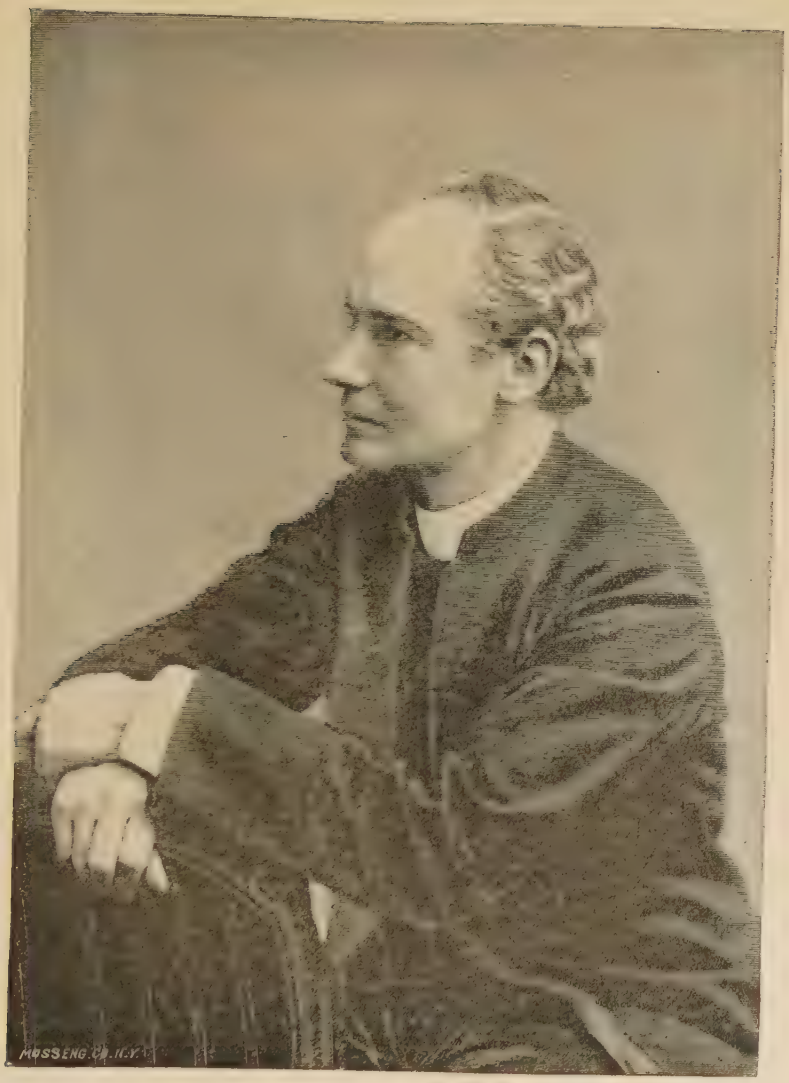
It is indispensable also that I copy his description of the dual nervous system of man. After explaining their mechan-

ism and relations to each other he says: "Thus man has two nervous systems: the primary nervous chain and the added centers with their fibers. The two systems are connected by their fibres in different parts, but they are still distinct anatomically and functionally. The primary nervous system is called the system of the organic vegetative or animal life; it governs all those motions which are purely involuntary, and its centers are believed by some, and I think with perfect correctness, to be the seats of those faculties which we call emotional and instinctive. The centers of the brain and spinal cord with their parts are the centers of the motor, and volitional, and of the reasoning powers; of all those faculties, that is to say, which are directly under the influence of the will; . . . . . all those minute blood-vessels at the extremities of the circulation are under the control of the primary or organic nervous supply; . . . . . branches of nerves from these organic centers accompany every arterial vessel throughout the body to its termination, and without direction from our will regulate the contraction and dilatation of the blood-vessels to their most refined distribution."*

"It is obvious if anything occurs to cut off the nervous supply, that paralysis of the minute circulation, which is the process of living, at each point where it is carried on, must follow. This may occur from physical impressions; or mental emotion may produce the same effect; and chemical agents can influence the organic nervous chain so as to disturb its functions after the manner of a pure physical act.

"Still further in advance, and with the mention of the fact, I am brought back to the subject proper of my lecture; we have learned that certain chemical agents can so influence the organic nervous chain as to disturb its functions, after the manner of a pure physical act. . . . . I divined from the symptoms it (amyl) produced, that it influenced the organic nervous fiber precisely after the manner of a division of that fiber. . . . . The whole series of the nitrates possess this power of relaxing the blood vessels at their extreme parts; . . . . . alcohol possesses the self-same power. It paralyzes the minute blood vessels, and allows them to become diluted with the flowing blood."

* Richardson, p. 81.



Canon Wilberforce.

"If you attend a large dinner party you will observe after the first few courses, when the wine is beginning to circulate, a progressive change in some of those about you who have taken wine. The face begins to get flushed, the eye brightens, and the manner of conversation becomes loud. What is the reason of that flushing of countenance? It is the same as the flush from blushing, or from the reaction of cold, or from the nitrate of amyl. It is the dilatation of vessels following upon the loss of nervous control, which reduction has been induced by alcohol. In a word, the first stage—the stage of vascular excitement from alcohol—has been established. The action of alcohol extending so far, does not stop there; with the disturbance of power in the extreme vessels, more disturbance is set up in other organs, and the first organ that shares in it is the heart. With each beat of the heart a certain degree of resistance is offered by the vessels, when their nervous supply is perfect, and the stroke of the heart is moderated both in respect to tension and as to time; but when the vessels are rendered relaxed, the resistance is removed, the heart begins to run quicker—like a watch from which the pallets have been removed—and the heart-stroke losing nothing in force is greatly increased in frequency, with a weakened recoil stroke. . . . . You will be interested to know to what extent this increase of vascular action proceeds."

After detailing attempted experiments by himself which were not satisfactory Dr. Richardson proceeds: "Fortunately this information has been far more ably supplied by the researches of Dr. Parkes of Netley, and the late Count Wollowicz. The researches of these distinguished inquirers are so valuable I make no apology for giving them in detail. The observers conducted their inquiries upon a young and healthy adult man. They counted the beats of the heart first at regular intervals during what were called water periods, that is to say, periods when the subject under observation drank nothing but water; and next, taking the same subject, they counted the beats of the heart during successive periods during which alcohol was taken in increasing quantities. Thus, step by step, they measured the precise action of alcohol on the heart, and thereby the precise primary influence induced by alcohol. The results are stated by themselves as follows:

EXPERIMENTS OF DR. PARKES AND COUNT WOLLOWICZ.

"The average number of beats of the heart in 24 hours, as calculated from eight observations made in 14 hours, during the first or water period, was 106,000; in the earlier alcoholic period it was 127,000, or about 21,000 more; and in the later period it was 131,000, or 25,000 more.

The highest of the daily means of the pulse observed during the first or water period was 77.55; but on this day two observations were deficient. The next highest daily mean (water days) was 77 beats.

If instead of the mean of the eight days, or 73.57, we compare the mean of this one day, viz.: 77 beats per minute, with the alcoholic days, so as to be sure not to overestimate the action of the alcohol we find:—

"On the 9th day, with one fluid ounce of alcohol, the heart beat 4,300 times more.

"On the 10th day, with two fluid ounces, 8,172 times more.

"On the 11th day, with four fluid ounces, 12,960 times more.

"On the 12th day, with six fluid ounces, 30,672 times more.

"On the 13th day, with eight fluid ounces, 23,904 times more.

"On the 14th day, with eight fluid ounces, 25,488 times more.

"But as there was ephemeral fever on the 12th day, it is right to make a deduction, and to estimate the number of beats on that day as midway between the 11th and 13th days, or 18,432.

"Adopting this, the mean daily excess of beats during the alcoholic days was 14,492, or an increase of rather more than 13 per cent.

"The first day of alcohol gave an excess of 4 per cent., and the last of 23 per cent.; and the mean of these two gives almost the same percentage of excess as the mean of the six days.

"Admitting that each beat of the heart was as strong during the alcoholic period as in the water period (and it was really more powerful) the heart on the last two days of alcohol was doing one-fifth more work.

"Adopting the lowest estimate which has been given of the daily work of the heart, viz., as equal to 122 tons lifted one foot, the heart during the alcoholic period did daily work in excess equal to lifting 15.8 tons one foot, and in the last two days did extra work to the amount of 24 tons lifted as far.

"The period of rest for the heart was shortened, though, perhaps, not to such an extent as would be inferred from the number of beats, for each contraction was sooner over. The heart on the fifth and sixth days after alcohol was left off, and apparently at the time when the last traces of alcohol were eliminated, showed in the sphygmographic tracings signs of unusual feebleness; and, perhaps, in consequence of this, when the brandy quickened the heart again, the tracings showed a more rapid contraction of the ventricles, but less power than in the alcoholic period. The brandy acted, in fact, on a heart whose nutrition had not been perfectly restored."

Commenting upon these remarkable results of experiments, the reliability of which as data for the public to depend upon, he avers, by adopting them as the basis of his own opinions, Dr. Richardson says:

"It will seem at first sight almost incredible that such an excess of work could be put upon the heart, but it is perfectly credible when all the facts are known. The heart of an adult man makes, as we see above, 73.57 strokes per minute. This number multiplied by sixty for the hour, and again by twenty-four for the entire day, would give nearly 106,000, as the number of strokes per day. There is, however, a reduction of stroke produced by assuming the recumbent position, and by sleep, so that for simplicity's sake we may take off the 6,000 strokes, and speaking generally, may put the average at 100,000, in the entire day.

With each of these strokes the two ventricles of the heart as they contract, lift up into their respective vessels three ounces of blood each, that is to say, six ounces with the combined stroke, or 600,000 in the twenty-four hours. The equivalent of work rendered by this simpler calculation would be 116 foot tons; and if we estimate the increase of work induced by alcohol we shall find that four ounces of spirit increase it one eighth part; six ounces one sixth part; and eight ounces one fourth part."

Dr. Richardson then proceeds to trace the known action of alcohol on the system still further; he shows that the flush seen on the cheek arising from the engorgement of the minute blood vessels on the surface, the consequence of their relaxation by partial paralysis, is universal in the body—not merely in the face, but in the brain, the lungs, the kidneys, liver, and spleen—a universal "vascular engorgement"—that the action of alcohol being continued beyond the first stage, the function of the spinal cord is influenced, and the automatic action, or that of a mechanical kind, which proceeds when we are thinking or speaking of other subjects; the process of breathing, digestion, secretion, elimination, and the like are interfered with and no longer correctly carried on.

It requires a distinct exertion of the "higher intellectual center" that the hand may reach its object or the foot be rightly planted; the nervous control of the muscles is lost and the "nervous stimulus" more or less enfeebled; and the muscles fail in power, coming under the influence of the "paralyzing agent," their structure temporarily deranged and their contractile power reduced. Then the cerebral or brain centres are reduced in power, and the controlling influence of will and judgment are lost. These centres are thrown "into chaos; the rational nature of man gives way before the emotional, passional, or organic part. The reason is now off duty, or is fooling with duty, and all the mere animal instincts and sentiments are laid atrociously bare. The coward shows up more craven, the braggart more boastful, the cruel more merciless, the untruthful more false, and the carnal more degraded.

"*In vino veritas*" expresses even, indeed, to physiological accuracy, the true condition. The reason, the emotions, the instincts, are all in a state of carnival, and in chaotic feebleness.

"Finally, the action of the alcohol still extending, the superior brain centres are overpowered; the senses are beclouded, the voluntary muscular prostration is perfected, sensibility is lost, and the body lies a mere log, dead by all but one-fourth, on which alone its life hangs. The heart still remains true to its duty, and while it just lives it feeds the breathing power, and so the circulation and the respiration, in the otherwise inert mass, keep the mass within the bare domain of life until the

poison begins to pass away and the nervous centres to revive again. It is happy for the inebriate that as a rule the brain fails so long before the heart, that he has neither power nor the sense to continue his process of destruction up to the act of the death of his circulation. Therefore he lives to die another day."

"Thus there are four stages of alcoholic action in the primary form; (*a*) a stage of vascular excitement and exhaustion; (*b*) a stage of excitement and exhaustion of the spinal cord, with muscular perturbation; (*c*) a stage of unbalanced reasoning power and of volition; (*d*) a stage of complete collapse of nervous function."

Prolonged use of the poison results in the aggravation of all the injuries already described, in disgusting external indications of the hellish work and destructive changes of the organs within.

CHAPTER III.

ALCOHOL NOT A FOOD.

Can it be a very Bad and a very Good Thing at the Same Time—How Ale and Beer Fatten—Dr. Richardson's Examination of the Qualities of Alcohol as a Food—No Claim to Efficacy in Structure Building—The Search of the Physicians for a Virtue in Alcohol—Four Stages of Change Produced on the Body by Liquor—How Alcohol gets out of the Body—If it is not a Food there is no Occasion for its Consumption as a Drink.

SO far, we have traced the action of alcohol from its introduction to the body in its known effects, as demonstrated by actual experiment, or by the admitted facts of common experience. Its action, so far, is evil, and that continually. It would be singular if an agent which works such destruction, should also at the same time, in the same body, exert any beneficial effect. How can it be possible that the same thing which, in certain quantities and methods of administration, is known to paralyze the nervous force, to derange the circulation of the blood, dominate the muscular power, disintegrate the vital organs, drive the heart like a slave to its task with whip and scourge, dethrone reason and turn loose the faculties, emotions and passions, in full riot over the prostrate moral nature for the time, and, if long indulged, then for all time, completely effacing the image of God, and producing a hideous caricature abhorrent even to the beasts that perish—how can it be possible that the agency which is admitted to do all this, and more of horror which language cannot portray, is also a healing angel, a nourishing mother, a messenger of life and happiness to that normal and healthy organization which the Almighty bestowed upon man in the beginning? I speak not now of what may sometimes be done by poison to arrest disease, or to mitigate the agony of the surgeon's knife.

But how is it possible that this instrumentality, offensive to every unperverted nostril and palate—the alert natural guardians of the gate through which both structural and respiratory

foods enter the stomach and lungs, their respective digestive laboratories—confessed to be the cause of all the destructive consequences already set forth to human beings in health, for whose continued welfare wholesome food and grateful beverages, wholly free from it, are necessary, can by possibility do them any good at all?

It is certain that we continue this search after the further action of alcohol and its final disposition in or by the body, with the strongest presumption that its history will be one of consistent hurt and misery to the end.

At this point arises the crucial question: *Is alcohol in any quantity a food—nitrogenous, structure-building, or respiratory food—creating force?*

If it be in either way, and in any manner, and in any quantity a food, then alcohol is a good thing when properly used—presumptions are in its favor—laws and restrictions should be directed not to the prohibition of a bad thing, but to the prohibition of the unreasonable use of a good thing.

This must be the logical result, or it must be shown satisfactorily that alcohol is a good thing, but so dangerous by reason of the inevitable wrongs and injuries which accompany it that for the general good it must be banished from use, regardless of the choice of the consumer.

This question also must be determined by science. While I am not aware that anything offensive to the unperverted taste is a natural beverage or food, yet there are substances and beverages which habit has made agreeable, which are injurious and even virulent poisons. Appetite and desire are not infallible judges of the truth in case like this.

The common knowledge of mankind is not to be discarded; all the evidence must go to the jury, but, as in all judicial investigations, if there be questions which are beyond the control of facts within common knowledge or experience, then those who have special competency to testify, either to facts or to opinions drawn from them, must be called in to settle the controversy, if so be that even their intelligence has yet comprehended the truth.

Is then alcohol a food?

One thing is conceded by all, and Dr. Richardson thus states this common ground of agreement:

"Alcohol contains no nitrogen, it has none of the qualities of these structure-building foods; it is incapable of being transformed into any of them; it is therefore not a food in the sense of its being a constructive agent in the building up of the body. In respect to this view there is, I believe now, no difference of opinion amongst those who have most carefully observed the action of alcohol."

The question arises then whether alcohol is a fat-forming food, and this is in dispute. Ale and beer fatten, but it appears to be settled that it is not the alcohol but the sugar or starch in them, and in some other drinks, which fattens. Dr. Richardson says: "This tallies also with the observations on the action of absolute alcohol upon inferior animals, for they certainly, under that influence, if they are allowed liberty to move freely, do not fatten."

Alcohol induces sleep, and the tendency to fatten may be facilitated in that way, but the sleep itself thus induced, if not medicinal, is an injury. "There is no chemical fact which supports the hypothesis" of the origin of fatty material direct from alcohol.

"In conclusion, therefore, upon this one point of alcohol, its use as a builder of the substantial parts of the animal organism, I fear I must give up all hope of affirmative proof. It does not certainly help to build up the active nitrogenous structures. It probably does not produce fatty matter, except by an indirect and injurious interference with the natural processes."

I submit that upon any such evidence as this, which is the most recent utterance of as competent a witness as is now living, and who, so far as I know, is uncontradicted by any witness whose investigations are recent and accepted as authority in the profession, while they are corroborated by many of his associates among its most eminent members, it cannot be claimed, that the strong presumption existing against the probability that there is any food-creating power in alcohol, is removed, far less is such beneficial quality established.

But may not alcohol burn in the lungs, and in the secret places where life does its invisible work, and thus give force and motion? What if this be so? All this is certainly done better without than with it. Certainly, a healthy person is no

better in this respect for the alcohol that is in him. Alcohol will burn somewhat with oxygen, but not so well as pure carbon or pure hydrogen. This may liberate some heat. The earlier physiologists of this century came, naturally enough, to the conclusion that the alcohol taken into the body is consumed there with the evolution of heat. Then came the investigations of Lallemand, Perrin and Duroy in 1860, who believed that all the alcohol taken into the body was eliminated, or remained there unchanged; then the investigations and theories of Dr. Anstie and others, contradicting this view, and really leaving the doctors undecided and disagreeing among themselves so far as opinions and inferences are concerned; but with the experiments of Lallemand and Dr. Anstie, both apparently reliable, and really in no wise conflicting.

Dr. Lallemand proved that *some* of the alcohol ingested was eliminated from the system of his subject unchanged, but not all of it. Still it might have been so eliminated.

Dr. Anstie proved that most of the alcohol ingested was not eliminated at all, because he killed the creature instantly after the liquid was swallowed. Then he further proved that it was decomposed in some way, because, by chemical analysis he found that only a very small proportion of the alcohol introduced was in the body. But he killed the animal *instantly* and painlessly. How then could the alcohol have been burned in the body? Would combustion go on after death—when respiration is stopped and the circulation forever still? If so, and assuming that combustion might go on, why not Dr. Lallemand's methods of elimination also? Besides, Dr. Anstie must have begun his analysis at once, at least it is to be so presumed—the contrary is not shown, and the analysis must have interrupted the proceedings in that dog's body even if death did not.

How did the alcohol get even out of the stomach when all processes were instantly arrested? How came the last ninety-five grains of alcohol to be changed at all, and only 23.66 grains to remain, after instant death, of the 2000 grains of pure alcohol which that terrier dog took in ten days? It seems to me that there was a leak in that dog of Dr. Anstie, or in the experiment itself. It is however accepted as a good experiment by the faculty, and as a layman I accept it in becoming

faith and acquiescence. I hope, however, that when all evidence shows that alcohol taken in large quantities lingers in the system for days and weeks even, and Dr. Anstie's ten-pound terrier had taken two hundred grains per diem for ten days in succession, and then had swallowed ninety-five more as he drew his final breath, that I may be excused from reversing all my previous views in regard to the liquor traffic, upon the ground that the alcohol was *burned* up in the *dead* body of this poor dog. To my mind he died in vain. Let those explain what did become of it whose case rests upon such questionable data.

I am content to leave the question whether or not alcohol be respiratory or force-producing food, where it rested between Dr. Lallemand and Dr. Anstie, as unsettled, upon the evidence which the scientific world then possessed.

But, fortunately, that is not all of the case.

The question still remains, Is alcohol a heat-making food?

It is so, if it causes the increase of animal heat. In this connection the researches of Dr. Richardson commenced in the year 1864, and his conclusions, continually fortified until the present time, are the most careful, profound, advanced and important ever made. In no work, pretending to discuss this all-important subject at all, would the omission of Dr. Richardson's unabbreviated account of these labors be excusable.

In his Cantor Lectures he says: "Does alcohol cause increase of animal heat?" and proceeds with the discussion as follows:

"In putting before you this inquiry, I am prepared to answer by direct knowledge gained from individual experiment. In the course of some researches I had to make for reports rendered to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, it became a part of my duty to ascertain what effect certain chemical agents exert over the animal temperature. Amongst these agents was alcohol.

"At the time when my researches commenced—viz., in the year 1864, there was nothing definitely known on the subject. The thermometer was not then in such general use as it is now, and it had not been applied, as far as I know, to this particular determination. Generally, however, it had been assumed by a majority of persons that alcohol warms the body, and to

Hon. A. H. Colquitt,

United States Senator from Georgia

'take just a drop to keep out the cold' had been the practice which the experience of ages seemed to justify. It is fair, at the same time, to say that Dr. Lees, and some other far-seeing observers, had for many years held and asserted a different view. They had not entered into minuteness of experimental detail, but they had observed from the effects of alcohol on those who had been exposed to cold in the extreme North and in other regions of ice and snow, that the drinkers did not live on like other men. Thus, in so far as I had what is called experience to guide me, I found conflict of opinion. It was not my business, however, to accept guidance of this kind, but to appeal to the only safe guide, the direct interrogation of nature by experiment.

"It were impossible for me to recount the details of the long research—extending with intervals of rest, over three years—which was conducted in my laboratory, to determine the influence of alcohol on the animal temperature. The effects were observed on warm-blooded animals of different kinds, including birds; on the human subject in health, and on the same subject under alcoholic disease. Similar experiments were made in different external temperatures of the air, ranging from summer heat to ten degrees below freezing point. The whole were carried on from experiment to experiment, without regard either to comparison or result, until the general character of the result began to proclaim that a rule existed which could rarely be considered exceptional. The facts obtained I may epitomize as follows:

"The progressive stages of change of animal function from alcohol are four in number. The first is a stage of excitement, when there exists that relaxation and injection of the blood-vessels of the minute circulation with which we have become conversant. The second is the stage of excitement with some muscular inability and deficient automatic control. The third is a stage of rambling, incoherent, emotional excitement, with loss of voluntary muscular power, and ending in helpless unconsciousness. The fourth and final stage is that in which the heart itself begins to fail, and which death, in extreme instances of intoxication, closes the scene. These stages are developed in all the warm-blooded animals, and the changes of temperature throughout the whole are relatively the same.

"In the first stage the external temperature of the body is raised. In birds—pigeons—the rise may amount to a full degree on Fahrenheit's scale; in mammals it rarely exceeds half a degree, and in the confirmed inebriate, in whom the cutaneous vessels, are readily engorged, I have seen it run up to a degree and a half. In this case the effect on the extremities of the nerves is that of a warm glow, like what is experienced during the reaction from cold.

"The heat felt in this stage might be considered as due to the combustion of the alcohol; it is not so; it is in truth a process of cooling. It is from the unfolding of the larger sheet of the warm blood and from the quicker radiation of heat from that larger surface. During this stage, which is comparatively brief, the internal temperature is declining, the expired air from the lungs is indicating, not an increase, but the first period of reduction in the amount of carbonic acid, and the reddened surface of the body is so reduced in tonicity that cold applied to it increases the suffusion. It is this most deceptive stage that led the older observers into the error that alcohol warms the body.

"In the second stage, the temperature first comes down to its natural standard and then declines to what is below natural. The fall is not considerable. In birds it reaches from one and a half to two degrees. In other animals, dogs and guinea pigs, it rarely exceeds one degree; in man it is confined to three fourths of a degree. In a room heated to 65° or 70° the decrease of animal temperature may not actually be perceived; but it is quickly detected if the person in whom it is present pass into a colder atmosphere; and it lasts, even when the further supply of alcohol is cut off, for a long period—viz., from two and a half to three hours. It is much prolonged by absence of food.

"During the third degree the fall of temperature rapidly increases, and as the fourth stage is approached it reaches a decline that becomes actually dangerous. In birds the reduction may be five degrees and a half, and in other animals three. In man it is often from two and a half to three degrees. There is always during this stage a profound sleep or coma, and while this lasts the temperature continues reduced.

"It is here worthy of incidental notice that, as a rule, the

sleep of apoplexy and the sleep of drunkenness may be distinguished by a marked difference in the animal temperature. In apoplexy the temperature of the body is above, in drunkenness below, the natural standard of 98° of Fahrenheit's scale.

"Under favorable circumstances a long period is required before the body recovers its natural warmth after such a reduction of heat as follows the extreme stage of alcoholic intoxication. With the first conscious movements of recovery there is a faint rise, but such is the depression that these very movements exhaust and lead to a further reduction. I have known as long a period as three days required in a man to bring back a steady, natural return of the full animal warmth.

"Through every stage, then, of the action of alcohol—barring the first stage of excitement, I found a reduction of animal heat to be the special action of the poison. To make the research more perfectly reliable, I combined the action of alcohol with that of cold. A warm-blooded animal, insensibly asleep in the third stage of alcoholic narcotism was placed in a chamber, the air of which was reduced in temperature to ten degrees below freezing point, together with another similar animal which had received no alcohol. I found that both sleep under these circumstances, but the alcoholic sleeps to die; the other sleeps more deeply than is natural, and lives so long as the store of food it is charged with continues to support life. Within this bound it awakes, in a warmer air, uninjured though the degree of cold be carried even lower and be continued for a much longer time.

"One more portion of evidence completes the research on the influence of alcohol on the animal temperature. As there is a decrease of temperature from alcohol, so there is proportionately a decrease in the amount of the natural products of the combustion of the body. The quantity of carbonic acid exhaled by the breath is proportionately diminished with the decline of the animal heat. In the extreme stage of alcoholic insensibility—short of the actually dangerous—the amount of carbonic acid exhaled by the animal and given off into the chamber I constructed for the purpose of observation was reduced to one third below the natural standard. On the human subject in this stage of insensibility the quantity of carbonic acid exhaled has not been measured, but in the earlier

stage of alcoholic derangement of function the exhaled gas was measured with much care by a very earnest worker, whose recent death we have also to deplore—Dr. Edward Smith. In these early stages Dr. Smith found that the amount of carbonic acid was reduced in man, as I have found it in the lower animals, so that the fact of the general reduction may be considered as established beyond disputation. We are landed then at last on this basis of knowledge. An agent that will burn and give forth heat and product of combustion outside the body, and which is obviously decomposed within the body, reduces the animal temperature, and prevents the yield of so much product of combustion as is actually natural to the organic life.

"What is the inference? The inference is that the alcohol is not burned after the manner of a food which supports animal combustion, but that it is decomposed into secondary products, by oxidation, at the expense of the oxygen which ought to be applied for the natural heating of the body.

"For some time to come the physiological world will be studiously intent on the discovery of the mode by which alcohol is removed from the organism. It is a subject on which I one day shall be able to speak, I hope, with some degree of experimental certainty, but on which at this moment I am not prepared to offer more than an indication of the probable course of research. I may venture to add in advance two or three suggestions to which my researches, so far as they go, point.

"Firstly, I believe there is a certain determinable degree of saturation of the blood with alcohol, within which degree all the alcohol is disposed of by its decomposition. Beyond that degree the oxidation is arrested, and then there is an accumulation of alcohol, with voidance of it, in the unchanged state in the secretions.

"Secondly, the change or decomposition of the alcohol in its course through the minute circulation, in which it is transformed, is not into carbonic acid and water, as though it were burned, but into a new soluble, chemical substance, probably aldehyde, which returns by the veins into the great channels of the circulation.

"Thirdly, I think I have made out that there is an outlet for the alcohol, or for the fluid product of its decomposition, into

the alimentary canal, through the secretion of the liver. Thrown into the canal, it is, I believe, subjected there to further oxidation, is in fact oxidized by a process of fermentation attended with the active development of gaseous substances. From this surface the oxidized product is in turn re-absorbed in great part and carried into the circulation, and is disposed of by combination with bases or by further oxidation.

"Here, however, I leave the theoretical point to revert to the practical, and the practical is this: that alcohol cannot by any ingenuity of excuse for it be classified amongst the foods of man. It neither supplies matter for construction nor heat. On the contrary, it injures construction and it reduces temperature."

It must follow that, if alcohol be not a food at all, there is no occasion for its consumption as a drink until harmless beverages are exhausted: and, if that consumption be attended with great evils, there can be no excuse to society for permitting the traffic in spirits as a beverage.

CHAPTER IV.

ALCOHOL AGAINST THE BODY.

Dr. Richardson's Investigations Continued—Experiments with a Frog—Alcohol as a Regular Stimulant a Delusion—How Light Drinkers are Affected—Effect on the Heart and other Organs—How Disease is Originated—When the Memory becomes a Victim of the Habit—Gradual Steps of Physical Degeneration through Use of Liquor.

THERE are several other important questions arising upon which I will now cite the conclusions of Dr. Richardson, based largely upon his own labors and experiments, assisted by his profound and universal knowledge of all that had been done and ascertained by other investigators in the same field of inquiry.

In considering the importance of experiments upon animals it should be known that it is considered as demonstrated, that alcohol has the same effect upon the inferior warm-blooded animals as upon man, except, of course, that higher nature which belongs only to him. In his Cantor Lectures, p. 118, Dr. Richardson says:

"There is nothing in what we see relating to the action of alcohol in man that would lead us to suppose it capable of giving an increased muscular power, and it is certain that animals subjected even for short periods of time to its influence lose their power for work in a marked degree. Indeed, if we were to treat our domestic animals with this agent in the same manner that we treat ourselves, we should soon have none that were tamable, none that were workable, and none that were edible. I thought it, nevertheless, worth the inquiry whether at any stage of the alcoholic excitement living muscle could be induced to show an extra amount of power. I therefore submitted muscle to this test: I gently weighted the hinder limb of a frog until the power of contraction was just overcome, then by a measured electrical current I stimulated the muscle to extra contraction, and determined the increase of weight that could thus be lifted. This decided upon in the healthy animal, the trial was repeated some days later on the same animal after it had received alcohol in sufficient quantities to induce the various stages

of alcoholic modification of function. The result was that through every stage the response to the electrical current was enfeebled, and, as soon as narcotism was developed by the spirit, it was so enfeebled that less than half the weight that could be lifted in the previous trial, by the natural effort of the animal, could not now be raised even under the electrical excitement.

"In man and animals, during the period between the first and third stages of alcoholic disturbance, there is often muscular excitement, which passes for increased muscular power. The muscles are then truly more rapidly stimulated into motion by the nervous tumult, but the muscular power is actually enfeebled.

"I am bound to intimate that the popular plan of administering alcohol for the purpose of sustaining the animal warmth is an entire and dangerous error, and that when it is brought into practice during extremely cold weather it is calculated to lead even to fatal consequences, from the readiness with which it permits the blood to become congested in the vital organs. Whenever we see a person disposed to meet the effects of cold by strong drink it is our duty to endeavor to check that effort, and whenever we see an unfortunate person under the influence of alcohol it is our duty to suggest warmth as the best means for his recovery.

"Once more: I would earnestly impress that the systematic administration of alcohol for the purpose of giving and sustaining strength is an entire delusion. I am not going to say that occasions do not arise when an enfeebled or fainting heart is temporarily relieved by the relaxation of the vessels which alcohol, on its diffusion through the blood, induces; but that this spirit gives any persistent increase of power, by which men are enabled to perform more sustained work, is a mistake as serious as it is universal.

"Again, the belief that alcohol may be used with advantage to fatten the body is, when it is acted upon, fraught with danger. For if we could successfully fatten the body we should but destroy it the more swiftly and surely; and as the fattening which follows the use of alcohol is not confined to the external development of fat, but extends to a degeneration through the minute structures of the vital organs, including the heart itself, the danger is painfully apparent.

"In conclusion, whatever good can come from alcohol, or whatever evil, is all included in that primary physiological and luxurious action of the agent upon the nervous supply of the circulation to which I have endeavored so earnestly to direct your attention. If it be really a luxury for the heart to be lifted up by alcohol, for the blood to course more swiftly through the brain, for the thoughts to flow more vehemently, for words to come more fluently, for emotions

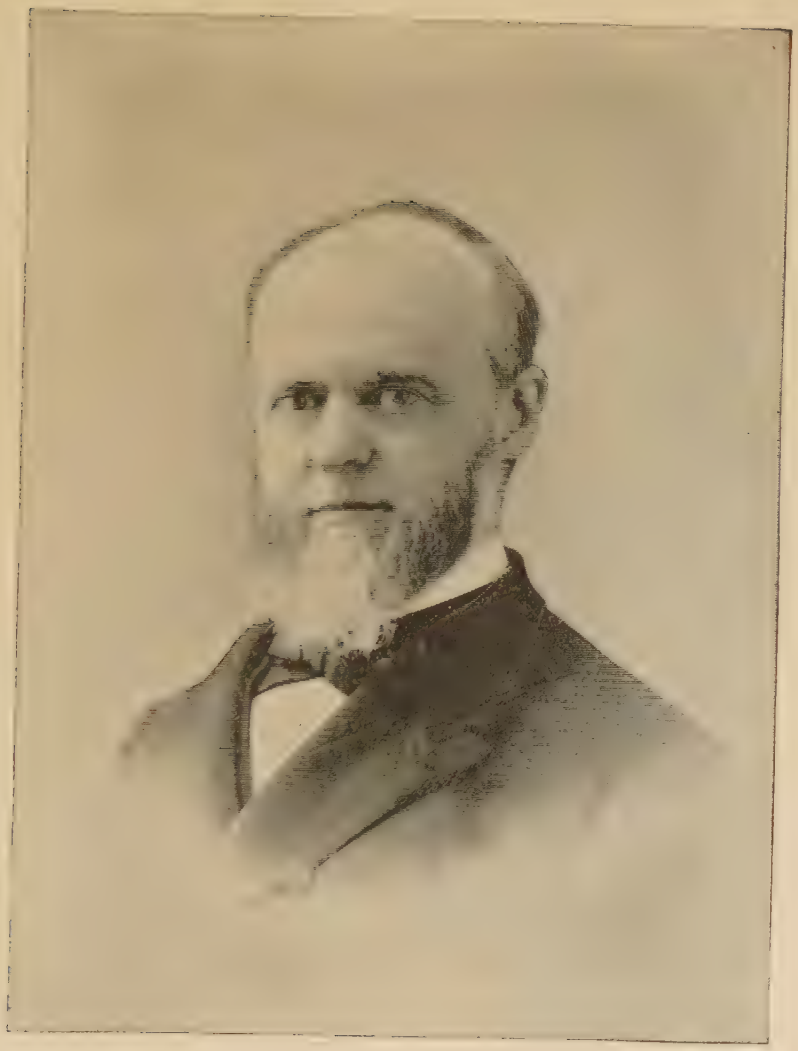
to rise ecstatically and for life to rush on beyond the pace set by nature, then those who enjoy the luxury must enjoy it—with the consequences."

Having given great but deserved prominence to the investigations of Dr. Richardson and to his conclusions, which are adverse to alcohol as the source of any good to the human system in health, I will cite his testimony in regard to the injury and destruction it uniformly produces, with comparative brevity. It should be borne in mind that when scientists speak of the action of alcohol, they refer to pure or absolute alcohol, and that in whatever drink or potion alcohol is administered, whether rum or whisky, or ales, or cider or wines, alcohol is the one common element which makes them all akin; that it exists in them all free, not in chemical combination; it is pure alcohol still; and that when enough of the mass has been taken to include the given amount of alcohol, the same alcoholic effect uniformly follows. But for this circumstance, the water and adulterations with which it is administered, would have few charms for the consumer.

Dr. Richardson in his fifth lecture first speaks of the addition of foreign substances to alcohol and the water, with which it is, of course, always found as a commodity in the market.

He says: "Something less of evil than now obtains would be secured if none but natural wines and ales were taken by the people. A *bona fide* wine derived from the fermentation of the grape purely cannot contain more than 17 per cent. of alcohol, yet our staple wines, by an artificial process of fortifying and brandying, which means the adding of spirit, are brought up in sherries to twenty, and in ports to even twenty-five, per cent. Some wines and spirits are believed to be charged with amylic alcohol. Other wines are charged with foreign volatile substances to impart what is called bouquet; and still other so-called wines—I allude specially to the effervescing liquids sold under that name—are actually often undergoing the fermenting process at the time they are imbibed, and thus are invited to complete their fermentation in that sensitive bottle, the human stomach."

Of absinthe, a common agent of adulteration increasing in use, he says: "The intentional additions of poisonous agents



Dr. Daniel Dorchester,

Author of "The Liquor Problem."

to the alcohol of ales, wines and spirits, pale when absinthe appears in sight, but they are not to be ignored."

But on the whole he appears, like many other observers, to be of the opinion that it is difficult to adulterate or mix alcoholic drinks, whether fermented or distilled, with anything which will make them worse than the alcoholic poison itself. Resuming now the main subject, he says: "A minority of persons who habitually take alcohol escape with impunity from injury."

Some escape because they use it in such small quantities and with such regularity—others take more freely and escape because they are physiologically peculiar and rapidly eliminate the fluid from their bodies, I suppose, like the drinker who defended alcohol by saying that he had used it until he was an old man, and until he had killed off three generations of boon companions who in succession had drank with him, and been buried by him. Dr. Richardson continues:

"The large majority of those who drink alcohol in any of its disguises are injured by it. As a cause of disease it gives origin to great populations of afflicted persons, many of whom suffer even to death without suspecting from what they suffer, and unsuspected. Some of these live just short of the first stage of old age; others to middle age; others only 'to ripe adolescence.'

"Continued daily it induces a new physiological and altogether unnatural condition, in which the sense of acquired necessity enforces desire, until at last the spirit is made to become a positive requirement of the organic and mental life. Every extra effort must be preceded by resort to the stimulant. Every prolonged weariness must be relieved by the same measure, but when the effect of the stimulant has speedily subsided there is left a greater exhaustion than before. Another resource to the artificial aid completes the exhaustion, and makes it pass into dullness and drowsiness, without natural and sound sleep, and with an unbearable sense of after prostration.

"Unfortunately, it is the rarest of events that a person artificially stimulated by alcohol to the period named, gives up the practice." But when the body is fully developed; when the extra vital capacity which attended youth is expended in

growth and development; when all the organs have assumed their full size and activity; when the balance of secretion is so nicely set in all parts that not one secretion can be disturbed without a disturbance of the whole; when the spring of the elastic tissues is reduced; when the lungs cannot fail ever so little in their function of throwing off the gaseous products of combustion without a vicarious extension of gases into the alimentary canal; when the completed organic moving parts become encumbered with fatty matter interposed between them, or laid out around them, then the effect of alcoholic spirits begins to be realized. The fluid is now retained longer in the living house; is decomposed less quickly; is thrown out by primary or secondary elimination less speedily. Under this persistent pressure upon the vessels of the minute circulation, their diameters change in the course of time, and the whole of the marvelous web-work of blood-vessels, upon which the organs of the body are constructed, is deranged in its mechanical distribution over the whole surface, and the function of the heart becomes perverted; (p. 143). Whipped by the unnatural master it develops undue size and power, demands its stimulus more and more, and communicates its own excited condition to the whole circulation, and to all the organs which are fed by it, so that the whole system appreciates "with abnormal sensitiveness the whip of the stimulus and the languor when the whip is withheld." "The heart not only becomes enlarged, but its various valvular and other mechanical parts subjected to prolonged strain are thrown out of proportion. The orifices in it, through which the great floods of blood issue in their courses, are dilated. The exquisite valves become stretched and prevented from assuming their refined adaptations. The minute filamentous cords which hold the valves in due position and tension are elongated, and the walls of the ventricles or forcing chambers are thickened, or, as we say, technically, are hypertrophied. Throughout the whole of its structures the central throbbing organ is modified both in its mechanism and in its action."

"But such central modification cannot possibly go on long without the institution of other changes at the opposite extremity or circumference of the circuit of the blood. At one moment the vital organs feel the pressure of the too powerful

stroke of blood; at another moment they are suddenly aware of an enfeebled stroke. The brain is, for the instant, conscious of a flicker of power; it is like the faintest flicker of gas, which is observed when, by an accident, the pressure is disturbed at the main, but it is there, and the person who experiences it is cognizant of its central origin. So matters progress often for months, or for years, without further evidence of subjective or objective sign of increasing evil. The worst evidence that exists is, probably, the necessity for a more frequent repetition of the stimulus under additional stress of work or excitement. While these changes in the simple mechanism of the circulation are in a course of advancement there are also in development certain other changes which are much more delicate and minute, yet not less important. These consist of direct deteriorations of structure of the organic tissues themselves."

Discussing now the effect of alcohol upon the structures of the body Dr. Richardson proceeds: "The parts which first suffer most from alcohol are those expansions in the animal body which the anatomists call the membranes. The membranes are colloidal structures, and every organ is enveloped in them. The skin is a membranous envelope. Through the whole of the alimentary surface, from the lips downwards, and through the bronchial passages to their minute ramifications, extends the mucous membrane. The lungs, the heart, the liver, the kidneys are folded in delicate membranes which can be stripped easily from these parts. If you take a portion of bone, you will find it easy to strip off from it a membranous sheath or covering; if you open and examine a joint you will find both the head and the socket lined with membrane. The whole of the intestines are enveloped in a fine membrane called peritoneum. All the muscles are enveloped in membranes, and the fasciculi or bundles and fibers of muscles have their membranous sheathing. The brain and spinal cord are enveloped in three membranes, one nearest to themselves, a pure vascular structure, a net-work of blood-vessels; another, a thin, serous structure; a third, a strong, fibrous structure. The eyeball is a structure of colloidal humors and membranes, and of nothing else. To complete the description, the minute structures of the vital organs are enrolled in membranous matter.

"The membranes are the filters of the body. In their absence there could be no building of structure, no solidification of tissue, no organic mechanism. Passive themselves, they nevertheless separate all structures into their respective positions and adaptations."

"See then what an all-important part these membranous structures play in the animal life. Upon their integrity all the silent work of the building up of the body depends. If these membranes are rendered too porous, and let out the colloidal fluids of the blood—the albumen for example—the body so circumstanced dies—dies as if it were slowly bled to death. If, on the contrary, they become condensed or thickened, or loaded with foreign material, then they fail to allow the natural fluids to pass through them. They fail to dialyse, and the result is either an accumulation of the fluid in a closed cavity, or contraction of the substance inclosed within the membranes, or dryness of membrane in surfaces that ought to be freely lubricated and kept apart. In old age we see the effects of modification of membrane naturally induced; we see the fixed joint, the shrunken and feeble muscle, the dimmed eye, the deaf ear, the enfeebled nervous function.

"Upon all these membranous structures alcohol exerts a direct perversion of action. It produces in them a thickening, a shrinking and an inactivity that reduces the functional power. That they may work rapidly and equally they require to be at all times charged with water to saturation. If into contact with them any agent is brought that deprives them of water, then is their work interfered with; they cease to separate the saline constituents properly, and, if the evil that is thus started be allowed to continue, they contract upon their contained matter in whatever organ it may be situated, and condense it."

"The ultimate changes that follow the use of alcohol by those who indulge in it, in what is too often considered a temperate degree, are actual local changes within one or the other of the vital organs. . . . . An extreme emotional derangement is often produced. The afflicted man—and I fear I must say woman also, for women are sometimes afflicted—the afflicted man under this primary prolonged influence of alcohol becomes nervous and excitable, ready at any moment to cry or laugh, without valid reasons for either act. The emotional centers

are alternately raised and depressed in function by the poison, but after a time the depression overcomes the exhilaration, and the impulse is to a maudlin sentimentality extending even to tears. The slightest anxieties are then exaggerated, and there is experienced at the same time an indecision and deficiency of self-confidence which is doubly perplexing. When an act is done, when a letter, for instance, or other piece of business has been finished and despatched, an uneasy feeling of distrust is felt that perhaps some mistake has been made, which distrust passes rapidly into a sentiment that the thing cannot be helped; it is bad luck, but it must take its chance. In various other directions this distrust shows itself, and the worst of all is that the very doubt prompts the desire for another application for relief to the evil that is the cause of this burthen. A small dram more of the stimulant, not an overpowering draught that will cause quick and sure insensibility, but just a mouthful; that is the assumed remedy, and that is the certain promoter of the sorrow.

"We know now, as surely as if we could see within the body, what is the condition of the organs of the person afflicted in the manner thus defined. We are conscious that the vessels of the brain, of the lungs, of the liver, of the kidneys, of the stomach are paralyzed, and are injected to full distention with blood. Some of these parts have actually been seen under this state, and the fact of the rejected condition directly demonstrated."

"Of all the systems of the organs that suffer under this sustained excitement and paralysis, two are injured most determinately—viz., the digestive and the nervous. The stomach, unable to produce in proper quantity the natural digestive fluid, and also unable to absorb the food which it may imperfectly digest, is in constant anxiety and irritation. It is oppressed with the sense of nausea; it is oppressed with the sense of emptiness and prostration; it is oppressed with a sense of distention; it is oppressed with a loathing for food, and it is teased with a craving for more drink. Thus there is engendered a permanent disorder which, for politeness' sake is called dyspepsia, and for which different remedies are often sought, but never found. Antibilious pills—whatever they may mean—Seidlitz powders, effervescing waters and all that phar-

macopœia of aids to further indigestion, in which the afflicted who nurse their own diseases, so liberally and innocently indulge, are tried in vain. I do not strain a syllable when I state that the worst forms of confirmed indigestion originate in the practice that is here explained. By this practice all the functions are vitiated, the skin at one moment is flushed and perspiring, at the next is pale, cold and clammy, and every other secreting structure is equally disarranged.

"The nervous structures follow, or it may be precede, the stomach in the order of derangement.

"The perverted condition of the membranous covering of the nerves gives rise to pressure within the sheath of the nerve, and to pain as a consequence. To the pain thus excited the term neuraliga is commonly applied; or tic; or, if the large nerve running down the thigh to the seat of the pain, 'sciatica.' Sometimes this pain is developed as a toothache. It is a pain commencing in nearly every instance at some point where a nerve is inclosed in a bony cavity, or where a pressure is easily excited, as at the lower jaw-bone near the center of the chin, or at the opening in front of the lower part of the ear, or at the opening over the eyeball in the frontal bone."

Then follows alcoholic insomnia, or sleeplessness—inability for natural sleep. "Connected with this sleep there is engendered in some persons a form of true epilepsy which all the skill of physic is hopeless to cure until the cause is revealed and removed." The doctor says: "The continuance of the effects of alcohol into a more advanced stage leads to direct disorganization of vital structures. When once this stage has been reached not one organ of the body escapes the ravage. . . . . In the blood the influence is exerted upon the plastic fibrine and upon the corpuscles; in the brain, on the membranes at first, and afterwards on the nervous matter they enclose; in the lungs, on the elastic, spongy, connective tissue, which is, strictly speaking, also membranous; in the heart, on its muscular elements and membranes; in the liver, primarily on its membranes; in the kidneys, on their connective tissues and membranes."

"The organ of the body that perhaps the most frequently undergoes structural changes from alcohol is the liver. The capacity of this organ for holding active substance in its cel-

lular parts is one of its marked physiological distinctions. In instances of poisoning by arsenic, antimony, strychnine, and other poisonous compounds, we turn to the liver, in conducting our analyses, as if it were the central depot of the foreign matter. It is practically the same in respect of alcohol. The liver of the confirmed alcoholic is probably never free from the influence of the poison; it is too often saturated with it. The organ at first becomes large from the distention of its vessels, the surcharge of fluid matter and the thickening of tissue. After a time there follow contraction of membrane and slow shrinking of the whole mass of the organ in its cellular parts. Then the shrunken, hardened, roughened mass is said to be 'hobnailed,' a common but expressive term. By the time this change occurs the body of him in whom it is developed is usually dropsical in its lower parts, owing to the obstruction offered to the returning blood by the veins, and his fate is sealed."

"I touch with the lightest hand upon these deteriorations, and I omit many others. My object is gained if I but impress you with the serious nature of the changes that, in this one organ alone, follow an excessive use of alcohol."

"The kidney, in like manner with the liver, suffers deterioration of structure from the continued influence of alcoholic spirit. Its minute structure undergoes fatty modifications; its vessels lose their due elasticity and power of contraction; or its membranes permit to pass through them that colloidal part of the blood which is known as albumen. This last condition reached, the body loses power as if it were being gradually drained even of its blood. For this colloidal albumen is the primitively dissolved fluid out of which all the other tissues are by dialytical process to be elaborated. In its natural destination it has to pass into and constitute every colloidal part."

"The lungs do not escape the evil influence that follows the persistent use of alcohol. They indeed probably suffer more than we at present know from the acute evils imposed by this agent. The vessels of the lungs are easily relaxed by alcohol; and as they of all parts are most exposed to vicissitudes of heat and cold they are readily congested when, paralyzed by the spirit, they are subjected to the effects of a sudden fall of atmospheric temperature. Thus the suddenly fatal conges-

tions of lungs which so easily befall the confirmed alcoholic during severe winter seasons."

Drunkards have also a form of consumption all their own, which attacks those who have the strongest constitutions and who have withstood almost every other disease and shock. "The origin of this series of changes from alcohol is again from the membranes. The course of it is through the membranous tissues. The vessels give way after a severe congestive condition, and blood is exuded or extravasated into the lung. These conditions lead to the destruction of the substance of the pulmonary organs, upon which, and upon the organic changes that follow such destruction, the acute symptoms of the malady under consideration become quickly and fatally pronounced."

"The membranous structures which envelope and line the heart are changed in quality, are thickened, rendered cartilaginous and even calcareous or bony. Then the valves, which are made up of folds of membrane, lose their suppleness, and what is called valvular disease is permanently established. The coats of the great blood-vessel leading from the heart, the aorta, share, not unfrequently, in the same changes of structure, so that the vessel loses its elasticity and its power to feed the heart by the recoil from its distention after the heart by its stroke has filled it with blood."

"Again the muscular structure of the heart fails, owing to degenerative changes in its tissue. The elements of the muscular fibre are replaced by fatty cells; or if not so replaced are themselves transferred into a modified muscular texture in which the power of contraction is greatly reduced . . . . The jaded, overworked, faithful heart will bear no more; it has run its course, and the governor of the blood stream broken, the current either overflows into the tissues, gradually damming up the courses, or under some slight shock or excess of motion ceases at the center."

The eye also is oftentimes greatly injured and soon destroyed; "and lastly the brain and spinal cord and all the nervous matter become, under the influence of alcohol, subject, like other parts, to organic deterioration. The membranes enveloping the nervous substance undergo thickening; the blood-vessels are subjected to change of structure, by which

their resistance and resiliency is impaired; and the true nervous matter is sometimes modified by softening or shrinking of its texture, by degeneration of its cellular structure, or by interposition of fatty particles."

"These deteriorations of cerebral and spinal matter give rise to a series of derangements, which show themselves in the worst forms of nervous disease—epilepsy; paralysis, local or general; insanity." . . . .

"One of the first effects of alcohol upon the nervous system in the way of alienation from the natural mental state is shown in loss of memory. This extends even to forgetfulness of the commonest of things: to names of familiar persons; to dates; to duties of daily life. Strangely, too, this failure, like that which indicates in the aged the era of second childishness and mere oblivion, does not extend to things of the past, but is confined to events that are passing. On old memories the mind retains its power: on new ones it requires prompting and sustainment. . . . . The failure of speech indicates the descent still deeper to that condition of general paralysis in which all the higher faculties of mind and will are powerless, and in which nothing remains to show the continuance of life except the parts that remain under the dominion of the chain of organic or vegetable nervous matter. Our asylums for the insane are charged with these helpless specimens of humanity."

"A second effect of alcohol on the mental organization is the production of that craving for its incessant supply to which we give the name of dipsomania. It is those who are affected with this form of alcoholic disease a mixed madness and insanity is established, in which the cunning of the mind alone lives actively with the vices that ally themselves to it. The arrest of nervous function is partial and does not extend to the motor centers so determinately as to those of the higher reasoning faculties. But the end, though it may be slow, is certain, and the end is, as a rule, that general paralysis which I have just described. The dipsomaniac is, however, capable of recovery within certain limits on one and only one condition, that the cause of his disease be totally withheld."

"The effect of alcohol on the mental functions is shown in yet another picture of humanity writhing under its use. I mean in the form of what may be called intermittent indulgence to dan-

gerous excess. This form of disease has been named the *mania a potu*, and is one of the most desperate of the alcoholic evils. The victims of this class are not habitual drunkards or topers, but at sudden intervals they madden themselves with the spirit; they repent; reform; get a new lease of life; relapse. In intervals of repentance they are worn with remorse and regret; in the intervals of madness they are the terrible members of the community. In their furious excitement they spread around their circle the darkness of desolation, fear and despair. Their very footsteps carry dread to those who, most helpless and innocent, are under their fearful control. They strike their dearest friends; they strike themselves. Retaining sufficient nervous power to wield their limbs, yet not sufficient to guide their reason, they become the dangerous alcoholic criminals whom our legislators, fearing to touch the cause of their malady, would fain try to cure by scourge and chain.

"To us physiologists these "*maniacs a potu*" are men under the experiment of alcohol, with certain of their brain centers (which I could fairly define if the present occasion were befitting) paralyzed, and with a broken balance, therefore, of brain power, which we with infinite labor and much exactitude have learned to understand. Our remedy for such aberration of nervous function, if we were legislators, would be simple enough. We should not whip the maniac back again to the drink; we should try to break up the evil by taking the drink from the maniac. But then we are only physiologists. We have nothing to do with that £117,000,000 of invested capital, and we are not practical in reference to it."

"The most solemn fact of all bearing upon these mental aberrations produced by alcohol, and upon the physical not less than the mental, is that the mischief on man by his own act and deed cannot fail to be transferred to those who descend from him and who are thus irresponsibly afflicted. Amongst the many inscrutable designs of nature none is more manifest than this, that physical vice, like physical feature and physical virtue, descends in line. It is, I say, a solemn reflection, for every man and every woman, that whatever we do to ourselves so as to modify our own physical conformation and mental type, for good or for evil, is transmitted to genera-

THE CANCEROUS
STOMACH.

tions that have yet to be. Not one of the transmitted wrongs, physical or mental, is more certainly passed on to those yet unborn than the wrongs which are inflicted by alcohol. We, therefore, who live to reform the present age in this respect are stretching our powers to the next to purify it; to beautify, and to lead it toward that millennial happiness and blessedness, which in the fullness of time shall visit even the earth, making it under an increasing light of knowledge a garden of human delight, a Paradise regained."

"In summary of what has past, I may be briefness itself," says Dr. Richardson. "The chemical substance alcohol—an artificial product devised by man for his purpose, and in many things that lie outside his organism a useful substance—is neither a food nor a drink suitable for his natural demands. Its application as an agent that shall enter the living organization is properly limited by the learning and skill possessed by the physician—a learning that itself admits of being recast and revised in many important details and perhaps in principles.

"If this agent do really for the moment cheer the weary and impart a flush of transient pleasure to the unwearied who crave for mirth, its influence (doubtful even in these modest and moderate degrees) is an infinitesimal advantage, by the side of an infinity of evil for which there is no compensation and no human cure."

CHAPTER V.

SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATIONS.

When Liebig's Theory was Supreme—Alcohol in the Brain of a Dead Debauchee—The Alcoholic Alphabet—How the Liquor gets out of the Body—Is it Poison, Food, or Medicine?—How the Dictionaries define the Terms—Dr. Hammond's Experiments with a Dog.—His List of Diseases created by the use of Alcohol—His Letter to the Author—Literal Meaning of the Word "Intoxication"—The use of Poisons for Medical Purposes—The use of Beer—Its Stupefying Effects on its Devotees—The Cruel Results which have followed the wide use of Beer—How Old Appetites have been awakened and New Ones created.

PRIOR to the investigations of Lallemand, Perrin and Duroy, already briefly considered, which were very minute and extensive, and continued for several years, and the first account of which was published in 1860, the theory of Liebig, that alcohol was decomposed and furnished heat to the system, and that no part of it left the body unchanged, but combining with oxygen passed out as carbonic acid and water, was generally embraced. He did not, by his theory, however, oppose total abstinence, because he admitted that fat was much better as a heat producer, and of far more value. His *ipse dixit* made, it is said upon very slight investigation, seems to have been accepted on account of his great fame, and has since been completely overthrown. Just what is the method of action of alcohol in the body is still in doubt, but some great errors have been corrected, and, facts which control the question as one of practical consequence to society, have been firmly established since Liebig's day. It is not known that any alimentary substance passes the system without change unless the organs fail of their function, as in case of *diabetes* and *albuminaria*.

In 1831, Dr. James Kirk, of Scotland, found alcohol in the brain of a dead debauchee, and burned it in a spoon. Dr Ogston examined the body of a woman who, being drunk, fell into the Aberdeen canal and was drowned, and with two of

his brethren as witnesses took four ounces of pure alcohol from the ventricles. These statements being considered remarkable, and, if true, being considered fatal to the Liebig theory, Dr. Percy instituted a series of experiments on both men and animals, and proved clearly that the fluid was of alcoholic character, by its inflammability and its power to dissolve camphor. He proved that alcohol caused death by its specific effect upon the nerve centers and not by coagulating the blood, as taught by Orfila. These experiments of Dr. Percy were made in 1839, but do not appear to have been very well known, or if known they failed to prevent the general acceptance of the Liebig theory.

Various other experimenters confirmed the Liebig view in a general way, and Buckheim, a high authority, disproved their conclusions in turn, and thus the question stood in 1860.

These experiments of Lallemand and his associates are a landmark. Dr. Lees has made the following translation of their results which he styles the Alcoholic Alphabet:

ALCOHOLIC ALPHABET.

A. Alcohol ingested into the stomach, applied to the skin, or introduced as a vapor into the lungs, is absorbed into the veins, and carried by the blood into all the tissues.

B. The injection of alcohol produces upon animals an intoxication that is marked by a progressive series of functional disturbances and alterations, the intensity of which corresponds with the quantity of alcohol absorbed.

C. It manifests itself at first by a general excitement, but very soon the respiration and circulation are relaxed, and the temperature lowered.

D. Muscular power is weakened and extinguished; always beginning at the extremities.

E. The insensibility gradually extends to the centers (as in dead drunkenness).

F. The heart is the last to die (*ultimum moriens*).

G. The time that elapses between the beginning of intoxication and death varies from forty-five minutes to three hours.

H. When the dose is not sufficient to induce death the excitability of the nervous system returns after a time, varying with circumstances.

I. The arterial blood remains bright, and preserves all its apparent qualities, nearly up to the moment of death.

J. *Alcoholized blood contains, during life and after death, a great number of free, fatty globules, visible to the naked eye.*

K. The pathological alterations are: *vivid inflammation* of the *mucous membrane* of the *stomach;* the accumulation of the blood in the right chamber of the heart and the large veins; congestion of the meninges, and especially of the lungs.

L. All solids or liquids in union with alcohol are easily separated by distillation, proportionately by the method of volumes.

M. Alcohol taken by the stomach enters into the liver, and the substance of the brain; if in the blood it is represented as 1.0; in the brain it is 1.34, in the liver, 1.48.

N. Diluted alcohol produces the same effect when introduced by injection into the veins as when introduced into the stomach, but operates more rapidly. The animal succumbs in less than twenty minutes.

O. Alcohol injected into the veins spreads to all the tissues, but accumulates most largely in the brain; being in the liver 1.75, in the cerebral matter, 3.

P. Death by alcoholic poisoning is due primarily to its special action upon the nervous centers.

Q. After the injection of a small dose of brandy (25 grammes = 360 grains), the blood continues to manifest the presence of alcohol by chemical reaction for many hours.

R. *We never found in either the blood or tissues any of the derivatives of alcohol.*

S. Only in the stomach was found a trace of acetic acid, generated from alcohol by the ferment of the gastric juice.

T. Alcohol is rejected from the vital economy by divers systems of elimination—by the lungs, the skin and the kidneys.

U. These organs are found to eliminate alcohol after the ingestion of very small doses.

V. The elimination lasts many hours; even after an ingestion very moderate, the kidneys continue longest to reject it.

X. Aldehyde, introduced into the stomach, is readily found in the blood.

Y. The aldehyde is, in great part, eliminated, partly transformed into acetic acid.

Z. Alcohol has the same action and produces the same effects upon men and upon the lower animals.

If these propositions are true then alcohol is no food; but Anstie and Richardson and many others engaged in a long and active discussion—the point of dispute being what became of the part of the alcohol which was not *proved* to be eliminated.

Dr. Dupré then experimented and claimed to have shown "that the amount of alcohol eliminated per day does not increase with the continuance of the use of alcohol; therefore it must be somehow destroyed in the system."

Dr. Sabbotin thereupon disproved Dr. Dupré's conclusion and demonstrated that great quantities are excreted through the lungs, skin and kidneys unchanged.

Dr. Anstie followed with his experiments, by which he thought he had established the fact that alcohol was burned up in the body, and that only a very small proportion escaped combustion.

Dr. Pavy came to the same conclusion, found that 600 grains of absolute alcohol could be consumed by an adult in a day, that beyond a certain dosage it becomes a narcotic poison of dangerous character in every respect.

Upon these contradictory views entertained by eminent and honest men, and in giving his own opinions, than which none are of greater authority, Dr. William Hargreaves in his most valuable book, "Alcohol and Science," published in 1886, observes:

The foregoing are some of the chief experiments and views regarding the elimination of alcohol from the body. Is the evidence for or against the total elimination of alcohol strong enough for us to decide that all is eliminated? or shall we conclude that only a small portion is cast out unaltered, as alcohol? Though it must be owned that there is still room for further investigation, yet it is very probable that the greater portion passes out of the body unchanged. The important points in the question are:—Does alcohol arrest oxidation, or does it undergo oxidation? Are the alcohols burned in the body, and do they yield the same products of combustion—carbonic acid and water—as when burned in a lamp, or are they burned at all? The evidence, as we have seen, is conflicting. On one side there is that of Percy, Lallemand, Perrin and Duroy, which goes to prove that alcohol is laid up in the tissues until it is eliminated by the excretory organs. Then there are the experiments of Thudicum, Dupré and Anstie, showing that although when the body was supersaturated with it free alcohol passed off by the urinary organs, yet this bears but a small proportion to what ought to be found if the whole was eliminated in the form of alcohol.

Each and all agree that it passes off by the urine in certain stages of intoxication as alcohol, but as the whole is not accounted for by

their experiments they therefore beg the question by assuming that the remainder is consumed by the system.

It must be admitted that great difficulties are in the way of the performance of all the necessary experiments, yet it is clearly not sufficient to collect the alcohol only for a short time and then infer that it always passes off at the same rate; nor to collect it merely at one or two outlets when the presumption is that it must pass out at all of them. Before concluding that because only a small part of what is injected is collected as alcohol the remainder is consumed in the system, we must know how much the body will hold and how much can be held in combination with the water of the tissues, as the blood alone contains about 790 parts of water in 1000; and also how long a time must pass before a given quantity of alcohol is actually removed from the tissues with the excretions.

From the well-known greed of alcohol for water there can be but little or no doubt that a large quantity taken will become absorbed with the water in the tissues, and hence remain within the system long after the period when it ceases to be detected in the excretions of the lungs, skin, kidneys, etc.

It is scarcely presumable that all the alcohol taken into the body could be detected in the excretions, yet failing to detect it is made the test of the value of alcohol as a food. As Dr. Parkes well said in reply to Dr. Anstie: "Even if complete destruction within certain limits were quite clear, this fact alone would not guide us to the dietetic use of alcohol. We have first to trace the effect of the destruction and learn whether it is for good or evil."

To claim because alcohol is not detected that it must be oxidized in the body, is claiming more for the action of alcohol in the system than for the action of other drugs. It is not reasonable or fair to assume because it is not collected from the tissues and excretions that it must be food. Its mode of destruction, if it be destroyed, is not known, and there is no chemical law that will warrant the claim that it must be food if it is not found in the excretions. We are unable to conceive of the very high theoretical force value of the 600 or 800 grains of absolute alcohol that Dr. Anstie says "millions of sober persons are taking daily.". . . . . He asks: "Why does not this large development of wholly useless force within the body produce some violent symptom of disturbance?"

While we do not believe in the "force value of the 600 or 800 grains of alcohol daily taken," we have no difficulty in perceiving "some violent symptoms of disturbance."

These disturbances are seen everywhere among the users of alcohol, and the doctor need not search far to find them, as will be shown hereafter when we notice the diseases produced by alcoholics.

Alcohol can give no force, as it cannot give nutrition in any form or quantity. True, there appears to be an increase of temperature in the first stage of alcoholic excitement; but it is brief, and we may justly apprehend it to be the effect of local irritation and paralysis of the nerves, and not an augmentation of force; for no sooner does alcohol find its way into the organism and diffuse itself through the fluids, than depression takes place, respiration is impeded, carbonic acid is decreased, muscular power diminished, and the sensibility and consciousness blunted.

If active combustion or oxidation of alcohol took place within the body we should reasonably expect that the temperature would be permanently increased; but all will agree that the temperature generally declines after the ingestion of alcohol. It is impossible when the animal system is burning faster than is normal that it should be colder than it is naturally.

A slight oxidation may occur when the blood, diluted with alcohol, is carried by the circulating current to the lungs and exposed to the air, for this will occur if diluted alcohol is left exposed to the air out of the body. It is also possible that acid oxidation may take place, as is demonstrated, by free acid sweating, and the acid secretions from the intestines after alcoholic intoxication, especially by wine and malt liquors. This acid oxidation may perhaps mainly proceed from the fermentation that sometimes occurs within the stomach, caused by the drinking of wines and malt liquors that have been imperfectly fermented.

Another fact opposed to the combustive theory of alcohol in the body is this, that none of its derivatives are found in the system unless they have been taken independent of or in addition to the alcohol. Lallemand, Perrin and Duroy failed to discover any aldehyde except that which had been administered, when it was readily detected. When we see ashes there is the evidence that something has been burned; as aldehyde, a derivative of alcohol, has not been detected in the animal system, as an evidence that alcohol has been decomposed, it is very clear that it does not undergo in the animal the combustive process claimed for it.

The weight of evidence shows that it enters the animal system alcohol and leaves it the same compound. It must also be borne in mind that alcohol will accumulate in the brain, spinal cord and nerves, as was shown by Dr. Hammond in his New York lecture; and it is also well known that it accumulates in the blood, liver and other organs and tissues; hence it is reasonable to expect that but a small portion would escape with the excretions. And further, as alcohol is found and extracted from the organs and tissues long after its ingestion, it must be very evident that it had not undergone the

process of oxidation; hence we must still doubt that it is decomposed in the animal body, or in any way serves to build up the tissues, or produce force."

Three great questions arise in considering the relation of alcohol to the human being and its effect upon life and health.

1. Is alcohol a poison? Is it a substance which is always hurtful or useless when the body and mind are in health?

2. Is alcohol a food, or a substance which when taken, as things admitted to be foods should be taken, nourishes the body and sustains vitality?

3. Is alcohol a medicine, or a substance which even if a poison, is yet under abnormal and unhealthy conditions of the human being, when administered in proper cases and in a proper manner, curative or nourishing in its effect and a support to vitality?

There are those who insist that alcohol is a poison; that it is always actively hurtful, or negatively so, because always useless or worse than useless to the human being in health.

There are those who insist that alcohol is a food, and never hurtful in health except under conditions when other foods would be so, and that only its abuse is bad as when bread or milk are bad, because the body is surfeited, or for some other reason does not require food.

There are those who insist that alcohol is always useless or injurious both in health and disease; being as a medicine, if ever it be a medicine, positively dangerous, and never necessary, because equally or more efficient and safer remedies are at hand.

There are those who hold that, whether poison or food in health, that in disease alcohol, in a great number and variety of cases, is an appropriate, often a necessary, in some, an indispensable remedy; sometimes a medicine food—that is, a nutritious medicine.

The questions in the public mind are then, more briefly, the following:

1. Is alcohol under all circumstances, both of health or disease, an injurious poison?

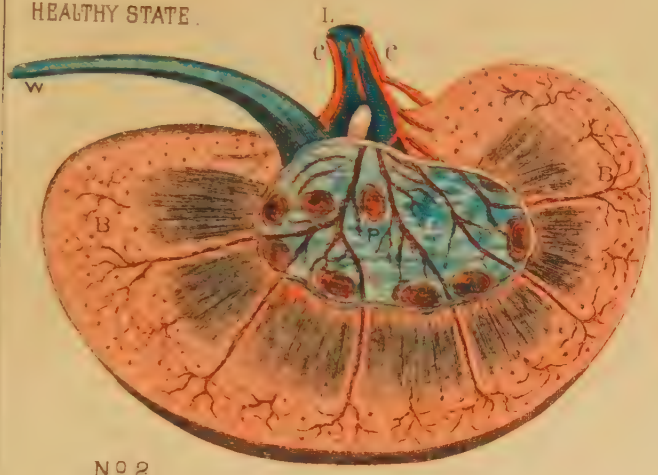
2 Is alcohol, in appropriate cases of health or disease, a food?

3. Is alcohol, either as food or poison, a medicine?

THE KIDNEYS.

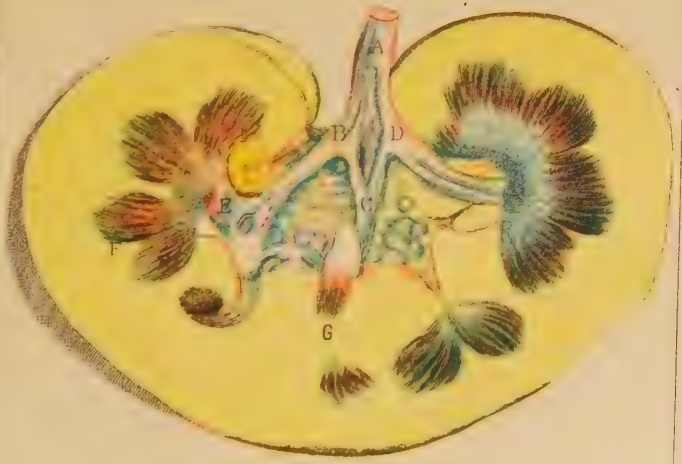
N° 1.

HEALTHY STATE.



N° 2.

DISEASED FROM INTEMPERANCE.



There is some need that these terms be clearly understood and defined before proceeding further. A poison is thus defined by Mr. Webster:

1. Any substance which, when introduced into the animal organism, is capable of producing a morbid, noxious or deadly effect upon it.

2. Anything infectious or malignant, as the poison of pestilential diseases.

3. Hence that which taints or destroys moral purity or health.

Dr. Worcester defines the word thus:

Any substance which, if introduced into the animal economy, disturbs, suspends or destroys some or all of the vital functions; venom; virus. 2. Anything infectious or malignant. It is a general term and may be deadly or otherwise, quick or slow in its operation. Venom is an active and malignant poison.

Dr. Dunglison says:

Poison, a generic name for all substances which, when introduced into the animal economy, either by cutaneous absorption, respiration or the digestive canal, act in a noxious manner on the vital properties or the texture of organs.

"Noxious" is hurtful, harmful, baneful, pernicious, injurious, destructive, unwholesome, insalubrious.

A food is, according to Mr. Webster:

1. What is fed upon; that which goes to support life by being received within and being assimilated by the organism of an animal or plant; nutriment, aliment; especially is eaten by animals for nourishment; flesh or vegetables partaken of for the support of life; victuals; provisions.

2. Anything that sustains, nourishes and augments.

Dr. Worcester defines food thus:

Animal or vegetable substances, eaten for nourishment; aliment; provisions; victuals; viands; diet; regimen. Food is a general term for whatever is eaten by man or beast. Diet and regimen denote particular modes of living—diet for sick persons; regimen for the preservation of health.

Dr. Dunglison says:

Food—Aliment: and again Aliment—Food. Any substance which, if introduced into the system is capable of nourishing it and repairing its losses.

A medicine is defined thus by Mr. Webster:

1. Any substance administered in the treatment of disease; remedial agents; remedy; physic.

2. That branch of science which relates to the prevention, cure or alleviation of the diseases of the human body.

Worcester defines "medicine" as

1. A drug or other substance used as a remedy for disease; physic.

2. That branch of physic which relates to the healing of disease.

Dunglison, in the Medical Dictionary, with happy brevity, defines "medicine"

A science, the object of which is the cure of disease and the preservation of health.

Occasionally it is used to comprehend all branches of the healing art—at others to compromise one great division in contradistinction to surgery and obstetrics. Medicine in this sense includes many branches: the chief of which are anatomy, physiology, pathology, therapeutics, hygiene, materia medica and pharmacy.

These definitions make it clear that "Poison" is never useful to health—it is the exact opposite in its influence, and can never be used to preserve or restore health except to combat disease in the way that two murderers, each attempting to destroy an innocent man, might, like mad dogs, be set upon each other, and thus preserve the life of their victim by taking their own. Food is never hurtful to health except by being taken when there is no necessity for it. Medicine is only useful in disease, and is itself poisonous to health, although as a preventive and restorative even a poison may be a medicine—at least in the generally accepted belief—which I do not assail. Upon all these questions the advocates of alcohol must establish the affirmative. True, it may be said that a favorable presumption arises from the fact of use, but this cannot be the case since it is already seen that great evils are the result of that use, with no corresponding, if any good whatever, unless it may be in medicine and surgery. In this inquiry we will not stand upon trifles as to the order of proof, but in a case like this there must be a clear and unanswerable demonstration of benefits to offset the clear and unanswer-

able, or at least unanswered, demonstration of enormous evil and injury before society can be justified in longer permitting so questionable and dangerous an enemy to be at large.

Whoever attempts to arrrange the facts, experiments, arguments, authoritative opinions and great mass of general evidence which exist, bearing upon the questions I have stated, will find it impossible, without protracted labor, to analyze and classify the material which is at hand, so as to preserve, at all times, the unmixed logical identity of each topic and what is specially relevant to it. It is in fact quite unnecessary. All these questions turn upon another which includes them and is the entire issue. Is alcohol on the whole a good to man which should be recognized, and, if need be, protected by law? Therefore, having endeavored to clearly indicate the points to be considered in this examination of the physiological part of our subject, so that, these being kept in mind, the reader can analyze and apply the evidence for himself, I will endeavor to state some—it is impossible to give all—for the world would not contain the books, then to be written—of the facts and testimony upon which the issue must be decided; but without careful topical arrangement which would involve much repetition and useless sacrifice of time and space.

I cannot hope in this work to fully satisfy the desire of the professional, or even the general reader. I shall deem myself happy, if enough be written to arouse the mind to still further investigation of a subject, which, in spite of all opposition, will be thoroughly investigated by the human race, as one of prime importance to its interests, both in this world and in that which is to come.

I proceed, then, with the evidence, which I propose to cite as I come to it, very much as a witness tells his story on the stand.

Physiology is the science of the functions of living bodies. A function is a power or faculty by the exercise of which vital phenomena are produced. The "tripod," or three great branches of animal physiology, are the sanguineous system, the function of which is to circulate the blood; the nervous system, the function of which is to convey sensation, volition or vital influence to and from the brain; the muscular system, the function of which is to move things, and is either voluntary,

dependent upon the independent action of the will; or involuntary, going on of itself for the preservation of life.

By this expression, "physiological action of alcohol," upon which scientific investigators place so great stress, is meant the action or effect of alcohol while in the body upon these functions, or the power to do and the doing of these great systems, and of all other organs of the body; and, as the mental and moral being are inseparable from it while the body lives, so is included in the expression the action of alcohol upon the whole nature of man.

I believe it to be conceded that the most important, decisive and authoritative experiments and observations upon the physiological action of alcohol have been made by Dr. B. W. Richardson, and I have already cited largely from his accounts of them.

I will in this connection add only this further from him with which he concludes his summary of the bad effect of alcohol upon the system:

> It will be asked, Was there *no* evidence of any good service rendered by the agent in the midst of so much obvious bad service? I answer to that question that there was no such evidence whatever, and there is none.

Dr. Parkes and Count Wallowicz made experiments for a long time upon a strong, healthy and intelligent soldier, a most vigorous and suitable subject for the solution of difficulties and for a demonstration of the action of alcohol. A very full account of their work is to be found in Proceedings of the Royal Society, XVIII., 1870. They sum up the result as follows:

> . . . . We were hardly prepared for the ease with which the appetite may be destroyed, the heart unduly excited and the capillary circulation improperly increased. Considering its daily and almost universal use, there is no agent which seems to us to require more caution and more skill to obtain the good and to avoid the evil which its use entails.

Experiments upon animals have this advantage, that there is no hesitation to administer the agent in quantities sufficient to determine any point, regardless of the effect upon the subject; while constant care has to be exercised with this dangerous article lest permanent injury or death be the consequence in the case of man. At the same time it has been demonstrated

that the deductions drawn in the former are as reliable as in the latter case.

The celebrated Dr. W. A. Hammond made careful and extensive experiments "for the purpose of arriving at conclusions as nearly exact as possible relative to the direct effect of alcohol upon the nervous system." A full account of them is to be found in "Neurological Contributions," Vol. 1, No. 2, Putnam & Sons, 1880.

Dr. Hammond gave a dog three ounces of alcohol diluted with the same amount of water. The dog retired at once to a corner and lay down; in forty-eight seconds alcohol appeared in his expired breath; in five minutes he walked with reluctance; in eight, with difficulty; in fourteen, could not move—paralysis; respiration was hurried, heart greatly accelerated; pupils of the eye at first contracted; in fifteen minutes dilated; in thirty minutes, profound sleep—coma; sensibility of the cornea destroyed, the limbs in a state of complete resolution, etc.; temperature fallen from 101° F., which it was before ingestion of the alcohol, to 98.50—remained in comatose condition and died in one hour and twenty-two minutes after taking the alcohol.

Dr. Hammond gives us the following rather non-attractive list "of diseases and disorders of the nervous system produced by the excessive use of alcohol," made up, he observes, "from my note-books, ... based on cases occurring in my private and hospital practice:"

OF THE BRAIN.

Cerebral congestion.

Cerebral hemorrhage, with its consequences — apoplexy and paralysis.

Meningeal hemorrhage.

Cerebral thrombosis.

Softening of the brain.

Aphasia.

Acute cerebral meningitis.

Chronic cerebral meningitis.

Abscess of the brain.

Multiple cerebral sclerosis, one of those diseases of which tremor is a characteristic symptom.

Every variety of insanity, including general paralysis.

OF THE SPINAL CORD.

Spinal congestion.
Antero-cateral spinal sclerosis.
Posterior spinal sclerosis (locomotor ataxia).
Epilepsy.
Chorea.

Multiple cerebro-spinal sclerosis, another one of these affections characterized by tremor. Athetosis: A remarkable disease, which I was the first to describe, and which is now well recognized both in this country and in Europe. The case on which my description was based was one in which the patient was in the habit of drinking sixty glasses of gin daily.

OF THE NERVES.

Anæsthesia.
Paralysis agitans.
Neuralgia in all situations.
Neuritis.
Neuro-sclerosis.

"Neuro-sclerosis, or hardening, is doubtless the result of the direct action of alcohol on the nervous tissue." He also adds: "Alcohol probably predisposes to various other 'diseases' in which no direct relation can be traced;" "descendants of persons addicted to the excessive use of alcohol are liable to various diseases of the nervous system and there is some evidence to show that offspring generated during a fit of intoxication of either parent are often born idiotic."

Dr. Hammond enumerates various conditions of exhaustion and abnormity in which the use of alcohol may be beneficially indulged in provided there be full power of restraint. It is in fact as it seems to me, after careful reading of all he says upon the subject, really a medicinal use for which he contends. I think, in consenting that the individual may safely, as a rule, exercise his own volition, in the moderate and reasonable use as a remedy for these abnormal conditions in which some men often find themselves, he overlooks the fact, that, generally, they are without professional knowledge of themselves, and therefore not qualified, like one who can discourse as he does upon the subject, in effect "to doctor themselves," with its unadvised administration.

I feel the more certain of the justice of these observations

from the fact that the remarks of Dr. Hammond, which have been used as the source of some aid and comfort to the advocates of free personal indulgence in strong drink, were made some years since, and, as I said, I do not think, even as they are, it is less than a perversion to cite the authority of his great name favorably to anything but a really medicinal use, although he does not think it always necessary to require the administration to be under the direction of a physician. In this many strong total abstainers will agree with him when they grant that alcohol may properly sometimes be used as a medicine. A sick man, or one in an abnormal state which has become chronic, may come to know precisely what his medical adviser would prescribe and so "confess himself and save his shilling." I think it would be as well for the patient, and better for the profession if all learned physicians held less to the doctrine of "free will;" but this really is not the realm of professional opinion, and is the main question under discussion, which it is for society at large to decide. I feel the more surely that I am right in this parenthetical attempt to save the influence of this great name to the cause of true temperance by rebuking the use which some have attempted to make of it, by reason of the following letter, written in kind response to one from myself asking for information:

43 West 54th Street,
NEW YORK, July 15th, 1887.

DEAR SIR: As the best answer to your letter of June 25th that I can make, I send you a Journal containing a monograph of mine on the effects of alcohol in the human system.

I think you will find in that all the information you desire. As you will perceive, there are circumstances in which in my opinion alcohol is useful to the human system. *But I am free to say that, weighing all the points for and against, mankind would be better mentally, morally and physically, if its use were altogether abolished.*

Yours sincerely,

HON. H. W. BLAIR. WILLIAM A. HAMMOND.

That last sentence is worth volumes of this poor work of mine. Let it be our business to see that mankind comprehends its solemn truth. Then the use of alcohol will be "altogether abolished," not merely its manufacture and sale, but even its personal use, because the safety of the people is the supreme law.

Dr. Hargreaves, after compiling and considering all the evidence upon the subject, says of the action of alcohol upon the vital organs: "Alcohol unnaturally excites the heart and respiration, disturbs the regularity of nervous action; increases and decreases the functions of digestion according to the degree of its application; lowers the temperature and injures the body in many ways without presenting evidence of a single beneficial service; but is evil always, and that continually." That alcohol is a poison would seem to be recognized universally since it is synonymous with the expression "intoxicating liquor." Toxicology is the science of poisons. The word comes from the Greek word, which signifies bow or arrow—the barbarians poisoned their arrows, and the word came among the Latins to signify poison—and our word "intoxicant" is a substance which poisons. Alcohol is the universal intoxicant or poison. A moment's thought will show any one that, if we except tobacco, probably at least nine-tenths of all the poisoning done to civilized nations is by the agency of alcohol, and a large proportion of the poisoning suffered by the race. Sometimes in destroying it acts quickly, killing at once; in other cases it may be years before completing the process—but it should never be forgotten that intoxication and poisoning are the same thing.

Prof. Christison classifies alcohol among narcotic acrid poisons. Prof. Reuben D. Mussey, M. D., one of the most distinguished medical men of his time, and Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, Dartmouth College, President of the New Hampshire Medical Society, Fellow of American Academy of Sciences, etc., etc., as long ago as 1835, of this class of poisons said:

"If it goes into the blood it is thrown off as soon as the system can accomplish its deliverance, if it has not been too far enfeebled by the influence of the poison." He further observes in his prize essay, one of the most scientific and powerful presentations of the subject ever made: "So long as alcohol retains a place among sick patients so long there will be drunkards; and who would undertake to estimate the amount of responsibility assumed by that physician who prescribes to the enfeebled dyspeptic patient the daily internal use of spirit while he knows that this simple prescription may ultimately ruin his

health, make him a vagabond, shorten his life, and cut him off from the hope of heaven." Speaking of ardent spirits, he says: "Time was when it was only used as a medicine, and who will dare to offer a guaranty that it shall not again overspread the world with disease and death." He continues: "Ardent spirit—already under sentence of public condemnation, and with the prospect of undergoing an entire exclusion from the social circle and the domestic fireside—still lingers in the sick chamber, the companion and pretended friend of its suffering inmates. It rests with medical men to say how long the unalterable, unrelenting foe of the human race shall remain secure in this sacred but usurped retreat. They have the power, and theirs is the duty to perform the mighty exorcism. Let the united effort soon be made, and the fiend be thrust forth from this strong but unnatural alliance and companionship with men, and cast into that 'outer darkness' which lies beyond the precincts of human suffering and human enjoyment."

Dr. Chadwick in his Essay on Alcohol says that alcohol may kill in a few minutes, and it may be taken in quantities sufficient to cause death without producing its effects immediately . . . . . by being absorbed in the blood, etc.

Prof. Pereria says: "The local effects of alcohol or rectified spirits are those of a powerful irritant and caustic poison."

Sir Astley Cooper says: "I never suffer ardent spirits in my house, thinking them evil spirits."

Dr. Ure says in his Medical Dictionary, "Aqua Vitæ—water of life—the name absurdly given to alcohol, intoxicating beverages. "It has been the aqua mortis, the water of death, to myriads of the human race; and will probably ere long destroy the native tribes of North America and Australia."

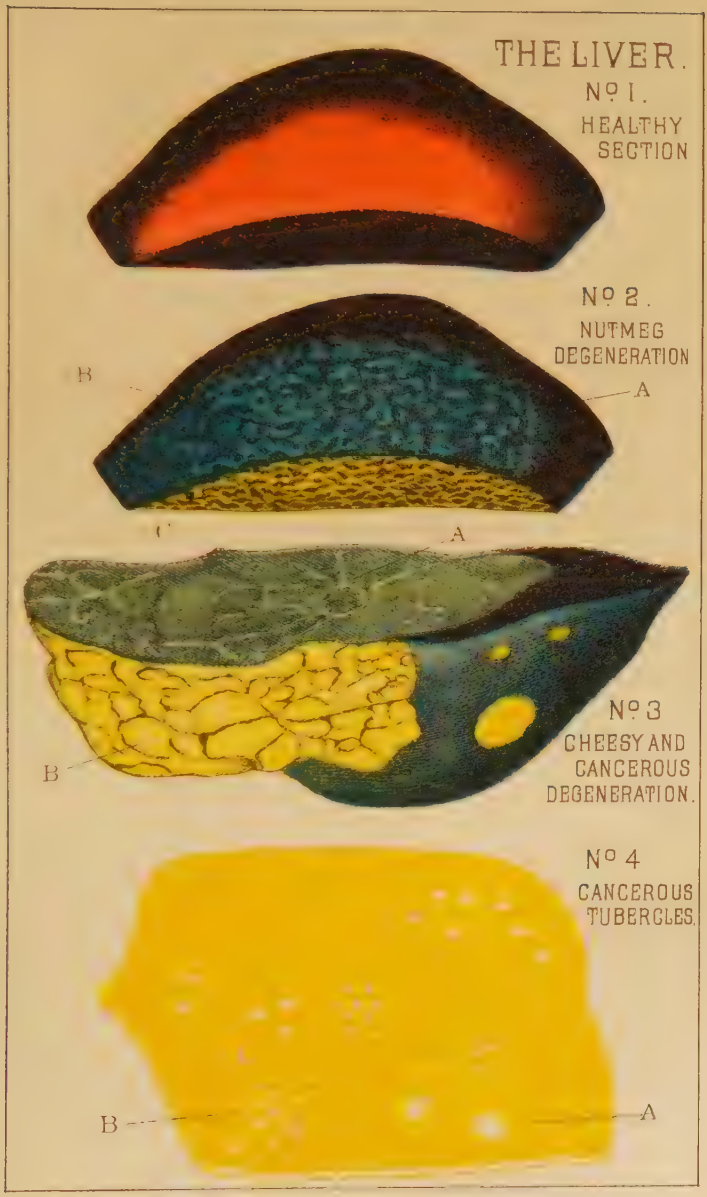
Dr. Percy gave a full grown dog 2.5 ounces of alcohol. The dog did not even gasp, but with a "loud, plaintive cry" died. "Never did I see every spark of vitality more effectually and instantaneously extinguished." "Death in this case was precisely like that of poisoning by prussic acid."

Fontane says that leeches die in two or three minutes when wet with alcohol; injected through the skin—direct to the blood—a frog died in one minute; it kills turtles and paralyzes fishes, the water containing but a small portion of alcohol.

Innumerable experiments and observations for hundreds of years have taught the professional world the fatal qualities of alcohol.

On man, the effect of large doses of alcohol are the same as on animals. A man having stolen a bottle of whisky, thought to get the good of it and yet conceal his crime, drank the whole and died in four hours. A boy drank secretly from his father's bottle. His silence attracted the attention of the father, who called him by name; but he was insensible, and in less than an hour, dead.

P. De Marmon, M. D., of Kings Bridge, N. Y., read a paper to the N. Y. Medical Journal Association, Feb. 18, 1870, in which he said: "Within a year I have seen three cases of poisoning by alcohol in children"—two of them died. He then describes the children, their symptoms, etc., which I abbreviate. One, a boy, who was five years old, strong, healthy child of Irish parents, drank tumbler full of whisky Sunday morning, died in 19 hours. "Sarah F., a little girl," strong and healthy, of sober Irish parents, tumbler full of whisky given her by a boy who was fifteen years old. Was about to die, but active medical treatment producing heavy vomiting, saved her. The third case: "Robert X., a boy eight years old, ... father and mother both regular inebriates," and both drunk at the time; boy took whisky at eight o'clock Friday morning and dead in twenty-one hours. In this case an autopsy thirty-one hours after death showed the body thin, icteric; *rigor mortis* well marked in the lower limbs, but none in the arms nor in the neck; the head rolling about as if it had been dislocated in its cervical articulation. The lungs were thoroughly congested, and of a dark-blue color, and contained a large quantity of black blood, which could be pressed out, as if from a sponge, after cutting through the texture of the organ. The internal membrane of the bronchus was livid and coated with bloody, spumous mucosities; the pericardium contained about half an ounce of serum. The right ventricle of the heart was much distended with dark blood and had black clots; the left ventricle was empty; the blood had a smell of whisky. The liver was congested, of a pale yellowish color, and the gall bladder less than half full. The above are not isolated cases. Our daily and weekly papers frequently relate


THE LIVER.
Nº 1.
HEALTHY
SECTION
Nº 2.
NUTMEG
DEGENERATION
B
A
A
B
Nº 3
CHEESY AND
CANCEROUS
DEGENERATION.
Nº 4
CANCEROUS
TUBERCLES.
B
A

similar occurrences, all over our country; indeed they have become so common that they fail to call forth any comment.

In the year 1868, in the Northern Hospital, Liverpool, England, alone, there were thirty-six cases of acute alcohol poisoning, which generally resulted "from the practice of sucking new rum from casks at the docks; and not unfrequently very young boys are subjects of it."

There seems to be among many an idea that a thing which is a poison in a large dose may be a food—that is a nourisher of growth and support of health—in a small one. One can conceive how an overplus of nourishment may do injury, as too much water may drown the wheel, by creating a mechanical obstruction of the organs in the discharge of their functions, or imposing upon them a task beyond their strength, or again by introducing into the body a larger or smaller proportion of any given chemical element some of which is required by nature in the healthy frame. But all such substances are the result of a life process and not of decay, and in no instance do they attack the structure of the organs or the other life and health-giving substances with which they come in contact in the body; while alcohol is known to make war upon every other healthy substance, structure and function of the body. It creates nothing. It is a destroyer. War may sometimes be a blessing. But it is a blessing only because we are suffering from or threatened by a still greater curse. Opposing forces, either of which might draw us from the straight and narrow path, along which we must move to physical as well as spiritual life, and precipitate us into the fatal abyss which yawns on the one or the other hand, may counteract each other, and the resultant motion may be along the line of health and happiness. So a blister which burns and inflames, because it is a poison, may cure the inflammation within. One poison may counteract the effect of another—these are medicinal effects. But who can conceive that arsenic, or strychnine, or prussic acid is a food; yet each one of them, under certain abnormal conditions of the body, is a preventive of disease and in others a cure. There is no evidence that any living creature in health ever desired alcohol; that to smell or taste it was attractive; that in the extremest hunger or thirst unperverted nature did not revolt from it; and in fact the more faint and exhausted the

system the greater danger from its administration, because the rage of alcohol for the water in the system, leads to its more rapid distribution throughout the system, when the stomach has been long empty of food. Then, if ever, alcohol must be administered with extreme care, and if it relieve faintness and restore the tone of the system for the moment its action is not a nourishing, which is the office of food, but the cold prick of steel in the side of jaded nature, which will faint all the sooner for the stimulus, unless in some other form the real bread and water of life are furnished to revive the dying powers.

Says Dr. Hargreaves:

Alcohol, the essential ingredient in all liquids, having undergone vinous fermentation, has, by the universal judgment and consent of toxicologists, been classed, as already seen, as a poison when taken in large doses. Yet there are those who seem to be unable to distinguish between a poison and a food. Poisoning, it is true, may differ in degree according to the strength of the poison, or the power of the organism to resist its toxical effects. If no substances except those which produce immediately fatal effects were classed as poisons, the number would be very limited.

It appears very illogical to suppose that a substance, which if given in large doses will destroy life, becomes a food when taken in smaller quantities. Two pounds of good bread or beef are no more a poison than two drachms, while one-sixtieth of a grain of strychnia is as much a poison in its nature as any other quantity.

If alcohol is a poison, it cannot, by any straining of logic, be a food. If it is food, it cannot be a poison. A poison is any substance "that disconcerts and disturbs life's healthy movements," and "is not capable of being converted into, or becoming a part of, the living organism."

Prof. Dalton says, "Under the term food are included all those substances, solid and liquid, which are necessary to sustain the process of nutrition." The first act of this process is the absorption from without of those materials which enter into the composition of the living frame, or of others that may be converted into them in the interior of the body. Which of these definitions corresponds to the nature and effects of alcohol? Are not its nature and effects that of a poison? The action of alcohol, after it enters into the blood-current, is a question that has long, and is still, as already seen, agitating the scientific world.

The Liebigian doctrine, that though alcohol is not a tissue-forming substance, but a calorific agent, has had many supporters, who

maintained its value as a respiratory or heat-generating food, though no proof of any kind was presented by Liebig that alcohol was eliminated from the blood by a process of combustion. This doctrine had a long reign, and much was written and said about carbon, and the respiratory and heat-giving power of alcohol, without any facts to show that it was burnt up, or decomposed within the body. Professor Moleschott advanced the doctrine that, if alcohol was not food itself, it made food last longer. Afterwards it was discovered that alcohol destroyed molecular life by narcotizing it, and that when there was less life there was less waste, and consequently less need for food. This error, like every other, died amid its worshippers.

But that the food doctrine might not yet die, Dr. Anstie steps in with another theory; laboring earnestly to prove in his book on "Stimulants and Narcotics" that alcohol in certain doses is a stimulant and tonic, and not a poison; and by attaching other definitions to words endeavored to prove that food is medicine, and medicine food; and that alcohol is both food and medicine: as by his theory stimulants are tonics, and tonics stimulants, and as food was both stimulant and tonic, and alcohol being both a stimulant and a tonic, it must therefore be food. Dr. Anstie says (page 714), "one of the most deadly poisons is in small doses an excellent tonic, namely, arsenic. Hence there seems to be a radical difference, and not one of degree, between the effects of large and small doses of alcohol." If arsenic is a tonic, why not use it, as well as alcohol, in small doses? Why not call it a food? Again he says (page 715)—"The very fact that the 'poison-line' of alcohol can be shifted by an alteration in the state of the bodily health is, to my mind, one of the strongest confirmations of the theory that there is a radical distinction between the effect of large and small doses. So long as there is any need for alcohol in the system, it will fail to intoxicate."

This might be applicable to the taking of a beefsteak, when the stomach was not in a condition to digest it. But, as regards the need of the system for alcohol preventing it from intoxicating, we fail to see the force of the argument. The doctor admits that in certain doses alcohol is a narcotic.

Every mother who has ever given her child a narcotic knows that, if it is repeated often, the dose must be increased to produce its desired effect. It has been said that alcohol lessens the vital powers by narcotizing the system, and hence that the system requires an increased dose of the narcotic to arouse the sensibilities blunted by the use of the poison, and not that the increased or repeated dose is required by the needs of the organism. True to

the theory of supposing that the craving or needs of the system will prevent alcoholics from intoxicating or injuring the system, the following very aptly applies:

"The nervous system, the very center and basis of the vital functions, has been drained of blood and exhausted of force, and unless it be quickly restored to its wonted activity life must cease." Now, when "the vital functions have been drained of blood," etc., it would be the act of common sense to administer to the system some of the blood-making substances to increase the force; but instead of which Dr. Anstie says: "Under these circumstances, the rapid absorption of a substance, which, like alcohol, has a special proclivity towards the nervous system, is precisely the best means of reviving the failing circulation in the nervous centers, and upholding the powers of life (i. e., keeping the machinery going) until the body can be supplied with its ordinary nutriment in sufficient quantity to restore the condition of healthy nutrition."

Here the doctor admits that alcohol will only keep the machinery going until it can be supplied with ordinary nutriment. Now, if it is food and nutriment, why not continue its use instead of the "ordinary nutriment"?

If it will not supply the place of ordinary nutriment, how can it have any claim to be food? If the "vital functions have been drained of blood and exhausted of force," why lose time by waiting for alcohol to keep the machinery going? Why not give the proper nutriment at once, in the form of beef tea, milk, etc., instead of alcohol, which gives no force, but will use up some of the little force still remaining in its efforts to eliminate it from the system?

Dr. Richardson says: "They themselves (alcohols) supply no force at any time, but cause expenditure of force, by which means they get out of the body, and therewith lead to exhaustion and paralysis of motion. . . . . The animal force which should be expended on the nutrition and sensation of the body is in part expended on the alcohol, an entire foreign expenditure."

Dr. Anstie says: "If it be well understood that a glass of good wine will relieve a man's depression and fatigue sufficiently to enable him to digest his dinner, and that a pint of gin taken at once will probably kill him stone-dead, why haggle about words? On the part of the medical profession, I think I may say that we have long since begun to believe that those medicines which really do benefit our patients act in one way or another as foods, and that some of the most decidedly poisonous substances, are those which offer, in the form of small doses, the strongest example of a true food action. On the part of alcohol, then, I venture to claim that, though we all acknowledge it to be a poison, if taken during health, in any but quite

restricted doses, it is also a valuable medicine food. I am obliged to declare that the chemical evidence is as yet insufficient to give any complete explanation of its exact manner of acting upon the system; but that the facts are as striking as they could well be, and that there can be no mistake about them."

Here we are told that medicine of value is food, and food is medicine, and alcohol must be somehow food; yet he frankly confesses a very important fact, that he is not able to tell us how alcohols act on the system. Have we arrived at the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with the experiments of English, French and German investigators before us, and still are ignorant of the action of food? If not, how can alcohol be food? But let us examine the food power of alcohol.

Dr. Hargreaves then proceeds with a masterly discussion of more than one hundred pages to demonstrate by fact, argument and authority that alcohol has no food value nor power to support vitality. I can do little more than refer the reader to his great book, from which I have already so often quoted. But it may be best to attempt a condensed statement of what he has so well done at large.

He says on the subject of nutrition and alcohol:

Every substance capable of nourishing the human system, and entitled to the name of food, consists either of starch, sugar, oil, albuminous or glutinous matter, whether derived from the animal or vegetable kingdom.

The blood is the bearer of nutriment to the tissues of the body to replace the waste arising from the disintegration that is constantly taking place in the organism.

Nutriment furnished by the food is, by the various processes of digestion, assimilation, etc., gradually converted into blood, from which the tissues extract their own proper pabulum.

But food has another office to fulfill. It is necessary to health, nay, to life itself, that the temperature of the body be maintained at a given point, which point is the same, with little variation, by day or night, when active or at rest, at all seasons of the year, and in all climates.

This heat is generated in the body itself, the materials for its maintenance being found in the blood, partly from combination of the oxygen inspired by the lungs with certain elements of disintegration, but chiefly, in climates like this, by its combination with certain elements of our food. Every substance capable of being

employed as food subserves at least one of these processes—the formation of tissue, or the production of heat.

Thus food has a double office to fulfill—namely, to furnish the blood with the materials for repairing the waste of the tissues and its fluid secretions, and with the materials for carrying on this internal combustion, the fuel for his ever-burning fire.

Dr. James Edmunds, who has hardly a superior as an authority upon all that relates to alcohol, in a lecture in New York city, Sept. 17, 1874, defining the term "food," said:

I would say that a food is that which, being innocent in relation to the tissues of the body, is a digestible or absorbable substance, that can be oxidized in the body, and decomposed in such a way as to give up to the body the forces which it contains." This definition of a food is clear, concise, logical and based upon the physiological and chemical action of a true food; or in the words of the doctor, "brings food in relation to the body into a perfect parallel with fuel in relation to a steam-engine." There is no doubt that that is philosophically correct in the last degree.

Keeping this definition in view, as its correctness cannot be doubted, let us endeavor to ascertain if alcohol be a food. Dr. Gordon said: "It would be difficult to find a more destructive poison than ardent spirits"—dilute alcohol. We may recall the experiment of Dr. Percy who injected two ounces and a half of alcohol into the stomach of a dog, when immediately the animal uttered a loud, plaintive cry, and fell dead at his feet. "Never," says Dr. Percy, "did I see every spark of vitality more instantaneously extinguished."

The action of alcohol in this case produced death precisely as would a large dose of prussic acid. Is alcohol innocent in relation to the tissue? Is it not destructive to life? Would two ounces or even two pounds of the most concentrated food have killed the dog?

Those who advocate the use of alcohol as a food will at least be willing to join in the general "smile" which must arise on the faces of all who have any sense of the ludicrous at the thought of this species of food. It will be remembered that alcohol is derived from the decomposition of sugar, also that one half at least of the sugar is by the process turned into carbonic acid gas, which is a poisonous gas, capable of destroying life. The remainder is of course not sugar, and the great preponderance of evidence is that none of it is food, but even if it were the economical idea has vanished. It does

not follow that, because liquors are made of sugar as found in apples, wheat, barley and grapes, that the alcoholic product is good. The process of making is one of putrefaction, and there is a presumption that the result being no form of life, is in some fashion death—but chemical annalysis has settled the food value question.

A barrel of beer, thirty-one gallons, is made from about two and one half bushels of barley. Very nutritious beer then would that be in which were to be found the food remains of 156 pounds, or three bushels. Then there will be 5.2 pounds used in making a gallon, that is 83.2 ounces of barley to a gallon. It is found that in the process of malting there is lost 20 ounces; mashing, 27.4 ounces; fermenting, 13.4; in "fining," 9 ounces; in all, 70 ounces; and the remaining "food," consisting of 13.2 ounces, is principally a gum which has little, if any, nutriment in it, and in cash value as nourishment the three bushels of barley, or of any given quantity of barley, even if this remainder were as nutritious in proportion as the barley was originally, less than one sixth remains. In other words, in order to obtain the nourishment that is in the three bushels of barley, it will be necessary to drink six barrels, or 186 gallons, of beer. Consumed by the glass, at ten cents per glass, and allowing two drinks to a pint, and ten cents a drink, the three bushels of barley cost $297.60, in round numbers $300. The average American laborer would thus be able, by diligence and economy, to earn enough to buy just about three bushels of barley a year. If five cents a glass is enough, then he can buy his three bushels of barley in six months. If the barley is worth $1.00 per bushel, he is earning two cents per diem—about one fiftieth his wages in money at $1.00 per day—the average number of working days an industrious man is employed not being over 300 in a year. If the beer costs ten cents a glass, then he earns in food consumed in the form of beer, exactly one cent a day. I suspect that it costs more than ten cents per glass, time, frolic and sometimes debauch considered. Baron Liebig himself ridicules this food-value nonsense. He says: "If a man drinks daily eight or ten quarts of the best Bavarian beer (equal to our lager beer), in the course of twelve months he will have taken into his system the nutritive constituents contained in a five-pound

loaf of bread." So that the father of the food theory himself justifies the use of malt liquors because they contain food, when it will require a man to consume daily a pailful for a a year in order to obtain ten cents worth of food. Few men can think of drinking more than three quarts per diem and accomplish much else. It would then require three years time to drink up the nourishment in the five-pound loaf of bread. The man would not obtain a crumb to a meal, and would actually consume less than a hearty canary bird, or even the common red ant which invades his sugar bowl.

If it be said that he gets the water also—certainly, but he can have that in far better state for nothing, and it will relieve and not increase his thirst besides. If it be said that he feels the better and stronger—that again is a delusion and a snare. He is weaker, and his sottish joy is inferior to that of healthy animal life—of the sober "beasts that perish."

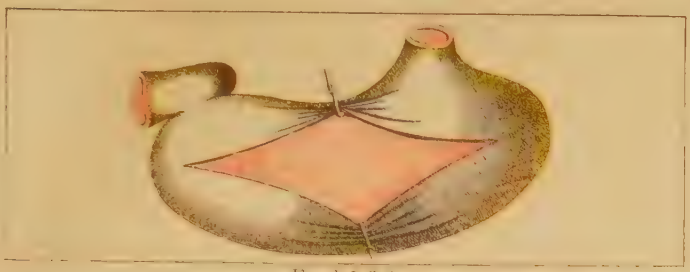
The following table shows the chemical composition of the principal liquors. The extract indicates all that can possibly be claimed to be food:

Name.	Whisky per cent.	Wine per cent.	Porter per cent.	Ale per cent.	Beer per cent.	Number of ounces in a pint of beer.
Alcohol,	28 to 55	14 to 23	3.00	5.85	4.00	$\frac{12}{16}$ ounces.
Extract,	.....	.....	6.09	5.00	5.66	$1\frac{13}{16}$ ounces.
Acetic acid,	.....	.....	.21	.15	.17	
Water,	72 to 45	86 to 76	90.70	89.00	90.17	13 ounces.
Total,	.....	.....	100.00	100.00	100.00	16 ounces.

Liebig says: "Beer, wine and spirits furnish no element capable of entering into the composition of the blood, muscular fiber, or any part which is the vital principle." Dr. Grindrod says: "A copious London beer drinker is all one vital part; he wears his heart on his sleeve, bare to a death wound from the claw of a cat or a rusty nail. Every medical man in London dreads a beer drinker for a patient in a surgical case."

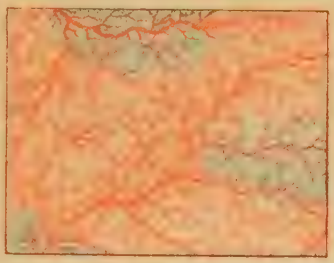
Dr. Edmunds declares that the diseases of beer drinkers are always of a dangerous character, and that such persons can never undergo the most trifling operation with the security of the temperate." Dr. Thomas Sewell, Columbia College, Washington, D. C., says "That alcohol is a poison ever at war with man's nature . . . . and finally produces scirrhous

DIAGRAMS OF THE STOMACH IN VARIOUS CONDITIONS.



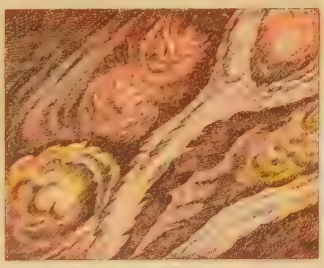
Healthful.

Moderate Drinking

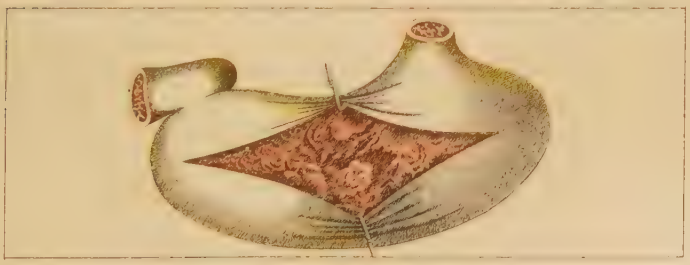


Drunkards

Ulcerous



After a long Debauch



Death by Delirium Tremens.

cancer of the stomach and other organic affections. No one who indulges habitually in the use of alcoholics, whether in the form of wine or more ardent spirits, possesses a healthy stomach."

Think of that—the habitual use of a *food* destroying the very organ provided by nature to welcome it and appropriate it to the system—and then also destroying the system itself. It would be better to live on some milder and more nutritious poison.

The serious side of this proposed substitution of beer, etc., for distilled drinks, both for food and reformation, is vividly and powerfully set forth by Dr. J. M. Buckley in the *Christian Advocate* of July 7, 1887. Dr. Buckley's tract on this subject should be carefully read by every one, for the increasing use of beer is worse than all the plagues of Egypt. We may yet in good earnest be urging the people to go back to brandy, whisky, gin and rum as a means of reforming them from this sodden, drooling, half-witted style of drunkenness which substitutes a stupid, boozy mass for the old-fashioned few, wide-awake with delirium tremens, a disease which was characterized by a certain fatal liveliness and dispatch far preferable to the wheezy and idiotic stupors of the beer guzzlers.

Dr. Buckley says:

> Great has been the increase in the use of malt liquors in the United States during the past twenty-five years. Instead of diminishing intemperance, as some claim, the drinking usages of society have greatly increased. It was maintained when lager beer was first introduced into this country that its general use would diminish intemperance, but side by side with its growing use that of spirituous liquors has also increased.
>
> Our climate is more stimulating than that of Germany, and our beer is stronger. . . . . Many have used malt liquors—and to excess—who before they became common had never used intoxicating liquors of any kind. . . . . those who would never have touched whisky, brandy or gin, and who even shrank from the use of wine, have taken to beer drinking. This, too, has been a constant stumbling block for the partially reformed. . . . . Thus men and boys who would hesitate to enter upon a course of general liquor drinking have begun with beer. . . . . Many nursing mothers have been led to drink malt liquors under the delusion that it was beneficial to them and not hurtful to their infants. Thus the article

has been introduced into the home and become a common drink, and the whole character of many families changed.

By the use of beer hereditary appetites, long dormant, have been awakened. A young man, whose grandfather died a drunkard, but whose father was a rigid abstainer, when led to drink a glass of beer, plunged immediately, to the amazement of all his friends, into a wild debauch. He had previously resisted many temptations to touch wines or brandy. . . . . Grocers and their clerks, keeping malt liquors, have become demoralized, in many instances taken to drinking and in most, so far as we can ascertain, have finally added spirituous liquors to their stock. . . . . In addition to all this the influence of every user of malt liquors, as a luxury or as a beverage, has either been against total abstinence or it has been sufficient to paralyze any efforts that have been made. . . . . The beer drinker expostulating with the wine drinker has nothing to say. . . . . Lovers of strong liquors will not leave them to come back to malt liquors. . . . . Alcohol has a thirst-producing power, and every article that contains alcohol has it. How can men drink ten, twenty, thirty, or, as has been testified in court, fifty glasses a day, if beer does not produce thirst? It is not so with water or milk. . . . . With a considerable acquaintance with reformed persons, we have yet to find *one* who was brought back from gin, whisky or brandy by the substitution of beer.

There is a common impression that alcohol creates heat or the power to resist cold; but this is the result of a deception of the senses. We are not always as we feel for the moment, and a rush of the circulation to the surface, unless there is a creative rather than a mere stimulating impulse behind, exhausts the heat of the body by the more rapid radiation; so that in reality the power to resist cold very soon begins to decline. This is the reason why a partially intoxicated man is lost unless he is soon rescued from severe cold.

All the great Arctic travelers attest that ardent spirits lessen the power of the human system to resist severe cold. They depress the vital forces. The heat generating the fuel-burning power of the organism is diminished, and great care was necessary in the supervision of the men to prevent the consumption of ardent spirits. Ross, Kane, Parry, and Franklin, all attest the same thing. Dr. McRae says: "The moment that a man had swallowed a drink of spirits it was certain that his day's work was nearly at an end. It was absolutely necessary that the rule of total abstinence be rigidly enforced if we

would accomplish our day's task. Whatever it could do for a sick man, its use as a beverage, when we had work on hand, in that terrific cold, was out of the question." Now here was a case of the greatest necessity for alcohol as a food, either in the form of nitrogen—nourishment—or as respiratory and heat-producing. If alcohol were hurtful in the time when its pretended power to benefit was most required, if then it not only failed but destroyed, how can there be the slightest pretense that it possesses such powers at all? The experience of armies, expeditions, and individuals, is all to the same effect.

Gen. Greely, whose Arctic expedition, the most famous of any of modern times on account of the sufferings, fortitude and heroism of those engaged in it, not only declares that alcohol failed utterly as a generator of heat, but also of vitality; and in an invaluable article in the *Forum*, just issued, attests that powers of endurance not alone of cold, but of all labor and hardship, are injured by the use of alcohol. This truth is attested also by the fact that in training for all athletic exercises liquors are carefully prohibited. These men know their business. Dr. N. S. Davis, of Chicago, proved as long ago as 1850 that during the digestion of all kinds of food the temperature of the body increased, but that either distilled or fermented liquors reduced the temperature within half an hour, and that the depressing process continued several hours, and was just in proportion to the quantity taken. Drs. Prout, Hammond, Smith, Richardson, and a great many others, have demonstrated the same facts. In some cases, perhaps, as probably in that of Liebig, the professional men, like the laity, have been deceived by the instant flush and surface heat, the effect of the partial paralysis of the minute blood-vessels, and the consequent flow of blood to the point where the influence of the irritant is first felt. Dr. Markham, in summing up a long discussion on alcohol in the *British Medical Journal* said: "Alcohol is not a supporter of combustion. Part, probably the whole of it, escapes from the body; and none of it, so far as we know, is assimilated. It is therefore not a food in the eye of science."

But there is a theory precious to many, that in some way alcohol aids digestion; but the verdict of medical science is that so far from aiding it retards, and if used in large quanti-

ties prevents digestion wholly. Drs. Todd and Bowman say that the use of alcoholic stimulants retards digestion by coagulating the pepsin, which is the most important ingredient of the gastric juice, and were it not that wine, spirits, etc., are rapidly absorbed, their introduction in any quantity would be a complete bar to the digestion of food, as the pepsin would be precipitated from the solution as quickly as it is formed." Dr. Dundas Thompson says: "This is a remarkable fact, that when alcohol is added to the digestive fluid it produces a white precipitate, so that the fluid is no longer capable of digesting animal or vegetable food." Dr. Monroe proved this by a series of experiments recorded in "Physiological Action of Alcohol," London, 1865. He showed clearly that alcoholics destroy the solvent power of the gastric juice and prevent digestion, and that even pale ale, with 5 or 6 per cent. of alcohol, does not aid digestion. If it destroys the gastric juice which dissolves the food, how can it help digestion? Going over the whole subject, citing and reviewing numerous authorities, Dr. Hargreaves concludes it to be "very evident that alcoholic beverages do not and cannot aid digestion, but retard and prevent the solution of alimentary substances."

Liebig himself says that "wine is superfluous to man. . . . . It is constantly followed by an expenditure of power." Drs. Virchow and Boecker agree that "alcohol poisons the blood, arrests development and hastens the decay of the red corpuscles," and decreases vitality. Prof. Schultz, Dr. Beale, Dr. Williams, Dr. Parkes, all great men, say the same. Dr. Benj. Brodie says: "Stimulants do not create nerve power, they merely enable you to use up, as it were what is left." Lallemand and Perrin say alcohol lessens muscular force.

But such citations from the most eminent men in the profession can be made without limit, and I close the chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

ALCOHOL THE CAUSE OF DISEASE.

Alcohol the Cause of Disease — Alcohol Attacks the Integrity of the Body through the Blood — Dr. Dickinson's Account of the Disease it Fosters—The Ally of Cholera—Recollections of the Cholera Epidemic in New York, 1832—Dr. Beaumont's Experiments—Striking Illustration of the Effects of Drink—The Drunkard's Stomach, Reproduced in Colors—The Curse of Intemperance transmitted to Posterity—Startling Facts from Experience—The History of Four Generations of a Family of Drunkards—The Causes of Insanity—Intemperance Leading them All.

ALCOHOL attacks the blood and consequently the integrity of every tissue and living atom of the body. It follows that its use must produce disease of every organ and part of the frame. In a work like this it is impossible and unnecessary to attempt the enumeration of the infinite variety of diseases of which alcohol is the cause, and much already appears in citations from eminent authorities. But I will insert the following from a paper read by Dr. W. Dickinson before the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, October 22, 1872, the subject being "The Morbid Effects of Alcohol:"

Alcohol causes fatty infiltration and fibroid encroachment; it engenders tubercles; encourages suppuration and retards healing; it produces untimely atheroma, invites hemorrhage and anticipates age. The most constant fatty changes, replacement by oil of the material of epithelial cells and muscular fibers, though probably nearly universal, is most noticeable in the liver, the heart and the kidneys. The fibroid increase occurs about vascular channels and superficial investments of the viscera, where it causes atrophy, cirrhosis and granulation. Of this change the liver has the largest share; the lungs are often similarly but less simply affected, the change being variously complicated with, or simulative of tubercle; the kidneys suffer in a more remote degree.

Alcohol also causes vascular deteriorations, which are akin both to the fatty and the fibroid. Besides tangible atheroma, there are minute changes in the arterial walls, which of themselves induce

cardiac hypertrophy and cerebral hemorrhage. Drink causes tuberculosis, which is evident not only in the lungs, but in every amenable organ. Drink promotes the suppurative at the expense of the adhesive process, as seen in the results of pneumonia, of serious inflammations and of accidental injuries. Descending from general conditions to the individual organs, the effect of alcohol upon the nervous system must be looked upon as special and taken by itself. Apart from the changes which, like delirium tremens, are more evident during life than after death, the brain pays a large reckoning in the shape of inflammation, atrophy and hemorrhage. With regard to the other organs, they are damaged by alcohol, much as they stand in its line of absorption.

Next to the stomach, the liver suffers, by way of cirrhosis and fatty impregnation. Next the stress falls upon the lungs, taking every shape of phthisis. A large share in the pathology of intemperance is also taken by the arterial system, as seen in its results: atheroma, cardiac hypertrophy and hemorrhage. Lastly the kidneys, more remotely exposed, have small participation in the common damage of alcoholism. They undergo congestive enlargement, fatty and fibroid change, but they do not suffer commensurately with the blood-vessels, or as frequently as the other viscera.

Nor does there appear to be power in alcohol to prevent disease in any known case. It has been said that it would prevent cholera, but Dr. Jameson says in his treatise on that dread disease: "His great love is for drunkards and the high fed." In fact alcohol predisposes the system to the disease. Prof. Mackintosh says that five sixths of all who have fallen by cholera in England were persons of intemperate and dissolute habits.

Dr. Mussey said that if he must drink any quantity of alcohol in a specified time he should think it best to take it in distilled liquors rather than cider, wine or beer, and that on the Ohio river the increase of brandy drinking consequent upon the approach of cholera has been frightful, and the mortality on board terrible and unprecedented. One boat lost 43, another 47, and a third 59 of its passengers and crew." Dr. Adams, Professor of the Institute of Medicine in the Anderson University of Glasgow, says that of his intemperate cholera patients 91½ per cent. died. "I have found the use of alcoholic drinks to be a great disposing cause of malignant cholera. . . . . I would placard every spirit shop in town with these words: "CHOLERA SOLD HERE."

The authorities are legion to the same effect.

On the other hand total abstinence prevents cholera. From the statistics of the disease in 1832 in New York, out of 5,000 members of temperance societies only two died; in several of the societies none whatever. In New Orleans the proportion of deaths to population was 15 to 1,000; of those belonging to temperance organizations only 2.5 in 1,000, and the statistics are substantially the same in Scotland, England, India, and in all countries. Dr. Hargreaves, with his usual marvelous care, goes over the subject and thus gives the conclusion of the whole matter: "There is not a disease we are satisfied but what may be aggravated by alcohol, and we are equally satisfied that total abstinence from alcoholics, and temperance in all things *are the only preventives of disease*."

The stomach and entire digestive apparatus are specially subject to injury by use of alcohol because it acts like a poison, searing and corroding the soft vascular tissues and surfaces of which these organs are composed. Its use is a perpetual cauterization of parts which no more require such treatment than the healthy eyeball, and it does not lessen the injury that it goes on within, among the hidden processes of life.

The recorded observations of Dr. Beaumont, made daily for years, of the interior of the stomach of Alexis St. Martin are of peculiar value, as St. Martin's case was the only like opportunity ever afforded to the human eye. St. Martin was a French Canadian soldier, who was shot in the stomach while on guard duty in the American service at Michilimackinac, in the year 1822. Dr. William Beaumont, surgeon of the post, dressed the wound, but in healing, an aperture was left through which, by pushing the parts aside, the interior and walls of the stomach and the process of digestion were visible. Dr. Beaumont seized the opportunity and immortalized both his patient and himself. St. Martin married, had a large family and lived to a good old age. Dr. Beaumont prepared him a pad or compress for the aperture in the stomach, which served him so well, that he was able not only to get on with the necessary processes of digestion, but to indulge in a tendency to convivial habits quite as frequently as was beneficial to himself. It, however, gave the vigilant doctor an opportunity

to describe the effects of alcohol upon this organ, whose function is the foundation of life, and thus to turn the excesses of his subject into authentic and indisputable sources of warning to others. Dr. Beaumont published a book in which he recorded "thousands of his experiments and observations," from which I take the following, calling attention to the fact that this was before the "temperance craze," and the work can not be impeached as that of a temperance "crank."

He says of "Experiments and Observations on the Gastric Juice and Physiology of Digestion," referring to observations on St. Martin:

July 8th, 9 o'clock A. M. Stomach empty; not healthy; some inflammation with ulcerous patches on mucous surface. St. Martin been drinking freely for eight or ten days; complains of no pain, nor shows symptoms of any general indisposition; says he feels well, and has a good appetite. August 1st, 8 o'clock, A. M. Examined stomach before eating anything; inner membrane morbid, considerable inflammation, and some ulcerous patches on the exposed surface, secretions vitiated. Extracted about an ounce of gastric juice, not clear and pure as in health; quite viscid. August 2d, 8 o'clock, A. M. Circumstances and appearances very similar to those of yesterday morning. Extracted an ounce of gastric juice, consisting of unusual proportion of vitiated mucus, saliva, and some bile, tinged slightly with blood, appearing to exude from the surface of the inflammation, and ulcerous patches, which were more tender and irritable than usual. St. Martin complains of no pain.

August 3d, 7 o'clock, A. M. Inner membrane of stomach unusually morbid; inflammatory appearance more extensive, and (ulcerous) spots more livid; from the surface of some of which exuded small drops of grumous (or thick, clotty) blood.

The ulcerous patches larger and numerous; the mucous covering (the thin sensitive lining membrane) thicker than common; and the gastric secretion much more vitiated. The gastric fluids extracted this morning were mixed with large proportions of thick, ropy mucus, and considerable muco-purulent matter, slightly tinged with blood, and resembling the discharge from the bowels in some cases of chronic dysentery. Notwithstanding this diseased appearance of the stomach, no very essential aberration of its functions was manifested. St. Martin complains of no symptoms indicating any general derangement of the system, except an uneasy sensation and a tenderness at the pit of the stomach, and some vertigo, with dimness and yellowness of vision, on stooping and rising again; has a

thin yellowish brown coat on his tongue, and the countenance is rather sallow.

August 4th, 8 o'clock, A. M. Stomach empty; less of those ulcerous patches than yesterday; inflammatory appearances more extensively diffused over the inner coats, and the surface inclined to bleed; secretions vitiated. Extracted about an ounce of gastric fluids, consisting of ropy mucus, some bile and less of muco-purulent matter than yesterday; odor peculiarly fetid and disagreeable."

August 5th, 8 o'clock, A. M. Stomach empty; coats less morbid than yesterday, mucus more uniform, soft and nearly of the natural healthy color; secretions less vitiated. Extracted about an ounce of gastric fluids; more clear and pure than that taken four or five days past, and slightly acid, but containing a larger quantity of mucus and more opaque than usual in a healthy condition.

August 6th, 8 o'clock, A. M. Stomach empty; coats clear and healthy as usual; secretions less vitiated. Extracted two ounces of gastric fluids of more natural and healthy appearance, with the usual gastric acid flavor; complains of no uneasy sensations or the slightest symptoms of indisposition; says he feels well, and has a voracious appetite; but not permitted to indulge it to satiety. He has been restricted from full, and confined to low, diet, and simple diluent drinks, for the last four days, and has not been allowed to take any stimulating liquors, or to indulge in excesses of any kind.

These morbid changes and conditions are seldom indicated by any ordinary symptoms, or particular sensations described or complained of, unless when in considerable excess. It is interesting to observe to what extent the stomach, perhaps the most important organ of the animal system, may become diseased without manifesting any external symptoms of such disease. Vitiated secretions may also take place, and continue for some time without affecting the health in a sensible degree.

These observations of Dr. Beaumont are universally cited by the profession. They are to be found in Dr. Hargreaves' "Alcohol and Science." Dr. Hargreaves makes the following remark upon them and further citation from Dr. Beaumont:

Too high a value cannot be placed upon these observations of Dr. Beaumont, as they are ocular demonstrations, "actual views of the stomach, from day to day, for years; the actual observations in health and disease; the effects of the various foods and drinks upon the stomach." He says clearly and distinctly:

"The free use of ardent spirits, wine, beer or any of the intoxicating liquors, when continued for some days, has constantly produced morbid changes." It is not "ardent spirits" alone that pro-

duce these morbid changes; but even "wine and beer." Nor are these changes indicated by any ordinary symptoms, or particular sensations described or complained of, unless when in considerable excess. They could not, in fact, have been anticipated by any external symptoms, and their existence was only ascertained by ocular demonstrations.

As a further illustration of the effect of alcohol upon the stomach, the plates prepared by Dr. Sewell, Professor of Pathology and Practice of Medicine in the Columbia College, District of Columbia, "being the result of a professional career of upwards of thirty years," are inserted. During this long term Dr. Sewell had many opportunities to inspect the stomachs of drunkards after death, in the various stages and degrees of drunkenness, and had these plates prepared to represent, with accuracy, some of the morbid changes which take place in the stomach from alcoholic intemperance. Their great importance must not be overlooked. They are not idle school-boy pictures, drawn chiefly to show their own paint. They are the pains-taking work of an able and conscientious pathologist and eminent instructor in his profession. The written record of volumes is here condensed upon a single page.

The first illustration is of the perfectly healthy stomach, and is drawn by Prof. Horner, of Philadelphia, with great care from a remarkably good subject.

The second illustration exhibits the internal surface of the stomach of the temperate drinker . . . . . Here the work of destruction begins.

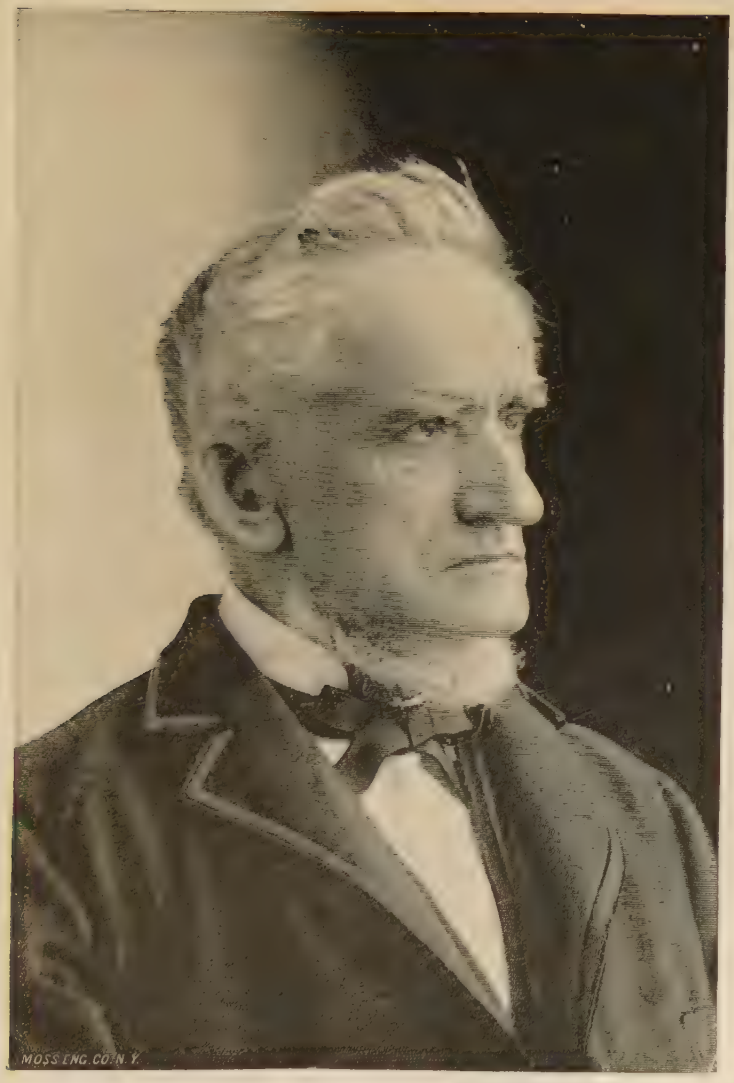
The third represents the stomach of the confirmed drunkard . . . . . The mucous coat becomes thickened and softened, which often produces ulceration.

The fourth illustration presents a view of the ulcerated or apthous condition of the drunkard's stomach.

The fifth illustration represents the state of the drunkard's stomach after a debauch. It was drawn from the stomach of one who had been for several days in a state of inebriation, but who came to his death suddenly from another cause.

The sixth explains itself.

I also insert plate of the cancerous stomach produced by drinking alcohol. It was drawn from the stomach of one



Dr. N. S. Davis.

who never drank to excess, but who died from cancer of the stomach, induced by moderate drinking, at the age of thirty years. He appears to have been a perfect gentleman.—"None knew him but to love him, none named him but to praise."

The liver secretes bile, which is indispensable to digestion and renews the blood, each drop of which passes through it every two minutes. Such is this inscrutable mechanical mystery within us. When the liver is wrong nothing is right. Alcohol eats up the liver, vitiates its structure, softens it to suppuration, fills it with tubercles and ulcerations, destroys it as would the envenomed tooth of the moccasin. I can only insert these plates prepared by science and art, and from subjects taken not from real life, but from real death.

The kidneys eliminate the larger portion of the poisonous nitrogenous waste from the system. When their function is interrupted the blood absorbs the uric poison and every organ suffers. Alcohol produces, with all the rest, Bright's disease —albuminaria—and is the most prolific cause of disease to this organ, the derangement of which is so replete with misery and death.

Again I appeal to the plates, which speak so eloquently to the eye.

Dr. N. S. Davis of Chicago says:

The fatty degenerations of the liver, heart, kidneys, etc., etc., are the result of the slow, long-continued, moderate influence of alcohol in retarding the oxidation of the carbonaceous matters of the system and allowing it to accumulate in the form of inert fat; while the acute gastro-duodenitis is the result of the direct irritating influences of strong distilled spirits taken in large quantities, without ordinary food.

We have repeatedly noted the fact that alcohol has a peculiar avidity for the brain, an appetite as it were for its very substance. It seems strange that a man "should take an enemy within to steal away his brain," but so it is, and nothing indicates its canny and devilish nature as does the rage, by which it seems to be possessed, to strike home upon this organ of the mental and moral, as well as of the physical nature. It ousts the soul from the possession of its own homestead. As I contemplate this feature in its character, I confess to a supersti-

tious questioning whether it be not an actual infernal thing, or being, rather, more than a mere substance, an entity like Satan, diffused in the form of liquid, as the malicious genii of Arabia escaping from confinement, dissolved and expanded in heavy vapors before the eye.

Certainly there is no conceivable derangement or disease of the brain and nervous system which alcohol does not originate or aggravate. Here is a partial list: "Cerebral congestions, cerebral hemorrhage with apoplexy, and paralysis, meningeal apoplexy, cerebral thrombosis, softening of the brain, aphasia, acute cerebral meningitis, chronic meningitis, and all kinds of insanity; and among diseases of the spinal cord are spinal congestion, anterolateral spinal sclerosis, and posterior spinal sclerosis; epilepsy, palsy, neuralgia, chorea, and many other affections of the brain and spinal cord."

If anything could add horror to some of these diseases it is the dreadful names they are called by. Between the diseases themselves and the names the doctors give to them poor suffering humanity is doubly afflicted. It would be some relief if "prohibition" could abolish "cerebral thrombosis" and "anterolateral spinal sclerosis," even if we continued to die of blood clot in the brain. Dr. Macnish says that in seven cases out of ten, malt liquor drunkards die of apoplexy or palsy. They may not be drunkards, but merely use large quantities daily of ale or beer. Many persons of both sexes are paralyzed by the use of strong drink. The paralysis, total or partial, of the lower part of the body and limbs from this cause is very common with both sexes.

Insanity is a natural result of intemperance, and it is agreed that a great proportion of all that exists is produced by alcohol. Directly and indirectly, probably at least one half of the insanity of the civilized world is traceable to its use. Dr. Hargreaves is "strongly impressed with the belief that the intemperate and (so called) temperate use of alcoholic drinks produce more insanity than all else combined, excepting hereditary predisposition, and hereditary predisposition is often a result of the same cause." Lord Shaftsbury, in his evidence before the Select Committee on Lunatics in 1859, expressed the opinion that 50 per cent. of the cases admitted into the English asylum are due to drink. Dr. Poole fixes the pro-

portion at 25 per cent. Dr. Needham, of the New York Lunatic Asylum for both sexes, fixed the proportion in that asylum at 16 per cent.; of men alone at 22 per cent. In France, during the war with Prussia, the effect of alcohol in producing insanity was remarkable. Fifty-five per cent. of the cases admitted to the asylum in May, 1871, were from that cause alone. Dr. Herman read a paper before the St. Petersburg Medical Society in which he says that in St. Petersburg "brandy shops have increased seven-fold since 1859, and are now in the proportion of one to every 293 persons. In the budget for 1866, the brandy-tax for the entire empire was 115,500,000 silver rubles. The government and individuals made attempts to limit the use of brandy; but they have hitherto yielded to the resistance of the masses, and the danger of damaging the revenue. One consequence of this increased consumption of brandy is the increase in the number of acute cases of delirium tremens admitted into the St. Petersburg hospitals.

"During the five years, 1861-5, there were treated, in five hospitals, 3,241 cases of delirium tremens, 2,721 males and 420 females; the mortality from this disease in the different hospitals was from 7.73 to 16.62 per cent. After the trade in liquors was thrown open, in 1863, delirium tremens became double in some hospitals, and in others three and fourfold."

Of 286 persons in the lunatic asylum of Dublin 115 were known to have been intemperate, and alcohol the cause of their affliction.

Of patients in the lunatic asylum of Liverpool 257 of 495 were known to have been made insane by drinking. Boyle says ardent spirits caused one third of the cases of insanity he has observed. Dr. Shepard, in a letter to the *London Times*, that 35 or 40 per cent. of insanity results directly or indirectly from intoxicating drinks.

I take the following summary from Dr. Hargreave, p. 269, Alcohol and Science.

After quoting from the reports of the superintendents of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, the Massachusetts State Hospital at Worcester, and the Bloomingdale Asylum, New York, the nine principal causes of insanity, he says that:—

More than 9 per cent. of all the cases of insanity in those three

institutions is directly caused by intemperance. To merely take into consideration the cases given in the reports as being thus caused, we shall not arrive at anything like an approximate estimate of the number; for the friends will in most cases strive to keep out of sight, if possible, the drinking habits of the subjects of insanity. Then again the habits of an individual may not be what is generally called intemperate, yet he may be so continually under the influence of alcoholic drinks that the nervous and vital forces are so depressed and injured that some very slight circumstance, embraced under some one of the other causes of insanity, may produce *mental alienation*, and the causes may be given as being "ill-health," "loss of property," etc., etc., while in reality it was alcohol.

The loss of property, and other reverses of fortune, are often the result of intemperance. Hence the difficulty, amounting almost to impossibility, of arriving at the real cause of insanity.

Taking into consideration all the surrounding circumstances attending the use of intoxicating drinks, and the essential nature of alcohol, it will be safe to say that one half of the cases ascribed to ill-health, or 16 per cent., and one half of the cases of domestic trouble, or 5 per cent., are directly or indirectly chargeable to alcoholic drinks; then the cases of insanity due directly or indirectly to intoxicating liquors will be 9 per cent. directly from intemperance; 16 per cent. from ill-health, and domestic trouble, 5 per cent., or a total of not less than 30 per cent., or from 11,229 to 14,389 insane persons in the United States whose afflictions are directly or indirectly due to the use of alcohol.

This is evidently no exaggeration, for it is much below the general average in other countries under similar circumstances of race, habits, etc.

Close observers of high authority, fix the proportion of insane in the United States, made so by the direct influence of liquor, at twenty per cent., and by its indirect influence at thirty-five per cent.—or fifty-five per cent. of the whole. But the conservative and reliable tendency of Dr. Hargreave's mind is well known, and hence his compilations of statistical matter upon alcoholism justly command the confidence of intelligent men almost as fully as the work of official authority.

The sins of the fathers and mothers are visited upon the children, and those who will impair their physical, mental and moral constitution by contracting and practicing any vice in justice to those who are yet to be and who are without agency

in procuring their own existence, should be restrained from the family relation by law, and by the still more efficient prohibition of social ostracism. It is impossible to conceive of a more hideous crime than that which fastens upon unborn innocence during successive generations the pains and penalties of outraged natural laws. It often would be a mercy to the helpless victim, and a wise regulation for the general good, if the children of diseased and vicious parents could be destroyed under careful regulations of the State. But our ideas of the sanctity of human life, even before it is coupled with intelligence and responsibility, will not permit the practice of this ancient heathen mercy—I had almost said virtue—but which, with our knowledge of remedy by the observance of natural laws, would be a crime. It becomes a crime on the part of society, which has not only the right but the duty to protect the children who are to be the State, to permit the indiscriminate multiplication of a progeny which, by the immutable laws of God, now thoroughly revealed in observation and history, and so made a part of the common knowledge of all, must inherit disease, insanity, idiocy, pain and wicked tendency. The truth and propriety of these propositions will hardly be questioned. Yet the general disregard of them in practice is conspicuous. It can only be accounted for by the very fact of that generality.

Alcoholism, that it might want no feature of hurtful power, transmits its every curse to posterity, and we find the world full of helpless sufferers of pain, and criminals ravaging society from the irresistible force of hereditary taint. Look at Jesse Pomeroy—one of many. Here is the most horrible part of the whole infernal business. The liquor trade would be comparatively a pious work, or at least an innocent recreation, if it were done when the voluntary victim is dead and—perhaps worse than dead. But it strikes through the parent into the child, and transmits virus instead of life. If prohibition of the traffic were made absolute to-day, and strictly enforced, it would be centuries before the human race could throw out and off the effects of these generations of vileness which now rest upon us with all their cumulative force.

Aristotle tells us that a drunken woman brings forth child-

ren like herself, and we know that the Greeks forbade the use of wine to women.

Plutarch says that "one drunkard begets another," and it has become a proverb that "like begets like." Intelligent stock breeders would know what to do with drunken animals if there were animals so degraded as to be drunken—and they were liable to perpetuate their kind.

M. Morel, a distinguished French writer, gives the history of four generations of a family: *First Generation*—The father was an habitual drunkard, and was killed in a public-house brawl. *Second Generation*—The son inherited his father's habits, which gave rise to attacks of mania, terminating in paralysis and death. *Third Generation*—The grandson was strictly sober, but was full of hypochondriacal and imaginary fear of persecutions, etc., and had homicidal tendencies. *Fourth Generation*—The fourth in descent had very limited intelligence, and an attack of madness when sixteen years old, terminating in stupidity, nearly amounting to idiocy. Here we perceive the persistence of the taint, in fact that not even a generation of absolute sobriety will avert the fatal issue.

And the same writer elsewhere says that he never saw the patient cured of his propensity whose tendencies to drink were given to him by his parents. The following is upon good authority: "The wife of an amiable clergyman of S——, in Staffordshire, England, was so addicted to drunkenness that she had frequently to be carried to bed. Every effort of her distressed husband failed to reclaim her; till at last premature death cut short her career. She was the mother of three idiotic children."

Dr. Elam says that all the passions appear to be distinctly hereditary—anger, fear, jealousy, libertinage, gluttony, drunkenness, ... especially if both parents are alike affected . . . . . by direct constitutional inheritance. Dr. Howe reported to the legislature of Massachusetts that the habits of the parents of 300 idiots had been learned. One hundred and forty-five of them were known to be the children of habitual drunkards; and he estimates that three fourths of the idiots are the children of intemperate parents. Dr. F. E.

Dr. F. E. Anstie says: "Where drinking has been strong in both parents I think it is a physical certainty that it will be traced in the children."

The following is upon good authority: "The wife of an amiable clergyman of S——, in Staffordshire, England, was so addicted to drunkenness that she had frequently to be carried to bed. Every effort of her distressed husband failed to reclaim her; till at last premature death cut short her career. She was the mother of three idiotic children."

The world is full of the proof. Every mind recalls its own well-remembered instances.

It is painful to dwell upon this, to me, most sorrowful aspect of the liquor crime. Intemperance transmits itself with the inexorable certainty of gravitation, and it is only by fortunate surroundings or strong elements of resistance implanted in his nature from other sources, that the child or even the great-grandchild can escape its baneful power.

Can we be human and resist this mute appeal from the unborn—the wailing voices, the upturned, tearful faces, and the cold white dead of childhood yet to be?

CHAPTER VII.

ALCOHOL AND LENGTH OF LIFE.

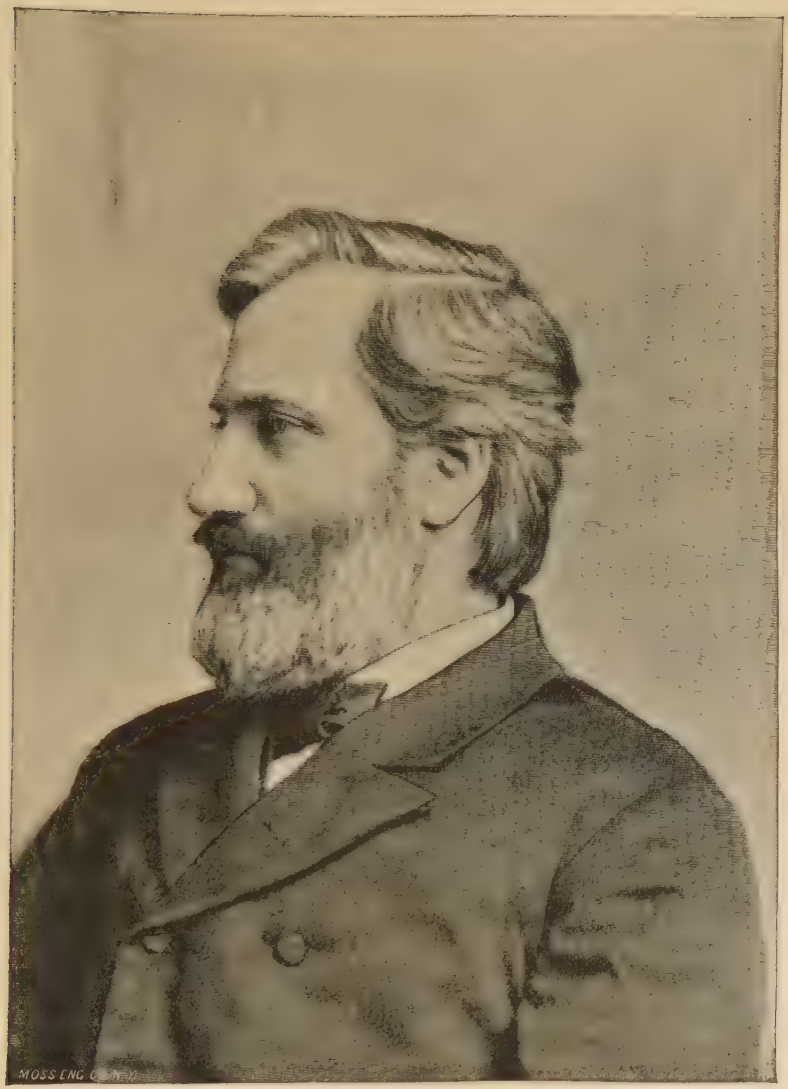
Investigations of the Subject by Life Insurance and Provident Associations — Human Life as a Business Commodity — Experience of the Great English Institutions—Superior Showing made by their Temperance Sections—Cases where the Premiums are Reduced Ten per cent. for Total Abstainers—Striking Comparisons shown by Diagrams—Experience of the Sons of Temperience—Mortality among Beer Sellers —Testimony of Leading Insurance Experts—Letter from Chief Medical Examiner Lambert of the Equitable.

THE medical profession is charged by every principle of honor and duty to know the effect of alcohol upon human life and health; we have, therefore, very largely drawn upon its facts and best intelligence already, as we shall have occasion to hereafter, not only in this work, but so long as alcohol is an agent in human affairs. Alcohol in the form of beverages will die when the medical profession is ready to kill it. I fear not till then.

But in this chapter I wish to collate facts from the experience and observation of institutions which deal with human life as a business commodity, and whose prosperity depends upon their practical and certain knowledge of the conditions which promote or destroy it.

It is hardly necessary to say that men endeavor to be sure of their ground before they put their money into it, and the knowledge upon which great institutions act successfully during long periods of time, in that sharp competition which destroys fallacy and all men and organizations of men who do not build upon the everlasting rock of business truth, is entitled to the profoundest respect.

Life insurance and provident institutions have investigated the alcohol question, not from the stand-point of sentimentalism, but of cash earnings and stock dividends, and in their researches and observations have employed the highest professional intelligence and business accuracy. Their work has accumulated for generations, and everything learned has been utilized as so much increased capital for further investigation,



Dr. I. K. Funk,

Editor of "The Voice."

until now these organizations regulate their action in dealing with individual men as much with reference to their drinking habits as to the presence or absence of tendency to mortal disease. Let us note some of the facts which have been developed by their experience and which are now the basis of their daily action in affairs.

The United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution of London, England, on the mutual system, was founded in the year 1840. It was composed of total abstainers from intoxicating drinks until 1847, but in that year non-abstainers were admitted to policies for the term of life.

The institution began in the year 1855 to declare bonuses to its policy holders—dividing the surplus of the two sections among the respective classes of abstainers and non-abstainers. The premiums in each section are the same, and hence the amount of these distributions would fairly indicate the health and life condition of the members as affected by the use of alcohol. It should be observed, however, that the comparison would not be between abstainers and the average of the community, for the non-abstainers are always selected subjects from whom are excluded all who have not good reason to expect long life, and the habitual use of intoxicating liquors to even slight excess would be cause of rejection. In such comparison large numbers show to best advantage, because the more frequent the admission of fresh members the less the relative apparent mortality. This will appear from the fact that if no new members were admitted from year to year the percentage of death must constantly increase until the last member dies, whose single death would be 100 per cent. of the whole, and would extinguish the institution. In the G. T. and P. Institution the non-abstainers have for many years outnumbered the abstainers in the proportion of three to two.

There have been five bonuses declared during the period from 1850 to 1879, inclusive.

PERCENTAGE BONUSES ON PREMIUMS PAID.

Temperance Section.							General Section.						
1855,	from	35	to	75	per	cent.	1855,	from	23	to	50	per	cent.
1860,	"	35	"	86	"	"	1860,	"	24	"	59	"	"
1865,	"	23	"	56	"	"	1865,	"	17	"	52	"	"
1870,	"	34	"	84	"	"	1870,	"	20	"	49	"	"
1875,	"	35	"	114	"	"	1875,	"	20	"	64	"	"
1880,	"	42	"	135	"	"	1880,	"	26	"	83	"	"

Again, the expectancy of life at any given age is the basis of the premium paid, and it is fixed at a rate which is sure to cover all probable loss from even exceptionable visitations of mortality. The consequence is the accumulation which is distributed as above, and it must result, of course, that, as the amount of bonus paid to the abstainers is the larger, that there is a smaller percentage of death rate among them than among the other section. The expected and actual deaths in each section are shown year by year, in the records of the company from 1866 to 1882 inclusive, and it appears that in every year during the entire period the survivals above expectancy were greater among the abstainers than among the non-abstainers by a large per cent.

Omitting the single years, the result in groups of five years is given below:

Temperance Section		General Section.	
Expected deaths.	Actual deaths.	Expected deaths.	Actual deaths.
1886 to 1870 549	411	1886 to 1870 1008	944
1871 to 1875 723	511	1871 to 1875 1268	1330
1876 to 1880 933	651	1876 to 1880 1485	1480
1881 and 1882 439	288	1881 and 1882 647	585
2644	1861	4428	4339

Thus the survivals above expectancy in the Temperance Section from 1866 to 1882—17 years—was 783, or 29.5 per cent. of the total of expectancy, while in the General Section, itself made up of persons of good habits and exceptional vigor, the survivals were but 69, or 1.5 per cent. If the membership of the General Section had been the same as that of the Temperance Section, the survivals in the General Section would have been 46, or two thirds of 69, which is one seventeenth the survivals in the Temperance Section.

Rev. Dawson Burns, commenting on these facts in his valuable compilation, "The Vital Statistics of Total Abstinence," says: "If in a comparison with selected lives of adults the Temperance Section showed a superiority of 28 per cent."

($29\frac{1}{2}$—$1\frac{1}{2}$.) "it is reasonable to infer that—taking the whole population and remembering how large a portion of adult and infant life is sacrificed to intemperance and its effects, an equal saving of life would result from the universal adoption of total abstinence. Now the population of the United Kingdom was estimated in the middle of 1882 to be 35,250,000; and the deaths in 1882 were 678,486 (England, 516,783; Scotland, 72,966; Ireland, 88,737); and on an estimate of 28 per cent. we have 189,980 lives sacrificed, in one form or other, to alcohol, that might have been saved in one single year by universal total abstinence. This number far exceeds the estimate of 40,000 persons directly slain each year by drink, and 80,000 others sacrificed by privations, neglect, accidents, etc., a total of 120,000; but it falls short of Dr. Richardson's estimate of the hygienic results of a state of perfect abstention from intoxicating liquors."

The Briton Life Association insures total abstainers at a reduction of ten per cent. of the regular premiums, and the Emperor Life Assurance Society at a considerable reduction. In the Sceptre Life Association, according to a printed document, the deaths in the General Section, during the seven years ending December 31st, 1882, were 335 out of 438 expected, or 24 per cent. below expectancy, and in the Temperance Section, 73 out of 165 expected, or 56 per cent. below expectancy. The Secretary writes, Oct. 22, 1883: "For eighteen years, ending 31st of December last, we expected 270 claims in the Temperance Section, but had 116 only. Of our new insured over 40 per cent. are total abstainers. Dr. Burns adds: "The saving of life has been at the rate of 57 per cent. In the Victoria Mutual Assurance Society, up to a certain time, the claims against the premiums in the Temperance Section had absorbed 20.3 per cent. as compared with 33.2 per cent. in the General Section, all other conditions of comparison being substantially the same.

The twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Whittington Life Assurance Company, September, 1881, mentions the favorable rate of mortality in the Temperance Section, and the same in the report of the following year.

The Independent Order of Rechabites, of Manchester, England, was formed in 1835. Dr. Thornley read a paper at

Bolton, November 9th, 1882, in which he compares the health and death rate of this model order of abstainers with the same in the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, who as a class are certainly far above the average of the community in regard to good habits and comfortable surroundings. "In Blackburn, Bolton and Manchester are 3400 Rechabites; their deaths in 1876 were 46—13.5 per 1000. In the Bolton District of Rechabites that year the death rate was 11.2 per 1000. In Blackburn there are 3500 Odd Fellows, and in 1876 they had 76 deaths, 21.42 per 1000."

In sickness the Rechabites have 16.2 per cent. while the Odd Fellows had 20.53 per cent. The average duration of sickness of the Rechabites was five weeks, two days and twenty-one hours; of the Odd Fellows eight weeks, five days and eight hours. Of every 100 Rechabites 16 were sick; of the Odd Fellows 20 were sick. In the Bolton District for ten years the death rate among the Rechabites was 13 per 1000, while that of the Odd Fellows in the Blackburn district was 19 per 1000. Deaths during prevalence of typhoid fever, Rechabites 18 per 1000, that of Odd Fellows 31 per 1000 in the same district—Over Darwen. But at the same time in the same district the publicans, liquor dealers, came to the front with a grim prominence of mortality at the rate of 150 per 1000—eight publicans to one Rechabite.

The *Sanitary Review*, after a long and careful comparison of vital statistics concerning the Rechabites and Odd Fellows, concludes thus: "Should the Rechabites at any future time muster half a million, the annual saving of life, were the same low mortality to continue, would exceed 2500 lives." This is in comparison with the Odd Fellows—one of the best-managed and the largest non-abstinent friendly societies in the world.

Comparison of the Sons of Temperance with other friendly societies of non-abstainers show similar results. The London Temperance Hospital has been in operation from October 6, 1873, up to April 30, 1883, 9.5 years. Alcohol is absolutely excluded. The average rate of mortality was 4.5 per cent. The number of in-patients was 1765, of out-patients 12,883. The percentage of mortality is of the in-patients. In the Manchester Royal Infirmary and Cheadle and Monsall Infirmary in ten years, 50,670, in-patients were

treated from 1873 to 1882, and the mortality was 8.7 of the whole number. During this period the managers seem to have been gradually tending to the disuse of alcohol as a remedy and with a decreasing mortality as the result.

Dr. Hargreaves gives it as his deliberate opinion—considering besides the sickness and death of adults, the thousands who die in infancy and childhood by neglect, imperfect nourishment, deprivations, etc., resulting from the use of strong drinks—that *one half* of all the sickness and *premature* death in the civilized world is directly or indirectly produced by the use of alcoholic drinks.

Nielson's statistics show that the mortality of the intemperate from 21 to 30 years is five times that of the temperate; from 30 to 40, four times.

Beer drinkers live an average of 21.7 years after contracting the habit; spirit drinkers, 16.7 years; those who drink both, 16.1 years. Dr. Carpenter says the average yearly rate of mortality for the whole population of England is 13 per 1000; those insured in life insurance companies, 11 per 1000; in "Friendly Societies" 10 per 1000; in the Rechabites, who are total abstainers, 7.5 per 1000.

Four of the best Life Insurance Companies make the following showing as compared with the Temperance Provident Institution during the same period:

Life Co.	A	issued	944	policies,	had	14	deaths,	equal to 15	per 1,000
"	B	"	1,907	"		27	"	" 14	"
"	C	"	838	"		11	"	" 13	"
"	D	"	2,470	"		65	"	" 22	"
T. P. I.		"	1,596	"		12	"	" 7½	"

Thus it is seen that total abstinence reduces the death rate one half and more below that of persons of good health who are not total abstainers.

Nielson says that a temperate person at the age of 20 has the life expectancy of 44 years; at 30 years of age, 36 years; at 40, 28 years; at 50, 22 years; at 60, 14 years. The intemperate person at 20 has an expectancy of 15 years—one third that of the abstainer; at 30, 13 years; at 40, 11 years; at 50, 10 years; and at 60, 9 years. The average duration of life after commencing the use of alcoholic drinks is, among mechanics and laborers, 18 years; store-keepers and gentlemen 15 years; and among females 14 years.

Among innkeepers and publicans the death rate per 1000 is, according to Mr. Nielson, 25 yearly, while of the general population it is 16.2, and as we have seen, among Rechabites and total abstainers, it is 7.5.

When a policy holder inquired of Mr. Hardy, the actuary, why the bonus is so large in the Temperance Section as compared with the General Section, he replied: "THE BONUS is a matter of fact. I cannot help people dying. Those who don't drink don't die so fast."

Dr. Willard Parker, so long at the head of the medical profession and so generally known by the American people, who loved him while living, and who now holds his virtues, abilities and eminent services in sacred memory, said in a public address, "That 33⅓ per cent. of all the deaths in New York city were occasioned directly or indirectly by the use of alcoholic drinks." Dr. Frank says that no more fatal gift than the art of distillation "was ever presented either by men or devils."

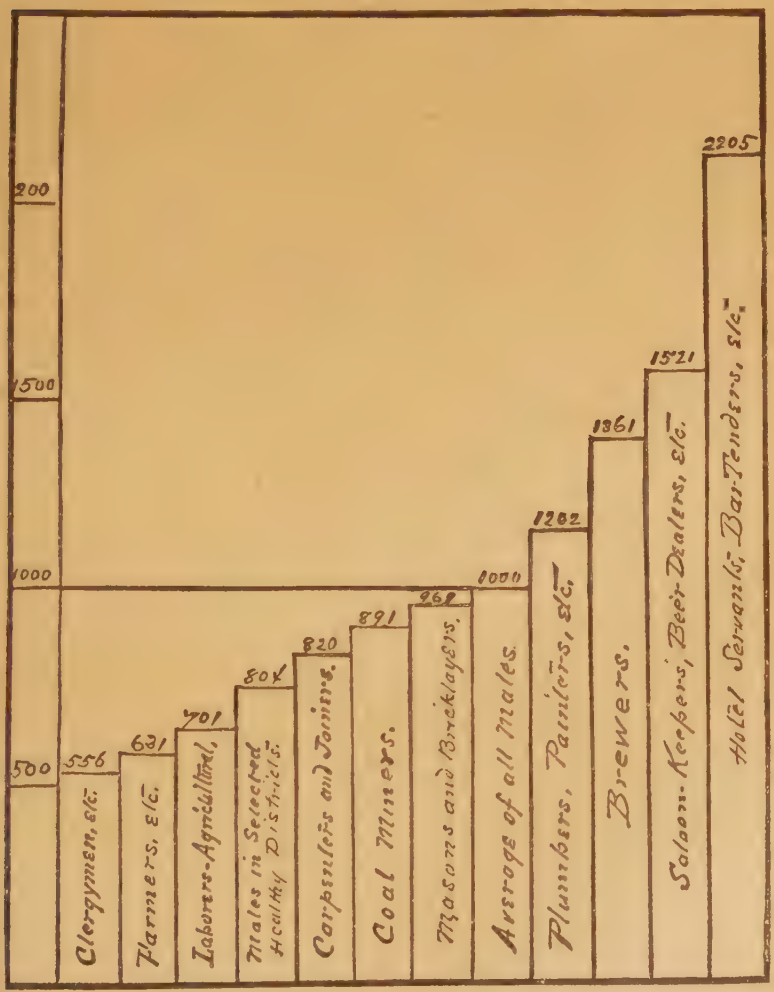
The Insurance Guide of England, as cited by Dr. Hargreaves, contains the following: "The mortality of the rum and beer shop-keepers is in excess of the mortality of all other classes. Thus, for instance, during the year at a given age:

Out of every 1000			farmers	died	12
"	"	"	shoe-makers	"	15
"	"	"	weavers	"	15
"	"	"	blacksmiths	"	16
"	"	"	tailors and carpenters		17
"	"	"	miners	"	20
"	"	"	bakers	"	21
"	"	"	butchers	"	23
"	"	"	inn and beer shop-keepers		28

The general mortality at the same age among the whole population of England being 18 per 1000." It should also be remembered that most of these men of all occupations are drinkers themselves; but, as it is, more than two of the liquors sellers die to one farmer, and nearly two of several other occupations as, compared with total abstainers. Recalling the small mortality of Rechabites per thousand (7.5) it would appear to be certain that the mortality of the liquor seller as compared with the total abstainer would be at least three times

as great. But for the presence of alcohol all these adults are engaged in healthy occupations, and the high rates of mortality among them are probably due to that cause.

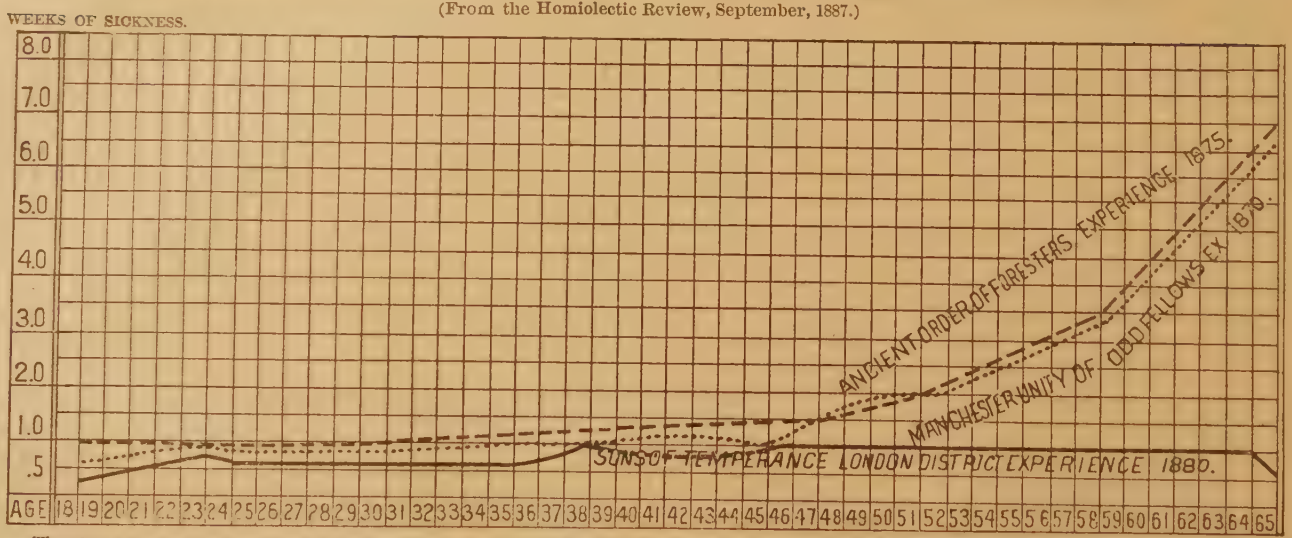
The following diagram is prepared by Rev. William Burgess, of Canada, who has recently published an important work, "Land, Labor and Liquor," from the Report of the Register General of England for 1880, 1881 and 1882. Where 1000 represents the deaths among all males, 1361 represents the deaths among brewers, and 1521 deaths among saloon-keepers, beer-dealers, etc.



I call special attention to this striking diagram taken from an important article in the *Homiolectic Review*.

A STARTLING COMPARISON OF THE SICKNESS IN TEMPERANCE AND OTHER SOCIETIES IN ENGLAND.

(From the Homiolectic Review, September, 1887.)



The above diagram represents the comparative length of the periods of sickness of persons of the same age, who belong to temperance and non temperance organizations. The column on the left represents the number of weeks of sickness; the bottom line of figures, the age of members from eighteen years to sixty-five. The heavy *irregular* line lowest in the diagram represents the experience in length of sickness of the members of the Sons of Temperance of London in 1880; the middle dotted line that of members of the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows for 1870; and the upper dotted line that of members of the Ancient Order of Forresters, the two latter societies being non-temperance. The diagram presents a striking picture of the evil effects of the continued use of alcohol upon bodily health. At an early age the difference in health between the total abstainer and the non-total abstainer is not so apparent. Thus from the ages of twenty-five and thirty years the average duration of sickness for the total abstainer is a little more than half a week annually; for those not total abstainers for the same age it is a little less than one week, during the same time. At fifty-five years of age this difference is much more apparent. While the total abstainer averages one week of sickness out of the year, those not total abstainers have fully three weeks. At sixty-four years the difference is far greater. The total abstainer loses still but a week in yearly sickness; the non-total abstainer has now more than six weeks of sickness in the year. We are indebted for the above table to the *Sons of Temperance*, of London, England.

By the Pennsylvania Insurance Report for the year ending December 31, 1874, it appears that during the preceding year the deaths were:

Western Masonic, R. A.	14	per 1000.
Odd Fellows	6	" "
United Brethren (M.)	8	" "
Temperance Mutual Benefit Association of Pennsylvania,	4	" "

In all these societies there are many total abstainers, so that a just comparison would be much more in favor of total abstinence than even the above indicates.

This table is prepared by Dr. Edward Jarvis, a distinguished American statistician.

Ages of persons.	Deaths in 100,000.		Comparative rate of Mortality.	
	Intemperate.	Temperate.	Intemperate.	Others.
15 to 20 years	1,342	730	18	10
20 to 30 years	4,953	974	51	10
30 to 40 years	4,620	1,110	42	10
40 to 50 years	5,992	1,452	41	10
50 to 60 years	6,418	2,254	29	10
60 to 90 years	56,174	33,260	13	10
Comparative rate of deaths in equal numbers of intemperate and temperate persons of all ages the same year			32	10

It will be observed here that the table is not a comparison of abstainers, but of those who are not intemperate with those who are. Yet three times as large a proportion of the latter die as of the former, in the same year, out of a given 100,000.

The practice and the testimony of all the great life insurance companies of our own country—and they are by far the best in the world—is to the same effect as that which has been cited from English sources. These companies, in order to do business largely, are obliged to insure non-abstainers, because, unfortunately, the totally abstinent are not the many but the few, and there is among the managers of these companies considerable conservatism, not to say sensitiveness, on the subject, partly, it may be, on account of a predilection for the article which they are liable to have in common with the rest of the community—the same that we find with the medical profession—but more particularly from a disinclination to condemn the habits of society, always an unpalatable thing to do, since one

thereby not only reflects upon his associates, but often still more severely upon himself.

I have personally made inquiry of the officers of several of the leading life insurance companies of this country, however, and find universal agreement to the disastrous effect of liquors upon life when used as a beverage. I also find a disinclination to contribute anything to the growing restiveness of total abstainers with the heavy and unjust burdens so long imposed upon them in their classification with drinking, and often drunken policy holders, in consequence of which their good habits are made to pay the death losses of those who never should have been insured at all, and never could be without ruin to the companies, but for the long-paying lives of the totally abstinent.

There is a great deal of humbug in this world, and more or less of it is found out after a while. I believe that but for the drinking of policy holders of life insurance in this country the business could be as profitably done as it now is for forty per cent. of the premiums now paid; and if life insurance managers fully improved the great opportunity given them to influence the people they could contribute more than any other class of men, except the medical profession, to the eradication of this terrible evil.

These tremendous companies, now among the most colossal monetary forces of the country, have it in their power to confer benefits commensurate with those they receive from the public by striking both with precept and with business weapons at the baleful drinking habits of those whom they insure. More and more they are doing this, and I believe that the Temperance Reform will soon count these great companies among their strongest allies. If not, the present companies will find their best risks quitting them for new organizations, which will act not alone for pecuniary success by dealing with human vitality as purely a business commodity, but will inflexibly demand absolute sobriety in all who are insured, or that drinkers be classified by themselves so that they can pay for their own excesses. It is unjust to the virtuous and temperate that they be obliged to buy life insurance for the defective classes any longer.

As indicating the awakened attention of leading life insur-

J. N. Stearns,
National Temperance Society.

ance men to this subject, I insert the following communications drawn out by the *Voice*, the able and indefatigable organ of the Prohibitory party. These communications were published in the first and fourth numbers of that paper, the last being issued Oct. 16, 1884, and they constitute one of the many great services of that journal in arousing the public mind to the vast importance of the cause of temperance.

TESTIMONY OF LIFE ASSURANCE OFFICERS.

Col. Greene, the President of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Co., one of the oldest and largest companies in the country, has put himself on record thus:

It has been my duty to send the records of, and to make inquiry into, the last illness and death of many thousand persons of all classes in all parts of the country. Two great features are shown in these records: the value of a man's inheritance of vitality, and the modifying force of habits of living upon that vitality. Every man is born with an amount of vital force that ought, accidents apart and humanely speaking, to carry him a specific distance on the scale of years, and each man's inheritance can, on the average, be fairly determined. Among the persons selected with care for physical soundness and sobriety, and who are, as a rule, respectable and useful members of society, the death-rate is more profoundly affected by the use of intoxicating drinks than from any other one cause, apart from hereditary.

The testimony of the same expert authority, as to beer, is equally emphatic:

I protest against the notion so prevalent and so industriously urged that beer is harmless, and a desirable substitute for the more concentrated liquors. What beer may be and what it may do in other countries and climates, I do not know from observation. That in this country and climate its use is an evil only less than the use of whisky, if less on the whole, and that its effect is only longer delayed, not so immediately and obviously bad, its incidents not so repulsive, but destructive in the end, I have seen abundant proof. In one of our largest cities, containing a great population of beer drinkers, I had occasion to note the deaths among a large group of persons whose habits, in their own eyes and in those of their friends and physicians, were temperate; but they were habitual users of beer. When the observation began, they were, upon the average, something under middle age, and they were, of course, selected lives. For two or three years there was nothing very remarkable to be noted among this

group. Presently death began to strike it; and, until it had dwindled to a fraction of its original proportions, the mortality in it was astounding in extent, and still more remarkable in the manifest identity of cause and mode. There was no mistaking it; the history was almost invariable; robust, apparent health, full muscles, a fair outside, increasing weight, florid faces; then a touch of cold, or a sniff of malaria, and instantly some acute disease, with almost invariably typhoid symptoms, was in violent action, and ten days or less ended it. It was as if the system had been kept fair outside while within it was eaten to a shell; and at the first touch of disease there was utter collapse; every fiber was poisoned and weak. And this, in its main features, varying, of course, in degree, has been my observation of beer drinking everywhere. It is peculiarly deceptive at first; it is thoroughly destructive at the last.

Col. Greene's experience, as given above, in reference to beer as well as alcohol, was fully indorsed by that of nine presidents of our leading insurance companies in letters addressed to *The Voice*, and published in October, 1884. James W. Alexander, Vice-president of the Equitable Life, wrote December 5, 1884:

How often what even we designate as moderate drinking expands into immoderate drinking, and causes early death, is hardly realized by those who do not have the evidence brought under their eyes as we do.

Dr. Walter R. Gillette, Medical Director of the Mutual Life, wrote January 3, 1885:

With all our care and investigations, the [Mutual] Company is called upon yearly to pay losses due both directly and indirectly to the use of alcohol, which, could the figures be accurately ascertained, would be appalling.

From Thomas W. Russell, President Connecticut General Life Insurance Co.:

I have no doubt the results are correctly stated by Col. Greene. Pneumonia, typhoid fever, inflammation of the brain, of the bowels, etc., are not unfrequently given as the cause of death, when it should be truthfully added—directly induced by the use of such beverages.

From George C. Ripley, Pres. Home Life Insurance Co.:

Our experience, as a rule, confirms that of Col. Greene. It indicates that malt liquors used habitually, even though moderately, cause an increase of mortality.

From T. H. Brosnan, Pres. U. S. Life Insurance Co.:

Our experience has been very much more limited than the experience of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Co., but, as far as it has gone, and to the extent of our own powers of observation, whether speaking officially or personally, we believe that Col. Greene's views represent the facts. There are, of course, cases where persons are advised to take, and are benefited by taking, malt liquors daily. But when persons are addicted to the habitual use of ale or beer daily it would be hard to define the limits within which they could be called moderate drinkers. The ability to attend to business is not a test to be relied on.

From J. B. Temple, Pres. Southern Mutual Life Insurance Co., Ky.:

I cannot say that I have such wide experience as Col. Greene's, but I do not doubt the correctness of his conclusions. In the case of moderate drinking either of malt or spirituous liquors, there is small hope that the habitual drinker will remain a moderate one.

From A. G. Bullock, Pres. State Mut. Life Assurance Co.:

I have not examined the subject as thoroughly as Col. Greene has and cannot answer, therefore, with as much confidence from personal knowledge. But generally, I will answer, my experience confirms that narrated by him. My experience is that the habitual use of beer, ale, etc., even by moderate drinkers, increases mortality.

From Stephen Ball, Sec'y of the Hartford Life and Annuity Insurance Co.:

From our general observations, we should take it for granted that a careful examination of our mortality experience would not fail to confirm the experience of Col. Greene.

From Sam'l C. Huey, President of the Penn. Mutual Life Insurance Co.:

My experience confirms to a great degree the experience of Col. Greene. I consider that malt liquors taken habitually by a moderate drinker tend to increase mortality.

From J. H. Nitchin, Sec'y National Life Insurance Co., U. S. of A.:

In general our experience justifies the conclusions expressed by Col. Greene.

From Charles Dewey, Pres. National Life Insurance Co.:

Our experience confirms that of Col. Greene, of the Connecticut Mutual Life. Mortality, in our opinion, is increased by the habitual use of malt liquors—beer, ale, etc.

The following extract from the Pacific *Medical Journal* is indorsed by the officers of the Home Life Insurance Company (New York), and made use of by them in the form of a circular:

The fashion of the present day, in the United States, sets strongly towards the substitution of beer for other stimulating liquors. An idea appears to be gaining ground that it is not only nutritious but conducive to health, and, further, that there does not attach to it that danger of creating intemperate habits which attends the use of other drinks. The subject is one of great magnitude, and deserves the attention of medical men as well as that of the moralist.

Many years ago, and long before the moral sense of society was awakened to the enormous evils of intemperance, Sir Astley Cooper, an undisputed authority in his day, denounced habitual beer drinking as noxious to health. Referring to his experience in Guy's Hospital, he declared that the beer drinkers from the London breweries, though presenting the appearance of most rugged health, were the most incapable of all classes to resist disease—that trifling injuries among them were liable to lead to the most serious consequences, and that so prone were they to succumb to disease that they would sometimes die from gangrene in wounds as trifling as the scratch of a pin.

We apprehend that no great change either in beer or men has taken place since the days of the great surgeon.

It may also be said of beer drinking that there is less limitation to it than to the habitual use of other drinks. It does not produce speedy intoxication. When the drinker becomes accustomed to it, it will scarcely produce active intoxication in any quantity. It makes him heavy, sleepy and stupid. Even in moderate quantities its tendency is to dullness and sluggishness of body and mind. Beer drinkers are constant drinkers. Their capacity becomes unlimited. The swilling of the drink becomes a regular business. It has no arrest or suspension, like whiskey-drinking, to admit of recuperation. The old definition of a regular beer drinker was true:—"Every morning an empty barrel, every night a barrel of beer."

Of all intoxicating drinks it is the most animalizing. It dulls the intellectual and moral, and feeds the sensual and beastly nature. Beyond all other drinks, it qualifies for deliberate and unprovoked crime. In this respect it is much worse than distilled liquors.

A whiskey drinker will commit murder only under the direct excitement of liquor—a beer drinker is capable of doing it in cold blood. Long observation has assured us that a large proportion

of murders deliberately planned and executed without passion or malice, with no other motive than the acquisition of property or money, often of trifling value, are perpetrated by beer drinkers.

We believe, further, that the hereditary evils of beer drinking exceed those proceeding from ardent spirits. First, because the habit is constant and without paroxysmal interruptions, which admit of some recuperation; secondly, because beer drinking is practiced by both sexes more generally than the spirit drinking; and, thirdly, because the animalizing tendency of the habit is more uniformly developed, thus authorizing the presumption that the vicious results are more generally transmitted.

It will be inferred from these remarks that we take no comfort from the substitution of malt drinks for spirituous liquors. On the contrary, it is cause of apprehension and alarm that, just as public opinion, professional and unprofessional, is uniting all over the world in the condemnation or the common use of ardent spirits, the portals of danger and death are opening wide in another direction.

It gives me great pleasure now to insert the following personal letter from the chief medical examiner of the New York Equitable Life Insurance Company, whose opinions, from his great ability, long experience and responsible connection with one of the leading life insurance companies of the world, as well as his caution and conservatism, are entitled to profound respect:

Medical Department of the Equitable Life Assurance Society,
120 Broadway, NEW YORK, July 8, 1887.

DEAR SIR:—Yesterday you called in to see me, and requested me to give you the result of my observations in regard to the use of alcohol. Please remember, in conjunction with these remarks, that my life has been spent in a crowded city, and the observations and deductions made are made from contact with brain workers, and not with men who earn their living by physical labor.

Please remember also that I do not wish these observations to apply to dyspeptics, or to men recovering from severe diseases, or to men who have inherited weak physical constitutions. I wish to be considered only as remarking on the use of alcohol in the case of the ordinary brainworker who possesses, by inheritance, a good physique.

In my judgment alcohol is a poison, and belongs, with the other valuable poisons, upon the shelf of the druggist, and is to be used only upon the advice of a good common-sense physician, and to be discontinued after the emergency has passed for which the physi-

cian prescribed it. To speak chemically, alcohol is a concentrated hydrocarbon, and needs a great deal of physical labor to dispose of it in the animal economy. I have noticed that men who are given to the daily use of alcohol degenerate faster than those who abstain from its use. They are more liable not only to chronic degenerations—such as fatty livers, fatty kidneys and the like—but they are also more liable to be attacked by acute diseases, and acute diseases are much more likely to prove fatal to the users of alcohol than to those who do not use it. Take for illustration a young friend of mine, who commenced the use of alcohol about the age of twenty-one years. He died after two days illness from suppression of the urine. When I came to examine his body, after his death, I found that all his internal organs belonged to a man of the age of seventy years and not to a man of forty, the age at which he died. I have noticed that steady users of alcohol are very much more apt to die between the ages of forty and fifty years of some acute disease than those who do not use it as a beverage.

Of course you understand that I recognize the value of this article as a drug. Physicians would often be at a loss to know what to do in certain acute and chronic cases, if they could not give their patients this article as a medicine. I admit that it is a disputed point whether alcohol is a food or not. In my opinion, judging from cases of severe illness which I have carried through, it does act in the place of food under certain favorable conditions, but, as you desire to know its effects upon a person who uses it as a daily beverage, my object is to only mention such. There is another point in regard to the use of alcohol which I think is worthy of consideration. This climate of ours is a very stimulating one; it develops a great amount of nervous energy, and is in itself a sufficient stimulus for the ordinary individual. Whoever, therefore, uses alcohol is simply overstimulating his nervous energy.

I have said nothing as yet concerning the danger which every one undergoes who uses alcohol regularly—the danger of becoming a chronic and excessive user of the article in question. Of course you know that any man who uses alcohol to excess destroys his general morals, and, if he once gets the appetite, there is nothing on the earth, or above it, or under it, that he will not do in order to gratify this morbid appetite. He will lie or steal, or see his family go to the devil with perfect equanimity, provided he can satisfy this inordinate craving for alcohol.

As regards life insurance, we strive not to accept any one who exceeds Anstie's limit, which is (as you know) that a man must not take more than an ounce of pure alcohol in twenty-four hours. We are particularly averse to accepting any one who has ever overindulged in the use of this article.

Reformed drunkards we avoid for the simple reason given above —that a man once having yielded to the appetite seldom has the moral stamina to live a life with even a moderate use of alcohol.

Trusting that the above will satisfactorily cover all that you desire to know concerning the general use of alcohol, I remain

Very truly yours,

EDWARD W. LAMBERT, M.D.,
Medical Director.

Hon. H. W. BLAIR.

The evidence based upon statistics and the business practice of life assurance companies, and by comparison of abstinent and non-abstinent individuals and associations can be increased indefinitely; but further accumulation is useless, for if the American people believe not what is already written, neither will they believe though one rise from the dead.

CHAPTER VIII.

ALCOHOL IN MEDICINE.

Considerations which Influence Physicians to Prescribe it — Difficulties they Encounter — Declarations of Noted Medical Bodies — Evidence that Physicians were the Early Advocates of Moderation — Resolutions of English Bodies — The Views of Dr. Stillé — A Physician who thinks Alcohol Sometimes Useful, Necessary and Indispensable — The Opinions of Dr. Davis on the other side — His Dissection of the Arguments for Alcohol — Review of Various Investigations — Letter from Dr. Hargreaves — Dr. Palmer's Statement of the Case — Varying Opinions and how they are Sustained — Dr. Rembaugh's Position — Dr. Wilder's Letter — Important Conclusions.

UPON the vexed question, whether alcohol be a medicine indispensable or useful, I do not propose to enter. It is enough for the purposes of this case against the traffic in alcohol as a beverage to know that alcohol is not a food, and that arsenic, prussic acid and strychnine are medicines. The most powerful poisons are stimulants and narcotics, and alcohol is the worst of them. Scientific investigation and the labors of a learned profession, chastened and restrained in practice by the growing intelligence of the people, may be left to settle what shall be classed with materia medica. We must know enough to select our food—that at least is the act of the layman; but we have a right to rely upon the doctors for our physic; that is what they claim to know about, for which they are responsible, and we, the people, pay—sometimes.

But that physician can hardly claim to be true to his patient and his profession who follows the routine of practice in the selection of remedies, who administers a medicinal poison when a food medicine would be an equally efficacious remedy, and especially strict should be his caution not to countenance, save in the direst emergency of his practice, the use of an agent which, like alcohol, is, in every other situation, the public and private enemy of us all. There is now a rapidly-growing opinion among many of the ablest and most advanced

members of the profession, increasing I think nearly in the proportion that there has been independent and impartial personal investigation, that alcohol is never necessary as a remedy, and that its administration is objectionable generally on account of the patient, and always by reason of the countenance thus given to this hydra-headed monster. It is also true that, with hardly a dissenting voice, the verdict of the profession throughout the world is that alcohol is a potent and dangerous drug, which should be administered or used only by the direction of a competent medical adviser.

It was not always so. There were hundreds of years when the practitioners of medicine followed, if they did not form, the drinking habits of society, and their present position is a great reform in their own body. When we consider that the still earlier doctors and chemists concealed the discovery of alcohol for three hundred years on account of the calamities which they foresaw it would bring upon mankind, if generally known, it is strange that so many of that same profession since those infinite calamities have come, and they themselves have so largely suffered from them, should be in love with alcohol and should recommend it to others. It shows the tremendous power of this king of evil, when, by reason of the clamor of universal appetite, the warning voice of science and of the healing art cannot be heard even by its own oracles—like a person so deaf that he never hears himself speak. It demonstrates also that the public can have the physic they cry for. The body of the profession will give soothing syrup when people will pay for soothing syrup more willingly than for anything else ; and, until the people are sufficiently intelligent upon the subject to reject it themselves, the body of the profession will not be at too great sacrifice of personal ease and the sources of livelihood in fighting the popular demand for alcohol.

In view of this fact we may well apply to the nation and the world the admonition, "Physician, heal thyself." Every profession must and ought to have, and in plain words will have, its bread and butter. It is a question which sometime will be considered, whether lawyers and physicians should not either be employed by the public and made pecuniarily independent, so that their labors and advice should be directed primarily

to the prevention of the evils which they exist to remedy, rather than the present system should continue, which makes it necessary that the evil shall be, in order that they may obtain a livelihood by its removal. Disease and litigation are the life of these great professions. If we paid them to be kept out of trouble, and fined them or compelled them to render gratuitous service when we are involved in the meshes of the law or suffer from ill health, or if they were salaried by the public to give us good laws, keep the peace in civil and criminal affairs, and to save us from suffering and ill health, we should at least place self-interest on the side of the public welfare. It has been said that the Czar stops the salary of his physician when he is not in good health, and that the Chinese apply this principle to their professors of the healing art.

It is impossible for the patient who is really ill to "medicine" himself, especially if his be "a mind diseased," or to comprehend the mysteries of his malady. If he could do these things there would be no occasion for the physician, and his occupation would be gone. But the opinions of those learned in the science and skilled in the art command our confidence in cases of doubt, often to a degree beyond that which is felt by the physician himself. I have therefore arranged in this chapter a few declarations of great medical bodies and a few of the many authoritative expressions, specially obtained for this work, of eminent members of the profession upon the nature and use of alcohol and its effect upon the human system and society. Without asking for their reasons we would risk our lives and the lives of our families and friends upon the professional opinion of any one of these men. They give us here the same calm and settled truth which knowledge, experience and observation have taught to them and upon which they act, and by their advice others act, in the most solemn affairs of life and death. It seems to me that a reasonable people should accept these opinions as conclusive without undertaking to settle nice and, to laymen, inconsequential and mysterious questions which belong to the lecture room and the laboratory. While they do not always agree as to the precise nature of alcohol and differ oftener in terms than in substance, it ought to be enough that these men say that alcohol is a dangerous drug, a poison, and that it is one

Rev. George C. Haddock,

"The Iowa Martyr."

of the tools of their occupation which no man outside the faculty can handle without great risk to body, soul and estate. But for the gnawing of appetite and the clamor of a great commercial interest this would be sufficient, and I feel great hope that with multitudes, especially of the young and the, as yet, unfallen, if not even of those who being in the river are still this side the rapids, these sententious but emphatic testimonies will be a saving grace.

The first important medical declaration upon alcohol in recent times was made in 1839 by English physicians and is as follows. By it those great men, being dead, like our fathers who issued the great declaration for human rights, yet speak for the emancipation of the race from the worst tyranny under which mortals ever groaned. They "declared the opinion to be erroneous that wine, beer or spirits was beneficial to health; that man in ordinary health required no such stimulant, and could not be benefited by the habitual employment of such in either large or small quantities; and even in the most moderate doses alcoholic drinks did no good, while large quantities (such as by many would be thought moderate) sooner or later prove injurious to the human constitution without any exception."

This was signed by Sir Benjamin Brodie, Sir James Clark, Sir J. Eyre, Dr. Marshall Hall, Dr. A. T. Thomson, Dr. A. Ure, the Queen's physician, Professor Quain, Mr. Bransby Cooper, and seventy of the most eminent physicians and surgeons of the United Kingdom.

In 1847 the second medical declaration was made. This declaration says: "We are of the opinion: 1st, That a very large portion of human misery, including poverty, disease, and crime, is induced by the use of alcoholic or fermented liquors as a beverage. 2d, That perfect health is compatible with total abstinence from all such intoxicating drinks, whether in the form of ardent spirits, or as wine, beer, porter, cider, etc. 3d, That persons accustomed to such drinks may with perfect safety discontinue them entirely, or gradually, after a short time. 4th, That total and universal abstinence from alcoholic drinks, and intoxicating beverages of all sorts, would contribute to the health, prosperity, morality and happiness of the human race." Sir Benjamin Brodie, Sir G.

Clark, Sir W. Burnett, Sir J. Forbes, Sir H. Holland, Sir A. Monroe, Sir J. M'Gregor, Sir R. Christison, Dr. W. B. Carpenter, Dr. Copland, Dr. Neil Arnott, Dr. A. Farre, Professors Guy, Allen, Thomson, Miller, McLeod, Thompson, and Simpson, and 2000 of the leading professors and practitioners of Great Britain made this declaration.

This it will be observed is a declaration in favor of total and universal abstinence from alcoholic drinks and intoxicating beverages of all sorts. It in fact covers the whole case with that calm but comprehensive power of expression which characterizes the utterances of medical bodies. They do not even say that alcohol is important as a medicine. They in effect declare emphatically against it as a food, for if a food the fourth paragraph never could be predicated as true.

The Third Medical Declaration of Great Britain was made in 1871. It reads as follows:

As it is believed that the inconsiderate prescription of large quantities of alcoholic liquids by medical men for their patients has given rise, in many instances, to the formation of intemperate habits, the undersigned, while unable to abandon the use of alcohol in the treatment of certain diseases, are yet of the opinion that no medical practitioner should prescribe it without a sense of grave responsibility. They believe that alcohol, in whatever form, should be prescribed with as much care as any powerful drug, and that the direction for its use should be so framed as not to be interpreted as a sanction for excess, or necessarily for the continuance of its use when the occasion is past.

They are also of opinion that many people immensely exaggerate the value of alcohol as an article of diet, and since no class of men see so much of its ill effects, and possess such power to restrain its abuse, as members of their own profession, they hold that every medical practitioner is bound to exert his utmost influence to inculcate habits of great moderation in the use of alcoholic liquids.

Being also firmly convinced that the great amount of drinking of alcoholic liquors among the working classes of this country is one of the greatest evils of the day, destroying, more than anything else, the health, happiness, and welfare of those classes, and neutralizing to a large extent the great industrial prosperity which Providence has placed within the reach of this nation, the undersigned would gladly support any wise legislation which would tend to restrict within proper limits the use of alcoholic beverages, and gradually introduce habits of temperance. Signed by George Burrows, M. D.,

F. R. S., President of the Royal College of Physicians, etc., George Busk, F. R. S., President of the Royal College of Surgeons; Professor Parkes and 189 of the leading physicians and surgeons of London, and 69 medical practitioners, heads of medical institutions in the various cities and towns of England.

This address is evidently forced out of men by a sense of responsibility in the presence of great evils fortified in the habits of society, which they are influenced to attack with some lack of emphatic directness, but which constrain to such degree of condemnation as they feel the people will bear. The profession was less outspoken in 1871 than in 1847. The drinking habit of England as well as America was stronger then than in 1847. If in the days of their ignorance God winked at the sins of his children, we cannot wonder that we have to read between the lines for the same real denunciation of the traffic which we find in the open approval of total abstinence in the earlier and better day of 1847. In fact, if the profession of our time would go back to the old Arabian, Albucassis, who knew in advance that his invention, if it got abroad, would be an unmitigated curse, and therefore concealed it, they would call a spade a spade. The prudent doctor is careful what he says of the origin of the gouty toe—especially when he has the gout also himself.

In 1873, the leading members of the medical faculty of Canada resident in Montreal, comprising G. W. Campbell, M. D., Prof. of Principles and Practice of Surgery, and Dean of Faculty of McGill College; E. H. Trudel, M. D., Prof. of Midwifery, and 25 professors in Medical Colleges, etc., and seventy other physicians of Montreal, united in a declaration considerably shorter than that of 1871, just mentioned, and also considerably stronger against alcohol. It is nearly up to the standard of 1847, and reads as follows :

February, 1873.

We the undersigned, members of the medical profession in Montreal, are of opinion—1st, That a large proportion of human misery, poverty, disease, and crime, is produced by the use of alcoholic liquors as a beverage. 2d, That total abstinence from intoxicating liquors, whether fermented or distilled, is consistent with, and conducive to, the highest degree of physical and mental health and vigor. 3d, That abstinence from intoxicating liquors would greatly promote the health, morality and happiness of the people.

I will now insert the following International Declaration, which was made appropriately at Philadelphia on America soil. The International Medical Congress, the highest medical body in the world, held its session at Philadelphia, in September, 1876, and I find the following in the official report of its proceedings on the 16th of that month:

The following is the report, from the section on medicine, on the paper of Dr. E. M. Hunt, on "Alcohol in its therapeutic relations as a food and a medicine."

First—Alcohol is not shown to have a definite food value by any of the usual methods of chemical analysis or physiological investigation.

Second—Its use as a medicine is chiefly as a cardiac (relating to the heart) stimulant, and often admits of substitution.

Third—As a medicine it is not well fitted for self-prescription by the laity, and the medical profession is not accountable for such administration or for the enormous evils resulting therefrom.

Fourth—The purity of alcoholic liquors is in general not as well assured as that of articles used for medicine should be. The various mixtures when used as medicine should have definite and known composition, and should not be interchanged promiscuously.

Please note that this supreme authority says that alcohol is not known to have *food* value and that its principal use as a medicine is to *stimulate the heart*, not to create power by nutrition, but to use up the capital of the body with unnatural rapidity, and even for this purpose something else might generally be substituted.

Has there been any proof discovered since that time that alcohol is a food? On the contrary, all the increased light which comes streaming in upon us from every direction is to the effect that it is not even a medicine, save only as any other virulent poison may be a medicine—certainly not an indispensable one, and doing on the aggregate vastly more hurt than good by the admission of all.

We have also the Medical Declaration of New York, Brooklyn and vicinity, which is one of the briefest and best ever issued:

1. In view of the alarming prevalence and ill effects of intemperance, with which none are so familiar as members of the medical profession, and which have called forth from eminent English phy-

sicians the voice of warning to the people of Great Britain concerning the use of alcoholic beverages, we, the undersigned, members of the medical profession of New York and vicinity, unite in the declaration that we believe alcohol should be classed with other powerful drugs; that when prescribed medicinally it should be with conscientious caution and a sense of grave responsibility.

2. We are of opinion that the use of alcoholic liquor as a beverage is productive of a large amount of physicial disease; that it entails diseased appetites upon offspring; and that it is the cause of a large percentage of the crime and pauperism of our cities and country.

3. We would welcome any judicious and effective legislation—state and national—which should seek to confine the traffic in alcohol to the legitimate purposes of medical and other sciences, art and mechanism.

This is signed by Edward Delafield, M. D., president College of Physicians and Surgeons, and of Roosevelt Hospital; Willard Parker, M. D., ex-president Academy of Medicine; A. Clark, M.D., professor College of Physicians and Surgeons and senior physician Bellevue Hospital; James Anderson, M. D., No. 30 University place, ex-president Academy of Medicine and president Physicians' Mutual Aid Association; E. R. Peaslee, M. D., ex-president Academy of Medicine, New York; C. R. Agnew, M.D., ex-president Medical Society of the State of New York; Stephen Smith, M. D., surgeon Bellevue Hospital, commissioner of health, and president American Health Association; Alfred C. Post, M. D., LL. D., professor of surgery in University Medical College and ex-president New York Academy of Medicine; E. D. Hudson, Jr., M. D., professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine, Woman's Medical College of New York Infirmary; Erasmus D. Hudson, M. D., physician and surgeon; Elisha Harris, M. D., secretary American Public Health Association, late sanitary superintendent Metropolitan Board of Health, and corresponding secretary Prison Association of N. York; Ellsworth Eliot, M. D., president of the New York County Medical Society; Stephen Rogers, M. D., president of the Medico-Legal Society of New York; Andrew H. Smith, M. D., visiting physician to St. Luke's Hospital, etc.; J. E. Janvrin, M. D., Verranus Morse, M. D., Brooklyn; E. T. Richardson, M. D., Brooklyn; William H. Hall, M. D., Walter R. Gil-

lette, M. D., physician to Charity Hospital, lecturer University Medical College; J. R. Leaming, M. D., physician to St. Luke's Hospital, president University Alumni Association, emeritus professor of medicine, etc.; James O. Pond, M. D., treasurer New York Academy of Medicine; Theodore L. Mason, M. D., consulting surgeon Kings County Inebriates' Home, consulting surgeon Long Island College Hospital, etc., and president Collegiate Department; G. J. Fisher, M. D., late vice-president New York State Medical Society, late president Westchester County Medical Society, and one hundred others of like character and standing.

In reply to personal letters addressed by me to some of the most eminent physicians of our time, I have received answers from several, which I think will be of great value and of influence with those who desire the latest and highest knowledge upon the subject of this work. I insert these letters, or such extracts as are consistent with my space, not with the purpose of commenting upon, supporting or controverting the views of the writers—for none but a fool would undertake to chatter among the gods unless he were one of them—but as presenting, I think, all sides of the subject with great force.

I suppose no one will question that Dr. Alfred Stillé is among the ablest men living in his own or any profession; and equally eminent among those who entertain liberal sentiments in regard to the value of alcohol in medicine, and the folly, if not wrong, of restricting "personal liberty" in its use by the forces of society. As such a presentation of that side of the question as would be expected from so eminent an authority I insert the following letter in full.

I may, however, say that it is the only letter received by me which takes similar ground, and also that it will be observed that Dr. Stillé finds it necessary to abolish the distinction between food and poison in order to maintain his argument, and to hold that "nothing is intrinsically poisonous." I am sure that the impression is very general among plain people that there is intrinsically a distinction between foods and poisons. We all comprehend that to eat tenfold of the usual amount necessary of wholesome meat, highly seasoned with spices and condiments to make it palatable, would be gluttony; but I am sure that no preparation or quantity of arsenic

or strychnine or even opium, however large or small, would ever be considered by the people as food, although it might be a very good medicine. Food is necessary when we are perfectly well; no medicine is good for a person who is perfectly well; at least prussic acid, although a medicine, has not generally been thought to be "intrinsically," even in the most limited quantities, a food for persons in health.

It is difficult to comprehend how, without a license in the use of words which confounds all forms of expression and the ideas behind them, there can be food or nutrition in arsenic or paris green. But those who find comfort in these views of Dr. Stillé will have occasion to economize the whole of, it or, after they have read his picture of the generality and extent of the abuse of alcohol, and his method of disposing of those who thus trespass upon natural laws and the welfare of society, they will close their account with scant satisfaction.

It may further be observed that Dr. Stillé also reasons upon the common assumption that the unnatural and acquired appetite for alcohol is instinctive and ineradicable like the indispensable natural passions and religious impulses. Again, Power instinctively enslaves, and slavery of the weak to the strong was once universal. Was its abolition, therefore, wrong?

The question, whether society ought not for the general good to prohibit the making and use as a mere beverage of that for which there are so many innocent substitutes, presses upon the mind with great force after reading this strong letter. No man ought to be permitted to exercise a non-essential privilege—to drink that which is not necessary for his own health—when his example destroys so many others. If he may, then, without necessity or benefit to himself, he may destroy others. This is a moral, and might well be made a legal wrong. It is conceded that he may drink alcohol for disease, for that is medicinal use.

3900 Spruce Street,
PHILADELPHIA, June 27, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR:—I had to-day the honor of receiving from you a letter in which you request my opinion upon the following points:

1. Whether alcohol is a poison or a food?

2. Under what circumstances, if any, it is useful, or necessary, or indispensable, as a drink or a medicine?

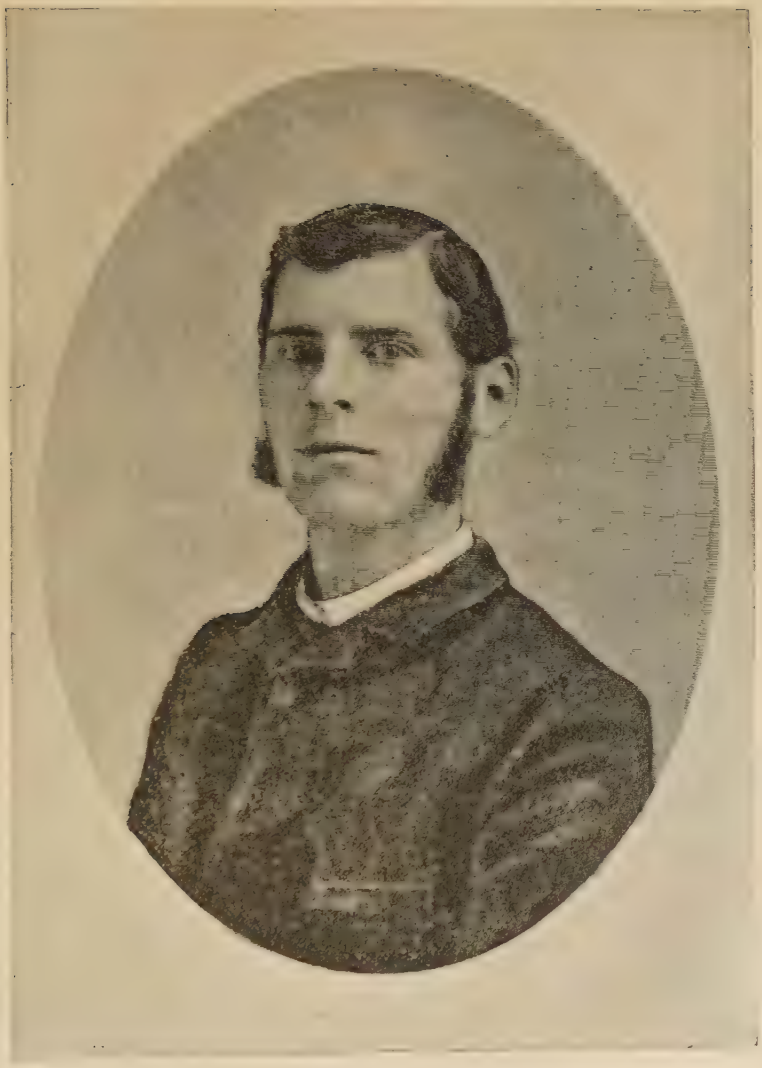
3. The discussion in regard to alcohol must naturally turn upon the attitude of your (the medical) profession towards it.

I beg to state that I have discussed these questions as completely as I was able in two of my works, viz.: "*Therapeutics*" and *Materia Medica*, 4th ed., 1874, vol. ii., p. 710 and p. 723, under the titles of "Wine and Alcohol"; and also in the *National Dispensatory*, 4th ed., 1886, under corresponding titles. In these papers copious illustrations and references may be found.

To answer specifically your questions, I would say:

1. Alcohol is food. Like any other food it may become injurious to life and sometimes a poison. Nothing is intrinsically poisonous. The substances reckoned as poisons become so only when unduly taken—i. e., in regard to the dose and the individual. Many poisons are precious medicines. The most wholesome foods used in excess may become a directly fatal poison, or by such habitual use bring on disease and death.

2. The circumstances that render alcohol useful, necessary or indispensable as a medicine are numberless and can only be described in a medical treatise, as I have attempted to do in the volumes referred to. I will only add in direct reply to your inquiry that alcohol is often useful, and sometimes not only necessary but indispensable, in the treatment of disease. I do not believe that it possesses these qualities as a drink—by which I understand a habitual beverage—because it is notorious that a great many persons enjoy good health, and notably women and children, without using alcohol as a drink. But such facts do not conclude against the use of alcohol by adult men, even as "a drink." They have no more weight than the argument against the use of flesh-food, drawn from the fact that the Buddhists, who equal in number all the Christians in the world, live on vegetable food and milk alone. Or, to take a more directly pertinent illustration, no more weight than that most decaying race in the old world, the Mohammedan, is the only one whose religion interdicts the use of alcoholic drinks. The use of alcohol is universal, and must, therefore, be instinctive. There is not a nation nor a tribe, however barbarous, that has not made use of alcohol in some form; and even the Arabs, who are now, in common with all Mohammedans, forbidden its use, were the first to distil alcohol and introduce it into Europe. The argument *extra abuse* is an old fallacy. It is not logical to condemn or banish alcohol because it may be admitted to give rise to more sin and crime than any other single cause in times of peace. But this and kindred facts do not palliate the fanaticism that substitutes molasses and



Rodney C. Gambrell,

The Mississippi Martyr.

water for wine in the Lord's Supper, or the ignorance that advocates the use of such wine only as is free from alcohol when it is certain that wine cannot exist without alcohol. The argument so misused would justify universal celibacy by the misery, immediate and entailed, of unhappy marriages; would justify absolute non-intercourse between the sexes because diseases, degradation and crime are entailed by certain conditions of that intercourse; would even proscribe religion, because, far beyond all other courses, it has been the origin or the parent of the bloodiest and most destructive wars that ever desolated mankind, and arrested the growth of civilization.

To counteract an evil by excess, the best way is not, and ought not to be, to inflict punishment on the innocent, but to prevent the existence, or repress the growth, of the evil by punishing those who are guilty of it. It is in vain to preach temperance when at every corner is established a legalized temptation to debauchery. It is almost as vain to press moral or religious advice upon intemperate men and women who are not only a burden and a plague, but a perpetual corruption, to the community. In my opinion such pestilent persons should, by due process of law well guarded from abuse, be deprived of their citizenship and made incapable of performing any valid legal act.

The medical profession, above all other classes of society, has an opportunity to observe and deplore the consequences of alcoholic as well as of other forms of intemperance. But, as medicine is a free science and art, and is not hedged in by dogmas as theologians are, nor controlled by judicial precedents as lawyers are, a precise accord among physicians is not to be expected either in scientific opinions as to the nature and causes of intemperance, or in regard to the practical measures fitted to mitigate its evils. And, if this be true of the wisest and most judicious among them, how much truer must it be of those who have more zeal than knowledge or discretion. Where the latter would override every obstacle in the direct road to their goal, the former are more apt to regard ethical and social questions in the light of experience as well as science; and while inculcating temperance in all things they do not, as a body, either disapprove of the use of alcohol as a medicine or regard its use as physiologically an error.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

Hon. Henry W. Blair, Alfred Stille.
U. S. Senate, Washington.

The name of N. S. Davis, M. D., LL. D., Professor of

Practical and Clinical Medicine in the Chicago Medical College, Medical Department of Northwestern University, the "Father of the American Medical Association," is well known on both continents, not only for his great learning, experience and skill in his profession generally, but for the special attention he has given, during the last half-century, to the investigation of the very question under discussion. It is not necessary to demonstrate the truth more than once, and one witness to a fact is as good as many. But he must be a good witness; he must know and we must believe. Dr. Davis is one of many who have demonstrated that in all the exigences of wide practice alcohol is now needless. Once it may have been different, but the numerous discoveries of other equally efficacious and comparatively harmless remedies has now made it easy to dispense with alcohol even as a medicine. It can still be used as such, but it is no longer necessary. If not necessary even as a medicine, certainly as a beverage, a luxury, it should be destroyed. Again it should be remembered that the science of medicine is one of vast ramifications. In every one of many specialties there is room for the constant and life-long exercise of the greatest abilities, and Dr. Davis has directed his, largely, to the investigation and settlement of the all-important questions growing out of the relations of alcohol to humanity.

CHICAGO, ILL., 65 Randolph, St.,
July 30, 1887.

DEAR SIR:—In reply to your inquiries I inclose for you a brief printed paper written by me not long since, because it will give you a much clearer expression of my views in regard to the effects of alcoholic liquors in the human system and their true relations to the treatment of diseases than I could possibly embrace in a single letter. I have been constantly engaged in the practice of medicine a little more than *fifty years*, embracing both private and public hospital practice, and have demonstrated by the last forty years of actual experience that no form of alcoholic drink, either fermented or distilled, is necessary or desirable for internal use in either health or in any of the varied forms of disease; but that health can be better preserved and disease be more successfully treated without any use of such drinks. With much respect,

Yours truly,

Hon. HENRY W. BLAIR.
U. S. Senate, Washington.

N. S. DAVIS.

The following is the paper referred to by Dr. Davis:

By alcoholic liquors in the following paper is meant all the varieties of fermented and distilled preparations containing alcohol, such as beer, ale, porter, wine, whisky, brandy, rum, gin, etc.; and my principal object is to give an intelligible answer to the often-repeated inquiry whether any one or all of these articles are really necessary for use in the practice of medicine where the paramount objects are to prevent, to palliate, or to cure, disease in the safest and most expeditious manner. To do this properly three preliminary questions must be considered, and, if possible, settled on a basis of well-ascertained facts:

1. Do any of these liquids contain ingredients of value to the sick, besides the alcohol they contain, that cannot be furnished just as well from other sources?

2. What are the appreciable effects of alcohol on the human system both in health and disease?

3. What are the conditions in sickness that it is calculated to remove?

Every one who has given careful attention to the subject will promptly answer the first question in the negative.

That the different varieties of beer and other fermented drinks contain a small amount of fæcula or modified starch, sugar and a little saline matter capable of being appropriated as nourishment is true; but the quantity is so small that it is practically useless.

The careful and repeated analyses of different varieties of beer made by Liebig, Playfair, Hassels, and others, show that it would require the drinking of more than six barrels of beer to get enough of the nutritive materials just named to make the equivalent of one ordinary loaf of bread. Hence no well-informed person would think of using those drinks to obtain fæcula, sugar or saline matters when the same materials could be obtained so much more readily and cheaply from other sources. The same remark is equally applicable to the active principle of hops in beer, and that of juniper in gin. An infusion or tea prepared from one pennyworth of either would exert more influence than could be obtained from the same ingredients as they exist in a gallon of beer or a quart of gin. We may repeat, therefore, with emphasis, that there are no elements in any of the fermented and distilled liquors in sufficient quantity to be of the slightest value, either as nourishment or medicine, except the alcohol and water. So true is this that one would search the world over in vain to find any one using a specimen of fermented or distilled liquid after the alcohol generated by the fermentation had been separated from it.

Assuming it to be a fact that it is the alcohol in all these liquids, and that alone, which is capable of exerting any important influence

upon the human system, I shall proceed to answer the second question —namely, What are the appreciable effects of alcohol on the human system both in health and disease? Having made this question one of special study and observation for more than forty years, I could easily fill a moderate-sized volume with the details of experiments, clinical observations and facts bearing upon the subject and affording an ample basis for the conclusions I shall briefly state in this paper. I well remember when, in accordance with the simple and fascinating chemico-physiological doctrines of Liebig and his school, alcoholic liquors were classed with the hydro-carbons as "respiratory food," and almost universally regarded as capable of increasing the temperature of the human body, and of stimulating all its functions. But when the investigations of Drs. Prout, of London, Sandras and Bouchardet, of France, and Böker, of Germany, confirmed by many others, had fully established the fact that during the presence of alcohol in the system the elimination of carbonic-acid gas from the lungs was diminished, together with a general diminution of waste matter from all the excretory organs, the idea of combustion or "respiratory food" had to be abandoned. This abandonment of the stimulating and heat-producing qualities of alcoholic drinks was rendered more complete when, in 1850, the writer of this paper proved by a carefully-executed series of experiments, in which the direct application of the thermometer was made to the subject operated on, that the presence of alcohol actually reduced the temperature of the body, and lessened the action of all the smaller blood-vessels by lessening the sensibility of the vaso-motor nerves.

These results have since been fully established by the experimental investigations of Drs. B. W. Richardson and Anstie, of England, and Dr. Hammond, myself and others in this country. But no sooner had the most carefully-conducted scientific investigations proved the entire fallacy of the doctrine, that alcohol was capable of stimulating or increasing the functions and temperature of the human body, than the advocates of its use reversed the grounds on which such advocacy was based. Accepting the well-established fact that the presence of alcohol in the system directly diminishes both the molecular changes and nerve sensibility, thereby retarding tissue changes, they claim that such retardation of molecular changes and excretory eliminations, by retarding the *waste*, was equivalent to the same amount of supply, and consequently that alcoholic drinks were "indirect food." As stated by Dr. Hammond, if the presence of alcohol, taken in the form of alcoholic drinks, lessened the sum total of eliminations from the human body to the extent of half a pound in twenty-four hours, it was equivalent in value to half a pound of food taken. This idea, thus originating with men of known scientific reputation, rapidly became popular, and

again furnished all classes with a plausible reason for taking whatever alcoholic beverage their taste or fancy might dictate. But a critical examination will show that this position rests on no better foundation than the preceding one of combustion and increased heat. That the presence of alcohol in the system actually retards molecular changes, and consequently diminishes the aggregate amount of waste in a given time, is a well-established fact; but the inference drawn from this that such diminution of *waste* is equivalent to the addition of an equal amount of new matter through the processes of digestion and assimilation is entirely fallacious.

Those who have drawn this inference have apparently forgotten two of the most important physiological laws relating to animal life—namely, first, that all the active phenomena of life depend upon, and directly involve, molecular changes, and consequently necessitate both waste and supply; second, that every cell or organized atom of living animal matter has only a limited duration of integrity or life, at the end of which it must either undergo a natural disintegration into waste matter, or degenerate into an unhealthy and lower type of organization. Therefore, whatever retards the natural molecular changes in living tissues retards or lessens the phenomena of life, as seen in the diminution of secretion, excretion, temperature, and nerve sensibility; and by retaining cells and organized atoms beyond the natural limit of time directly promotes their degeneration into materials of a useless or positively injurious character, as when nervous, muscular or secretory structure changes into atheromatous, fatty, caseous, or septic materials, instead of undergoing natural dissolution and excretion as waste matter. Hence, the prevention of a certain amount of waste of living structure in a given time is in no proper sense physiologically equivalent to the addition of an equal amount of new material by nutrition in the same time. On the contrary, both experiments and common observations show that whenever such mental or physical exercise is continued as naturally increases tissue changes and waste, and these are retarded or prevented by the presence of some agent capable of exerting such an influence, derangements of structure or function invariably follow. Assuming the foregoing statements to be correct, it is not difficult to understand the important effects of alcohol upon the structures and functions of the human body. Taken into the stomach diluted with water, as in all the varieties of the fermented and distilled drinks, it is rapidly absorbed, and enters into the blood unchanged, and circulates with it through all the organized structures of the body. This has been proved by a large number of analytical examinations, and the proof may be repeated at any time by applying the proper tests to the blood or tissues in from one to three hours after the alcoholic drink has been swallowed. While it is thus present in the blood,

circulating in contact with all the tissues of the body, its strong affinity for the albuminous constituents they contain causes it to hold the natural molecular changes in check, and thereby retard the formation of the products of those changes, as seen in the diminution of temperature and the quantity of eliminations. It is not the eliminations alone that are diminished by this interference with the natural affinities of the blood, but the taking up of the oxygen from the air-cells of the lungs is retarded in equal ratio with the lessening of the amount of waste carbonic acid gas liberated, thereby diminishing the necessary change from venous to arterial blood.

When the amount of the alcohol taken is small, but regularly repeated, as in the daily use of beer and wine, the diminished supply of oxygen to the tissues, coupled with the moderate retardation of waste, encourages the accumulation of unoxidated materials in the form of inert fat. This causes increased weight and bulk with corresponding decrease of activity and power of endurance, and if continued until past the middle period of life ends in fatty degenerations in the coats of the vessels of the brain, in the heart, the liver, or the kidneys, by which the natural duration of life is shortened by ten or fifteen years. When the quantity taken is greater and more concentrated, as in the free use of whisky, brandy, etc., not only are the molecular changes more actively retarded, leading to more rapid tissue degenerations, but the functions of the stomach and brain are so actively interfered with as to prevent healthy nutrition, and often induce either chronic inflammations or delirium tremens, or both.

Another important effect of alcohol while present in the blood is the direct diminution of sensibility in the brain and nervous structures of the body. It is this anæsthetic effect upon the cerebral and nervous structures that induces all the series of changes in the individual from simple don't-care-ativeness and unrestrained hilarity to stupor or dead-drunkenness, which chiefly occupies the attention of the public. It is in no sense a stimulant or tonic, either at the beginning, middle or end of its effects, as is generally supposed, but exerts a direct sedative effect upon nerve sensibility, by which the mind becomes less conscious of outward impressions of any kind, whether of heat, cold, weariness, weakness or pain, and in like ratio less capable of exercising self-control, or manifesting the usual sense of propriety.

Finally, the alcohol, having entered the blood from the stomach unchanged, is incapable of assimilation or appropriation to the tissues of the body as nutritive material, and is separated from the blood and eliminated as foreign matter through the lungs, skin, kidneys, and other excretory organs, as fully proved by the experiments of Lallemand, Perrin and Duroy, Richardson, Hammond, Anstie, and many others. It is true that the two last-named experimenters claim that

all the alcohol taken is not again excreted without change, but that an adult individual is capable of retaining in some way a small quantity, averaging, according to Dr. Anstie, from four hundred to six hundred grains of alcohol in the twenty-four hours. This small quantity, equal only to about one ounce, was supposed by these gentlemen to be used up in the generation of some kind of force, but what kind of force remains a mystery. The truth is that the loss of such an amount of alcohol from a given quantity circulating with the blood during twenty-four hours is no more than might be held in mere mechanical union with the albuminous constituents of the tissues, for which it has a strong affinity; and the only force it develops is the catalytic force of inertia, by which it holds in check those natural molecular changes that would take place were it not present. Without further explanations, the effects of alcohol upon the human system may be clearly stated in the following brief paragraphs:

1. It is absorbed from the stomach, and circulates with the blood, and is finally eliminated through the excretory organs as a foreign agent incapable of either digestion or assimilation.

2. While present in the blood it acts directly as an anæsthetic, diminishing the sensibility and force of both the cerebro-spinal and vaso-motor nervous centers; and as an organic sedative, diminishing molecular changes in the tissues and excretory organs, lessening the evolution of heat, and remotely favoring tissue degenerations and accumulations of waste material in the system.

This leads us to the third and last question proposed at the commencement of this paper—namely, What are the conditions in sickness that alcoholic liquids are calculated to remove?

In the foregoing brief review it has been shown that alcohol acts upon the human system as an anæsthetic, organic sedative and anti-pyretic, and a skillful physician may use it in any case of disease where either or all these effects are needed, provided he cannot have at hand any other agent or agents with which he can accomplish the same purposes more promptly and with less danger of any collateral injury to his patient. This proviso, however, if honestly attended to, will practically exclude alcohol from the list of ordinary remedial agents.

As an anæsthetic and anodyne, all will agree that it is far inferior to, and less manageable than, ether, chloroform, nitrous oxide, and the ordinary narcotics.

As an organic sedative and anti-pyretic it is so much less prompt and efficient in its action than either water applied externally or the internal use of quinine, salicylic acid, digitalis, and a score of other articles, that no well-informed practitioner would think of selecting it for these purposes. Really, at the present time, there are but two pretenses, or

supposed morbid conditions, for which alcoholic remedies are prescribed by the enlighted part of the profession. One of these is that popularly prevalent condition of exhaustion or impairment from overwork, mental or physical, or from excessive drains by nursing or unnatural discharges.

It is in this large class of half-invalids that the moderate daily use of beer, ale, wine, and occasionally stronger alcoholic drinks is prescribed, on the plea that their power to retard the waste tissues is conservative and equivalent to the addition of new matter by assimilation, the utter fallacy of which we have already indicated with sufficient clearness.

The other morbid condition for which these agents are very generally prescribed is that weakness of the heart sometimes met with in low forms of fever and in the advanced stage of other acute diseases.

It is claimed that alcohol is capable of strengthening and sustaining the action of the heart under the circumstances just named, and also under the first depressing influence of severe shock.

There is nothing in the ascertained physiological action of alcohol on the human system, as developed by a wide range of experimental investigation, to sustain this claim. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how it is possible that an agent which so plainly and directly diminishes nerve sensibility and voluntary muscular action can at the same time act as a cordial or heart-tonic. I have used the sphygmograph and every other available means for testing experimentally the effects of alcohol upon the action of the heart and blood-vessels generally, but have failed in every instance to get proof of any increased force of cardiac action.

The first and very transient effect is generally increased frequency of beat, followed immediately by dilatation of the peripheral vessels from impaired vaso-motor sensibility and the same unsteady or wavy sphygmographic tracing as is given in typhoid fever, and which is usually regarded as evidence of cardiac debility. Sometimes when the doses of alcohol are increased to the extent of decided anæsthesia the heart acts slower and the arteries have more volume from the increased obstruction to the movement of the blood through the capillaries and smaller vessels, and the diminished oxygenation and decarbonization of the blood in the lungs. Turning from the field of experimentation to the sick-room, my search for evidences of the power of alcohol to sustain the force of the heart or in any way to strengthen the patient has been equally unsuccessful. I was educated and entered upon the practice of medicine at a time when alcoholic drinks were universally regarded as stimulating and heat-producing in their influence on the human system, and commenced their use without prejudice or preconceived notions. But the first ten years of direct clinical or practical

observation satisfied me fully of the incorrectness of those views, and very nearly banished the use of these agents from my list of remedies. And while it is true that during the last thirty years I have not prescribed for internal use the aggregate amount of one quart of any kind of fermented or distilled drinks, either in private or hospital practice, yet I have continued to have abundant opportunities for observing the effects of these agents as given by others with whom I have been in council; *and simple truth compels me to say that I have never yet seen a case in which the use of alcoholic drinks either increased the force of the heart's action or strengthened the patient beyond the first thirty minutes after it was swallowed.*

But I could detail very many cases in which the free administration of alcoholic remedies was quieting the patient's restlessness, enfeebling the capillary and peripheral circulation, and steadily favoring increased passive or hypostatic engorgements of the lungs and other internal viscera, and thereby hastening a fatal result, where both attending physicians and friends thought they were the only agents that were keeping the patient alive. Yet, persuading the abandonment of their use and the substitution of simple nourishment, aided by such nerve-excitants as tea, coffee, carbonate of ammonia, camphor, strychnia, etc., judiciously administered, instead of further prostration or sinking in consequence of such withdrawal, there has generally been a slow but steady improvement in all cases where improvement was possible, and in no case has it been found necessary or advisable to return to the use of the alcoholic articles after they had been abandoned. *If I am asked why, under such a statement of facts, the profession continues to prescribe these drinks, I answer, simply from the force of habit and traditional education, coupled with a reluctance to risk the experiment of omitting them while the general popular notions sanction their use.* Nothing is easier than self-deception in this matter. A patient is suddenly taken with syncope, or nervous weakness, from which abundant experience has shown that a speedy recovery would take place by simple rest and fresh air. But in the alarm of patients and friends something must be done. A little wine or brandy is given, and, as it is not sufficient to positively prevent, the patient in due time revives just as would have been the case if neither wine nor brandy had been used.

Of course both doctor and friends will regard the so-called stimulant as the cause of the recovery. So, too, when patients are getting weak, in the advanced stage of fever or some other self-limited disease, an abundance of nourishment is regularly administered, in the greater part of which is mixed some kind of alcoholic drink. The latter will always occupy the chief attention, and if, after a severe run, the fever or disease finally disappears it will be said that the patient was sustained or "kept alive" for over two or three weeks, as the case

may be, "solely by the stimulants," when, in fact, if the same nourishment and care had been given without a drop of alcohol he would have convalesced sooner and more perfectly, as I have seen demonstrated a thousand times during the last thirty years. Indeed, if any one will take the trouble to examine and analyze carefully the records of the large general hospitals of both Europe and America, for the last half century, I venture the statement that the ratio of mortality from general fevers and acute diseases will be found to have increased, *pari passu*, with the increase in the quantity of alcoholic drinks consumed in their treatment. A similar examination of the vital statistics of different nations and communities will show a close relation between the relative mortality from consumption, scrofula, apoplexy, paralysis, and hepatic, cardiac and renal dropsies and the amount of alcoholic drinks consumed by the people.

I believe there is no better authority in any country upon the subject of alcoholism than Dr. William Hargreaves of Philadelphia. There is no branch of it with which he is not become familiar by long and profound investigation, while his conservative and conscientious character joined with experience in his profession both in war and peace, unite to give weight to his opinions. His great works, "Alcohol and Man" and "Alcohol and Science," are two vast arsenals furnished with every weapon for the destruction of the liquor traffic. I insert his entire communication.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., July 16, 1887.

Respected Sir:—Yours of June 25th was duly received, asking my opinion, Whether on man alcohol was a poison or a food? and under what circumstances, if any, is it useful, necessary or indispensable?

For more than fifty years, as boy, man, medical student, and medical practitioner of over twenty-five years, I have read, investigated and endeavored to obtain by observation, experiments and other means all the knowledge obtainable of the nature and effects of alcohol.

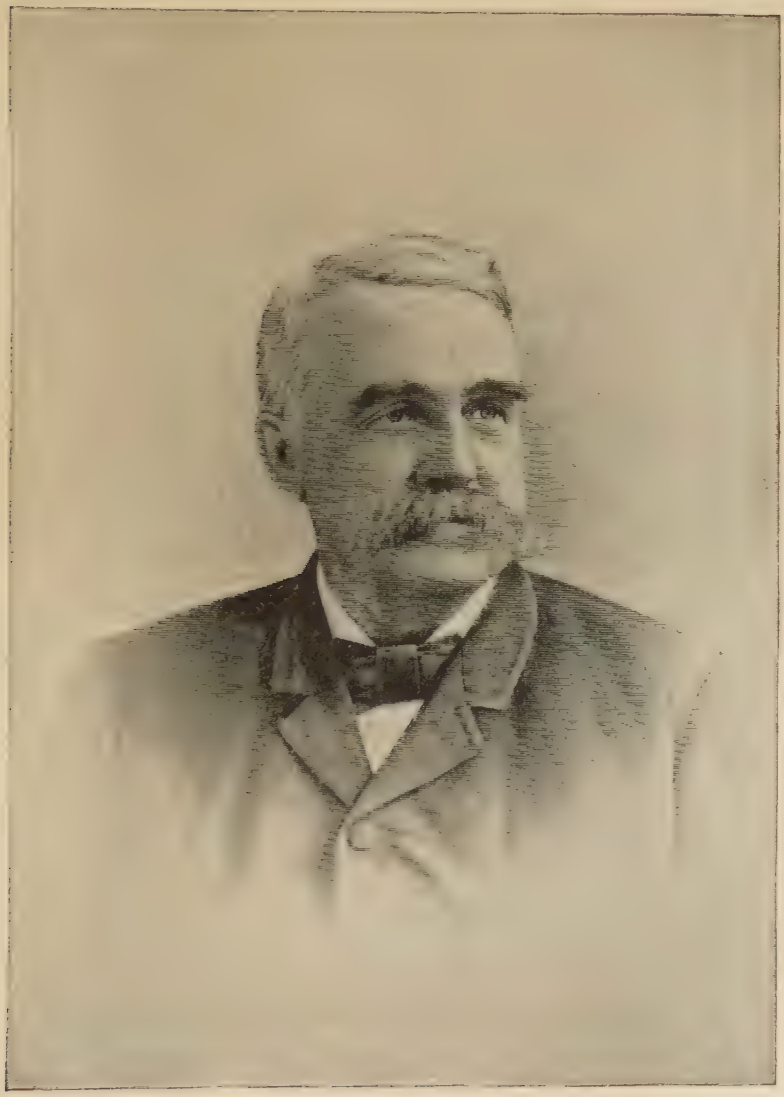
My own views of the subject, and others, are given in a limited extent in my two works, "Alcohol and Science" and "Alcohol and Man," but I will answer your questions as concisely as I can, and refer you to the above-named books for a more extended and particular account of the Nature and Effects of Alcohol upon the human body and mind.

Hoping the inclosed statement and opinions will be of service to you and the cause of Truth, Science and Humanity, believe me

Your very obedient servant,

Hon. HENRY W. BLAIR, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.

WM. HARGREAVES, M. D.



Hon. Albert Griffin,

Chairman Anti-Saloon Republican National Committee.

Alcohol, by the universal judgment and consent of all toxicologists, has been classed as a poison—an acrid, narcotic poison.

The experiments and observations of Fontaine, Courten, Lonzoni, Baglivi, Viborg, Metschelich, Jacobi, Falck, Percy and others of Europe; Hammond and others of America, have shown that alcohol is a poison to all the lower animals.

Poisoning may differ in degree, according to the strength of the poison or the power of the organism to resist its toxical effects.

That alcoholic liquors are poisons is confirmed by common and universal language; as the literal meaning of the term used to describe the condition of a person under the influence of alcohol, viz., *intoxicated*—is poisoned, and is limited in the English language to poisons acting on the nervous system. That alcohol is a poison in large doses is rendered plain by its action on the human body; for when introduced into the stomach in sufficient quantity, either in its pure state, or diluted, as rum, gin, whisky, brandy, etc., its effects are fatal.

Indeed no scientist will say it is not a poison in large doses. (See "Alcohol and Science"—Alcohol a Poison.) It is very illogical to suppose that a substance which in large quantity will destroy life becomes a food when taken in smaller doses. There is no other agent known to science to which such properties are given.

A food may be said to be any substance solid or fluid necessary to sustain the processes of nutrition, or the absorption of those materials which enter into the composition of the frame, or of others that may be changed into them in the interior of the body.

Dr. Edmunds defines food as that which being innocent in relation to the tissues of the body is a digestible or absorbable substance, that can be oxidized in the body and decomposed in such a way as to give up to the body the force which it contains.

Foods are usually divided into nitrogenous—containing nitrogen as albumen, gluten, etc; and non-nitrogenous, not containing nitrogen, as fats, starch, sugar, vegetable acids. Sugar (or other substances as starch that can be changed or converted into sugar) is the only substance that can produce alcohol.

One hundred parts of cane sugar and water produce, after fermentation or the putrefaction of the sugar, 50.3 to 50.27 parts of carbonic acid, and 52.62 parts of alcohol. (See "Alcohol and Science," p. 19.) It must be very clear that what is formed by the decomposition of sugar cannot contain the properties of the sugar destroyed. More than one half of the elements of the sugar is lost by being changed into carbonic acid, and the remaining elements are changed into alcohol. So that if all the elements of the alcohol were as nutrient as when in the form of sugar, to say nothing of the poisonous nature of alcohol, it would, as a food, be less than half the value of sugar. Some have a

notion that because malt liquors, wine and spirits are made from food substances they must be food. Let us examine the fallacy for a moment:

If three bushels of barley, 156 lbs., make a barrel of beer (2 bushels is used in England to make a barrel, and 2½ bushels in the United States) 5.2 lbs. or 83 ounces of barley will make a gallon, (there is lost in malting 20 oz. as malt-coons; in mashing as grains, 27.4 oz.; in fermenting 13.4 oz., in fining, as barrel bottoms, etc., 9 oz.: a total loss of 70 ounces, thus leaving in each gallon of beer 13.2 ounces of the barley, being chiefly gum worth little or nothing as food. Well might Baron Liebig say, if a man drink 8 or 10 quarts of the best Bavarian beer (equal to lager beer) a day, in the course of twelve months he will have taken into his system the nutritive constituents of a five-pound loaf of bread.

Alcohol contains three elements—viz., three parts or atoms of carbon, six parts of hydrogen and one part oxygen. It does not contain nitrogen, and hence is not flesh-forming food, is not therefore a food, in any sense. But,

Alcohol like fat is a hydro-carbon and hence may form fat, but we have no evidence that it does. The drinks that produce fat are those that contain sugar in addition to alcohol, as rum, sweet wine and beer. It is the sugar, and not the alcohol, that produces fat.

If we could prove that alcohol produces fat, it would be no argument in its favor, as fat except in very small quantity is a disadvantage; for it is something thrown into the loose tissue, more than the body requires, and is dangerous if too much in excess. It is well known that drinkers suffer from fatty disease of the heart and other tissues. This being an unnatural condition, if alcohol produces it, instead of being a food, it is a poison or destroyer.

As alcohol is a hydrocarbon does it give heat to the body? The experiments of scientists and the experience of voyagers to the Arctic regions, all combine to declare with one accord that alcohol is not a heat *producer* but a heat *diminisher*, and is not a respiratory food. Neither is it a mineral food, for it contains none of the basic elements of saline or mineral food.

Alcohol does not fulfill the requirements of the body as a drink, but interferes with them. It does not quench thirst, but encourages and increases it, and as a substitute for water it is worse than useless, for it cannot in any way supply the offices of water in the animal organism. Alcohol is so greedy for water that it will seize on the watery tissues and deprive them of a large portion of their moisture. Alcoholic liquors do not and cannot fill the office of either *food* or *drink*, for taken in moderate quantity they are useless if not injurious, while in excess they interfere with the function of natural food and drink, hence

are neither food nor drink; but in every sense poisons. That they are not necessary as a beverage, but an injury even in moderation, is proved by life insurance statistics and the mortality of persons in the different trades and professions in England as follows: Since 1847 the Temperance and General Provident Institution of England (Life Insurance Company) has had two classes of members: The Temperance Section—all total abstainers; and the General Section, to which moderate drinkers are admitted. For the last twenty years, 1866—1885, in the General Section the expected deaths were 5431, the actual deaths that occurred were 5284. But in the Temperance Section, where the expected deaths were 3385, only 2408 died. This is the difference between the strictly moderate drinkers and total abstainers. The working-men in England between 25 and 65 years of age die at the rate of about 15 for every 1000 living. During the three years, 1880, 1881 and 1882, where 967 men of all occupations died, 1521 publicans died, and 2205 publicans' servants died; and maltsters, who handle only the original food material and not necessarily the fermented alcoholic liquor, only had a mortality of 830. Then again where these 1521 publicans died only 701 agricultural laborers, 631 farmers, 599 gardeners and 556 clergymen. In fact where 15 working-men died, 30 publicans died (Dr. Edmunds). The Register General's supplement to the 45th Report, 1885, page xxxvi. says: "The mortality of men who are directly concerned in the liquor trade is appalling!" The above figures answer the question, nothing more need be added.

Is alcohol necessary or indispensable as a medicine?

There is greater diversity of opinion on this question than on any other connected with the alcoholic controversy. We find two classes of physicians of equal professional standing and ability: one entirely discarding the use of alcohol as an agent in the treatment of disease; and the other who use it and believe it useful and necessary, while the former deem it useless and injurious.

It must be borne in mind that the advocates of the use of alcohol as a medicine cannot claim any special advantage that cannot be claimed in a higher degree for the non-alcoholic treatment by those who have stricken it from their list of curative agents. From my own experience, observation and investigations during twenty-five years of medical practice and the testimony presented on both sides of the question, I am firmly of the opinion that alcoholic beverages—brandy, whisky, wine, etc., may be stricken from the list of curative agents to the benefit of patients under all forms of disease. If alcohol is ever used, it should be administered in the form of dilute alcohol of known definite strength to suit the needs of the case, and stopped as soon as the necessity for it ceases. It is the rankest empiricism for a physician to prescribe the common alcoholic beverages, for he is entirely

ignorant of what the mixture contains, or its alcoholic per centage. From my individual experience corroborated by so many other physicians, many of great eminence in the profession, I am constrained to believe what the late Dr. John Higginbottom, F. R. S., after more than fifty years of practice said: "*Alcohol is neither food nor physic,*" *for alcohol in all its forms, instead of nourishing, poisons; instead of strengthening, it weakens; instead of stimulating, narcotizes and paralyzes; instead of increasing the vital forces, it diminishes force, produces disease and is an agent of degeneration and death.*

WILLIAM HARGREAVES.

I am also indebted to the suggestion of Dr. Hargreaves for the following brief but explicit and comprehensive letter from Dr. W. Paine of Philadelphia. Dr. Paine is an independent and original investigator, and his terse and emphatic testimony, based upon long experience, observation, and chemical as well as strictly medical investigation should have great weight with practical men who desire to know whether alcohol is a curse or a benefit—a poison, a medicine or a food.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 16, 1887.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of June 25th was received, soliciting my opinion as to the effect of alcohol upon man, and whether it be a poison or a food, and whether it is useful, necessary or indispensable as a beverage or medicine. In reply I would state that according to my experience it is never useful as a medicine, as there are no circumstances or conditions where other stimulants or antiseptics are not more useful and free from the poisonous influences of alcohol; even for the preparation of tinctures and to prevent fermentation. Glycerine, salicylic acid, bisulphite of soda, lime, potassium and many other antiseptics and solvents are preferable. As to whether it acts as a poison on the system I think that it *does always* and that as an article of food its poisonous influence far outweighs any beneficial results that might occur from its use. Whatever excuse there might have been for its use as a medicine, when the knowledge of stimulants and antiseptics were more limited than now, there certainly can be none at the present time.

Yours truly,

W. PAINE.

Hon. HENRY W. BLAIR.
U. S. Senate, Washington.

The following letter, with pamphlets accompanying, was received from A. B. Palmer, M. D., LL. D., Professor of

Pathology and Practice, etc., University of Michigan, a distinguished writer of medical treatises and President of the Section of Pathology of the International Medical Congress which met in Washington, September 5th inst., and I regret that I have not more space so as to give the contents of this very able paper in full.

I have done my best to select the most important things contained in it, except such as have been already considered.

University of Michigan, Department of Medicine and Surgery,
ANN ARBOR, MICH., June 27, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 25th inst. is just received. I send you a "Report" which I made to the Michigan State Medical Society two years ago, which contains not only my views, but those of various eminent gentlemen in the profession, which you can make such use of as you may judge best for your purpose. When the report was made no one in the society openly dissented from any of the views presented. Had they done so I should have endeavored to sustain them.

The "food or poison" question is there stated much more fully than could be in a letter. Whether a small quantity is capable of being transformed into force in the system or not is not a material point. If it is so changed, in the healthy condition when other food is taken, it interferes with appropriation of other food, so as to lower heat and other forms of force more than its own transformation increases them.

But its characteristic action upon the body—that by which it does harm or good, if good it ever does, especially in health—is as a *narcotic*—as a substance which directly impresses the *nervous system*, and that impression when not acting as a *medicine* in *disease* is always poisonous—that is, it does harm more or less, and when taken in sufficient quantities, but independent of great bulk, destroys life. It answers all the conditions of a poison. In a little volume, a notice of which I inclose, you will find in the appendix a reply to Sir James Paget, of London, some matter that may interest you.

I would advise you to write to Prof. N. S. Davis, M. D., LL. D., Chicago, for his opinion, and I would refer you to his work on Practice of Medicine, and also to a similar work of mine for further views, which you will find in the library where copyrighted books are kept.

Yours, truly,

A. B. PALMER.

Hon. HENRY W. BLAIR.
U. S. Senate, Washington.

The following are selections from Dr. Palmer's address:

The action of alcohol upon the living system may properly be considered under two heads:

First, Its physiological action, or its effects on the system otherwise in a healthy state.

Second, Its action as a therapeutic agent, or as a medicine in the treatment of various diseases and injuries, or its effects in morbid conditions.

This distinction is important to be made, but with alcohol, as with every other medicine, its essential therapeutical effects are governed, and must be judged of, largely by its physiological action. This, after some general observations, will first be described.

The different substances taken into the system and operating upon it are classified rather loosely and in a general way as foods, poisons and medicines.

A food is a substance which, when taken into the alimentary canal, is capable of being absorbed from it, and of serving either to supply materials for the growth of the body, or for the replacement of matter which has been removed from it, and which thus effects renewal. Foods, to replace matters which have been oxidized, must themselves be oxidized. Foods by such oxidation must be at least *force generators*, and all the higher forms are *tissue formers*.

Some substances, such as inorganic salts and some organic materials, serve to influence certain actions which may result in the liberation of energy; or, acting as inhibitory or restraining agents, may check the activity of parts, and by these effects serve as *force modifiers*. The internal organs of the body are balanced and governed in their action by excitor and inhibitory nerves, and paralyzing the inhibitory, as well as stimulating the excitor, nerves and functions, will increase, though generally abnormally, the action of the organs concerned. The removal of the pendulum of a clock, or the balance wheel of a watch, though adding no force, will allow the mechanism to run on more rapidly until it runs down. The paralyzing of the inhibitory nerves may give an appearance of stimulation, but in this, real and useful force is not augmented. These conditions may lead an observer to false conclusions, giving the impression that a real sedative, operating upon inhibitory functions, is a stimulant.

But excitors, such as condiments, mustard, pepper, cinnamon, etc., increase certain actions, though they yield very little or no force by their oxidation. They stimulate the mouth and other parts of the alimentary canal, increasing the flow of digestive secretions, and often increase the appetite for food, and the power of digesting

it. Food, digested and appropriated, is force, and thus the condiment may indirectly produce force. Some substances diminish action, general or special, and that leads to the diminution of all force in the system. Other substances, as the active principle of tea and coffee, or of the coca leaves, make impressions upon the system which modify actions, resulting in changes of various kinds. These cannot be regarded as foods, as they supply no appreciable force by their oxidation, nor do they furnish any appreciable amount of material for supplying the tissues. They have, however, an apparent sustaining effect greater than alcohol.

According to Prof. H. N. Martin, of Johns Hopkins University, one of the latest and most expert experimenters, and one of the most authoritative writers on physiology in this country, and whose work on the "Human Body" has received the rare distinction of being approved by our State Board of Health, a food must fulfill the following conditions:

First, It must contain the elements which it is to furnish and replace in the body, and also those elements leaving the body. Substances are of no use as foods which are not capable of oxidation under the conditions prevailing in the system, and which are not capable of construction into its tissues.

Second, Foods must be capable of being absorbed from the alimentary canal, and either by themselves, or the changes they undergo, must be capable of furnishing force, or the elements of tissues.

Third, (And this is his precise language), "Neither the substance itself, nor any of the products of its transformation in the body, must be injurious to the structure or activity of any organ. If so it is a *poison*, not a food."

A *poison* is briefly defined by the quotation from Prof. Martin in this last sentence. It is a substance which, when applied to or taken into the body, by its peculiar qualities independent of mere mechanical properties or of large bulk, is capable of inflicting injury upon the organism, either in its functions or structure, and which when used in certain quantities, but still independent of great bulk, may produce death.

Medicines are substances given for the purpose of modifying favorably morbid actions and conditions, and are capable of producing such effects. They are generally injurious to persons in health, and are beneficial only when they produce favorable changes in diseased states. The same article may be a medicine or a poison according to the purpose and the conditions of its use. Thus, opium, prussic acid, arsenic, and corrosive sublimate are deadly poisons, but used in proper quantities, and in relation to certain morbid conditions, they are useful medicines.

Again, some articles are both medicines and foods. Of this class cod liver oil and malt are examples. Neither of these, however, has poisonous properties, in the ordinary sense of these terms.

These facts and principles seem necessary to be borne in mind for the purpose of placing alcohol where it belongs, and for understanding its proper actions.

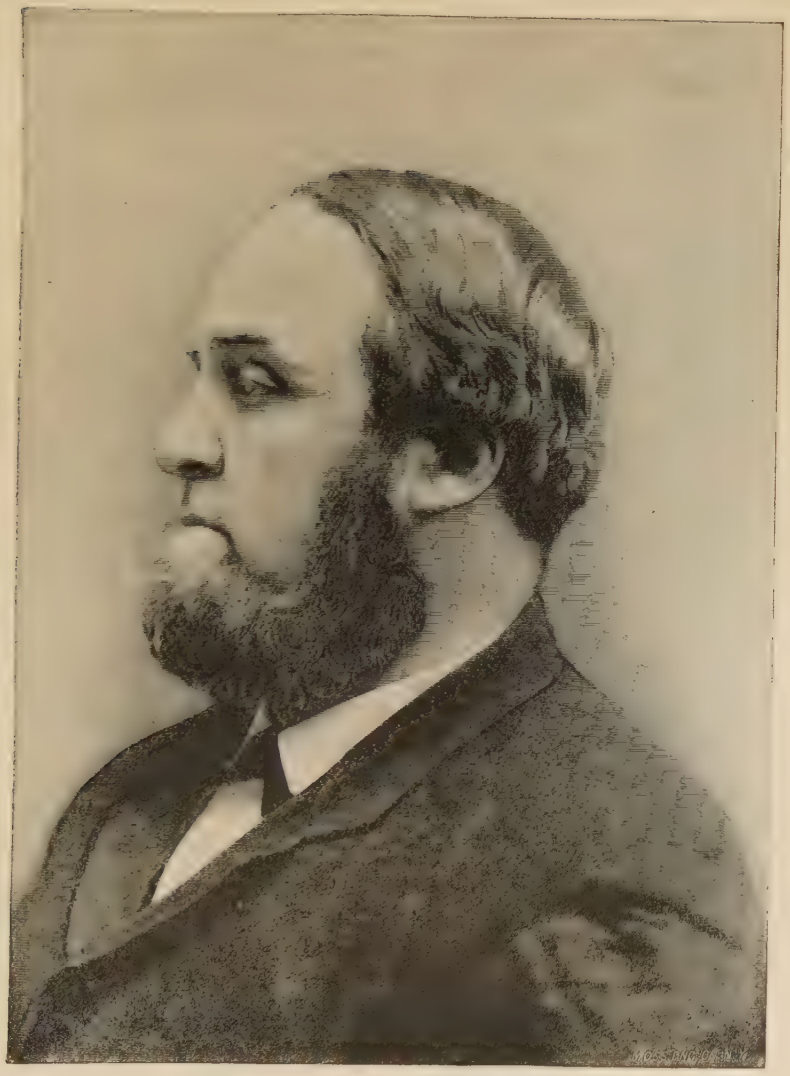
After a careful description of the physiological effect of alcohol upon the system similar to what has been already given in this work, Dr. Palmer proceeds:

I have thus minutely, and I fear tediously, traced the general acute or immediate physiological effects of alcohol, and have showed its analogy—its substantial identity—with that of chloroform and ether, in order to enable us to see more clearly to what class of agents it belongs.

If chloroform is a poison, alcohol is essentially a poison. We waive, for the present, the question of its food properties. If such properties exist, they are so slight and trival, compared with its other actions, as not to be worthy, in this connection, of being brought into the account. If chloroform is a narcotic, alcohol is a narcotic. If chloroform is an anæsthetic, alcohol is an anæsthetic. If one is essentially a depressing agent, so is the other. Their strong resemblance no one can question. The chief difference is that the alcoholic narcosis is longer continued, and its secondary effects are more severe.

It is this narcotic or anæsthetic action of alcohol, its power to diminish sensibility or modify the feelings, rendering the individual less conscious of outward disagreeable impressions, relieving a sense of fatigue, of pain, of dragging weight, of mental depression and distress, which has led to the popular error respecting it, and the contradictory uses made of it. It is in consequence of its diminishing outward impressions and inward monitions that it is taken to warm in winter, and cool in summer, to soothe in affliction, and render insensible to reproach or the upbraidings of conscience.

He then cites recent experiments which prove the former opinion, that alcohol stimulated the heart by an increase of real force, to be a mistake. It creates a flutter, but decreases power. There is no increased arterial pressure, which pressure is known to be the evidence of heart force. Increased frequency of pulsation is often the strongest evidence of diminished power—witness the fluttering pulse of extreme weakness. "The report of Drs. Ringer and Sainsbury closes with the



Rev. Joseph Cook.

following remark, announcing the most important fact which these experiments confirm, viz.: 'That by their action on the cardiac tissue these drugs (the alcohols) are clearly *paralyzant*, and this appears to be the case from the outset, no stage of increased force of construction preceding.'—(Practitioners [London], May, 1883, p. 350.)"

He states the following very important fact not sufficiently emphasized hitherto: "There is a connection, often marked, in the use of the different narcotics. The alcohol habit tends to produce the opium habit, and the reverse; one may be substituted for the other, and the two are often indulged together. The same principle, to a greater or less extent, applies to the wide-spread tobacco habit, and to the less prevalent chloroform, chloral and hasheesh habits. The indulgence in any one begets a tendency to indulge in others. The habitual use of any of them produces a constitutional narcotic state, different from the normal."

Dr. Palmer confirms all that is elsewhere said of the hereditary consequences of the use of alcohol, and in regard to the effect of moderate use he says that: "Morbid qualities of a milder character in the parents may be exaggerated and otherwise modified in the offspring. Thus, *inebriety* with its ordinary perversions in the parent may become idiocy or insanity in the child; and moderate drinking in the father, creating an appetite which in him is controlled, may produce drunkenness in the son, or even dipsomania in the son or the grandson, which may be beyond all control. Our personal observations have afforded sufficient instances of this kind, and the general testimony of those who have given attention to this subject abundantly confirms the statement." And closes the topic thus: "The occasion will not admit of a further discussion of the subject of heredity in its relations to alcoholism and the other narcotic habits. These habits are the present bane—a crying evil of nearly the entire world, and we may well consider and teach others to consider the influence of our personal indulgence upon those that are to come after us—the habits of this generation upon those that are to come."

I have space but for so much of his able discussion of the action of alcohol as a medicine:

The discussion of the therapeutic properties of alcohol takes us into another department of scientific principles and practical considerations. While the remedial effects of medicines in disease are largely determined by their essential action in health, yet the difference of condition in these respective states is such that an agent which may affect injuriously the one may act beneficially upon the other. No one can suppose that opium, mercury or strychnine can do other than injury to a person in health, yet their temporary actions in certain diseases are beneficial.

Alcohol, though not a stimulant in its essential action, nor an increaser of power in a healthy person, may possible indirectly act as an increaser of force in a sick or injured one. By soothing a depressing irritation, or by relieving a severe shock, or by modifying favorably some pathological condition, thus removing or abating an injurious cause, a beneficial effect may follow.

He gives us the following as the latest teaching of science as to the development of force by the oxidation or burning of alcohol in the body:

The question as to the oxidation of any portion of the alcohol taken into the system, and the consequent development of force by it, is not absolutely settled. Baron Liebig, who for a time held great sway in the scientific, especially the chemical, world, taught that alcohol, a hydro-carbon, united with oxygen in the lungs, producing carbonic acid and water, thus becoming "respiratory food," and in so doing producing heat and perhaps other forms of force. The simplicity of this theory (for it was only theory), and the high authority of its author, caused it to be quite generally accepted, though resting upon a basis so purely speculative, and, as declared by high modern authority, "without a single experimental fact for its support." But Drs. Prout and Percy, of England, Boöker, of Germany, Davis, of this country, and others, ascertained by the most direct and conclusive experiments, that less carbonic acid was given off from the lungs, and therefore less combustion of carbonaceous matter occurred in them, when alcohol was taken, than without it; and that the sum total of elimination of effete matters was diminished by the presence of this article in the system. This proved that alcohol retarded those chemical and vital changes by which nutrition, secretion and elimination are effected. The inference from this was that, by this article, under the circumstances in which these experiments were tried—in comparative health and with an ordinary diet—the production of force was diminished and not increased. This inference was corroborated by the fact that the thermometers showed that the production of heat was diminished, and

presumably other forms of force also, and that *Liebig's theory was untrue*. Numerous experiments have since proved the absorption of the alcohol from the stomach unchanged, its diffusion throughout the body in the blood, and its passage out of the body by the lungs, by the skin, by the kidneys, and other excretions, still unchanged.

The following summary of the changes of scientific knowledge and opinion in the recent past and of the rapidly increasing evidence going to establish the worst that has ever been alleged against the terrible scourge of alcohol closes Dr. Palmer's pamphlet and is especially timely and valuable:

We thought, and we may sometimes still think, it makes us witty. We know from observation it makes men silly.

We thought it brightened the intellect and might make men wiser. We find that in the long run, at least, it dulls the intellect and makes men foolish.

Wine has been called the "milk of age," and we thought it supported advanced life. We know that the aged live longer and retain their powers better without its use.

As a medicine, or prophylactic measure, we thought it protected against epidemic diseases. We now know it invites attacks.

We thought it prevented and even cured consumption. We know it is the most frequent cause of at least one form of that disease—fibroid phthisis.

We thought, moderately used, it was good for many things. Those who have given most careful attention to the subject believe it is good for very few things.

The demonstrations of modern science have shown the truth of the ancient saying of the Wise Man: "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging, and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise."

The preceding view of this subject prompts us in conclusion to say that, as our scientific knowledge of alcohol advances, our practice with it and our language respecting it should change.

As to its physiological effects, we have certainly in many respects been mistaken in the past. We have said it excited the vaso-motor nerves of the surface, and thus caused increased vascular action in the cutaneous circulation. We know now it depresses those nerves and causes passive dilatation of the surface vessels. We thought it increased animal heat. The thermometer shows it diminishes it. We thought that from more blood coming to the surface, and sometimes causing a feeling of warmth, it would diminish the danger from exposure to cold. We find that from less heat being produced in the centers, and more being lost from the surface by the increased

blood in the superficial vessels, the danger of exposure to cold under its influence is greatly increased.

We said the alcohol taken was oxidized in the lungs, and that increased heat and other forms of force were thus produced. We find it is not thus oxidized, or, if at all, in so small a quantity that its effect is ordinarily much more than counterbalanced by the diminution of the oxidation of other hydro-carbons which it produces; so that under its influence heat and the other forms of force are lessened.

We thought it increased muscular strength, and it was taken to aid men in their work. We find that it diminishes muscular power, both for immediate action and with reference to endurance.

We thought, as it often makes one *feel* stronger, that this was evidence that one *is* stronger. We now know that this feeling is deceptive, and is not even presumptive evidence of increased strength. We see that the drunken man while boasting of his strength falls to the ground.

We said it was a direct heart excitor. We now know it is a direct heart depressor.

We said, and nearly all the text-books still say, it is a direct *cardiac stimulant*. We know from most conclusive experiments it is a direct *cardiac paralyzant*.

The following letter from Dr. Alexander Wilder a widely known and eminent practitioner, of Newark, New Jersey, shows how alcohol may be used in some cases with curative effect, but the necessity of the creation of a sense of responsibility which is not felt, and the exercise of a rigid caution which is not now generally exercised by the profession in prescribing this dangerous agency is particularly emphasized in his closing words. Referring to the heedlessness which now prevails, he says: "I regard such prescribing as unquestionably a stigma upon the medical profession. . . . . Till that time" (when there shall be more care by the profession in this regard) "we must expect men, aye, and women, too, to become and continue drunkards, having been seduced into this degradation by their medical advisers." If the profession continues to be wrong—guilty—as thus charged, how can we have hope for the country or the world? Doctors discovered distillation; doctors can destroy the destroyer which they have let loose upon mankind. Will you do it? Is there any other so great question upon the profession?

Could not the International Congress make professional laws which shall forbid the criminal liberality and indifference with which members of the profession who are subject to its censure, administer this fatal drug? Cannot this form of murder, or worse than murder, be turned over to the quacks? We are on our guard against them, or if not, must blame our own folly. But we are betrayed by our "old family physician;" we become drunkards by the advice and order of the friend in whom we most trusted, and to whose hands we have confided the issues of life.

It is a breach of trust, and unless the great organizations and the individual members subject to their discipline attend to this thing, the growing intelligence of the common people will curse their worse than quackery, and more and more will resort to humbug and imposition as the lesser evil.

NEWARK, N. J., July 14, 1887.

DEAR SIR:—I grew up in Oneida county, N. Y., when temperance and teetotalism, etc., swept over the region like a prairie fire, and I was deeply affected by the general sentiment. It may be that my reply to your questions will be colored by that early influence. Nevertheless, I think I have it in my power to be candid.

I read with much care the argument of Anstie and others designed to prove that alcohol is a food. But conviction failed me; I do not believe it. There is good in everything if we did but know. The good of alcohol, however, does not consist in its quality as a food. If I should modify this statement, it would be to admit the article into the catalogue of degraded substances along with tainted meats, crude or fermenting vegetables, etc. I would not expect much stamina from alcohol-nourished men.

Your other inquiry in regard to the merits of alcohol as a drink or medicine is somewhat more difficult to answer critically. I have made several personal experiments with results more or less satisfactory. From infancy I abhorred whisky, rum and brandy, and even now can swallow either only by a forced effort.

The fermented beverages appear to have afforded a varied result. From my twentieth year I had been a sufferer from indigestion which had refused the aid of medicine or regimen. But in 1852, almost from desperation, I resorted to ale, "Greenways," I think, using it at intervals of twice a week with most gratifying results. After some months, however, I fell off from it again. Again, when attacked by pneumonia in May, 1871, I found it almost impossible to swallow Croton water, but could drink Albany ales with ease and

benefit. The beverage manufactured at Poughkeepsie was too strong for me. At a later attack in January, 1885, to which I almost succumbed, I had utter intolerance of brandy, rum and whisky, which my medical advisers earnestly pressed upon me; but "Jersey cider" was used with much comfort and benefit. I am disposed, however, to divide the praise with the acid, as counteracting the wasted condition of the body. I believe that no ale would have met the case, and that I would not have survived the stronger liquors. I say this in all candor and impartially. I have also made observations in other cases. Once, when a patient was afflicted with "hay-fever" and the case appeared intractble, I employed whisky with gratifying results. The peculiar exaltation of vital force appeared to be the thing required. I presume, however, that this was but an idiosyncrasy. As a general conclusion I am satisfied that the utility of alcohol as a medicine is but precarious. When it is but occasionally employed there may be sometimes an incidental advantage; but if the use should be persisted in this advantage would be very certain to disappear. I have little more to say in its favor, while as a drink I have very generally witnessed its use to be hurtful.

Physicians who have confidence in their art seldom prescribe alcohol. It is chiefly done by those who believe little in the utility of drugs, or who indulge in alcoholic stimulants themselves. I regard such prescribing as unquestionably a stigma upon the medical profession. To this complexion I am convinced we all must come at last. Till that time, however, we must expect men—aye, and women, too—to become and continue drunkards, having been seduced into this degradation by their medical advisers.

Quis custodes custodiet? I remain with sincere esteem,

Yours truly,

HON. HENRY W. BLAIR. ALEXANDER WILDER.
U. S. Senate, Washington.

Dr. A. C. Rembaugh, of Philadelphia, who ranks among the ablest and most successful members of the profession, sends me the following letter:

PHILADELPHIA, 7-11-1887.

DEAR SIR:—Please excuse my tardy reply to your communication of June 25th, as I was absent at Gettysburg at the reunion of the Blues and the Grays; have had a good time. . . . . Doctors as a class are on the wrong side of the alcohol question in my estimation. I stand with the Carpenters, B. W. Richardson, of England, also James Edmunds, M. D., M. R. C. P., etc., and with Dr. W. Hargreaves, author of "Worse than Wasted." You should read

that if you have not already done so. I believe that alcohol is a poison and in no sense a food. I have no use for it as a food, drink or medicine, and I believe it is never used in either large or small quantities without absolute harm to the one partaking of it, and the sooner it is banished from the land the better it will be for all the people. Yours for the war against alcohol,

A. C. REMBAUGH.

HON. H. W. BLAIR.
U. S. Senate, Washington.

Dr. Rembaugh, in an address delivered before the Social Science Association of Philadelphia, May 28, 1885, published by the Association has collected many striking facts, opinions of distinguished physicians, etc., and the latest scientific deductions, which are set forth very impressively in a printed paper inclosed with his letter. Considerable of the matter is taken from "The Foundation of Death," by Alexander Gustafson, one of the best and most philosophical books on this problem, and is so credited by Dr. Rembaugh.* I collate some of the more important, regretting that I cannot give more, and hoping that the pamphlet may have general circulation among the profession as well as the people.

Dr. W. B. Carpenter, the most renowned of living physiologists, says: "The introduction of alcohol into healthy blood can do nothing but mischief; that no one who is familiar with the action of poisons upon the living animal body, and has made the nature of that action a special study, has the smallest hesitation in saying that alcohol is a poison." "Every legitimate food satisfies in given quantities. Alcohol is not a food and supplies no natural craving—from its very nature it demands more and more," says Rev. Dr. Cuyler. The bakers of New York were at one time very much exercised over the waste of alcohol that was not saved from their baking bread. Two hundred gallons of alcohol can be secured from the smoke produced by burning 29,000 cords of wood.

The nutritive power of foods depend on the proportion which can be made available for the renovation of the body. Alcohol has not been found in the living organism except in the waste and refuse, and only in infinitesimal traces.

* "The Foundation of Death" is one of the great works in the literature of Temperance and should be widely read.

Dr. L. A. Klien, speaking of the effects of the use of alcohol during the siege of Paris, says: "We had plenty of alcohol, but it did not make us warm, it did not replace food of any kind. Let me tell you that . . . . . nothing will make you feel the cold more, that nothing will make you feel the dreadful sense of hunger more than alcohol." Linnæus said: "Man sinks gradually by this fell poison; first he favors it, then warms to it, then burns for it, then is consumed by it."

"It has been instanced by the deaths of Pitt and Fox and an army of others as due to the use of alcohol, by which they sought to supplement energies already too exhaustingly taxed. With our way of living, our passions and worries, man no longer dies, but kills himself. To prolong life it is necessary to live soberly. The chief enemy of the longevity and health of the race is alcohol. Sufficient and agreeable rest, enough undisturbed sleep; but to how many of the toiling millions who labor for bread by muscles or brain, are these essentials vouchsafed? All temperance people should look forward with no little hopefulness to the time when eight hours shall be recognized as the maximum of working hours, when the weary brains and muscles will not seek stimulation, but rest."

Dr. Rembaugh is right. Eight hours is enough. Qualify everybody to perform labor and then ensure to all the opportunity. The great problem is to distribute labor, then the distribution of production will take care of itself. No man has the right to more than his share of the work of the world unless he is ready to give to those who have not the opportunity or the ability to work, without fault on their part, the production of that labor which he had no right to perform. But if there were wisdom, as there sometime will be in our industrial system—brought about by peaceful evolution—there would be intelligence in all, work by all, and production for all. That is the millennium and it is coming.

"Alcoholic fermentation results in two poisonous compounds, alcohol and carbonic acid." Dr. A. Carlysle says that no living animal or plant can be supported by such poisonous fluids,—on the contrary they soon become sickly and perish under their influence. "A profuse amount of gastric juice will no doubt digest food more rapidly than a

small amount, and therefore the abundant secretion of gastric juice provoked by the daily taking of a small amount of alcohol may for a time promote digestion. But to urge digestion is no more desirable than to urge youth." "Beefsteak is 156 times more nutritious than wine"—if wine is nutritious at all. "In fact there is no food in alcoholic drinks, whether malted or spirituous. The fat of the beer drinker is composed of those albuminous residues that remain undecomposed, not reducible to a form in which they can be excreted; they have to be stored away so as to prevent obstruction to the circulation, and are therefore packed away under the skin."

Dr. Archibald Billing says: "Stimulants excite action, but action is not strength." "The stimulating effects of alcohol are really only finer shades of that same narcotic influence or, in other words, paralysis. Prof. John Fiske says: "The perpetual craving of the drinker in all probability is due to the gradual alteration in the molecular structure of the nervous system caused by frequently-repeated narcosis." Recent years prove that the notion that alcohol is an auxiliary of brain work is fallacious. It is no savings bank of muscular strength, as in time it utterly destroys it. "Eight ounces of alcohol will make the heart lift 24 tons more, daily."

Now this is done without giving any strength—merely making the same horse go faster with the whip, on the same feed as when doing a full day's work without castigation. Dr. Rembaugh is not responsible for the last remark, but it is true as all the evidence proves. "Dealers in ardent spirits may be compared to men who should advertise for sale consumption, fevers, rheumatism, palsies and apoplexies." "Let a druggist be so unfortunate as to cause by a mistake a single death and the whole community is aroused, and the most severe penalties of the law are inflicted upon him." "Hanging is the death penalty for a single murder. License is the reward for wholesale murder."

Ah! Dr. Rembaugh, is a crank! Any liquor seller will say so. And Dr. Rembaugh keeps right on declaring that we must have National Prohibition! Poor fanatic! "Three times as much liquor consumed per capita to-day as in 1840." "This question has clearly become a national instead of a state issue." "Total prohibition is now our only salvation."

"We must not legalize the liquor traffic with either high or low license, or any kind of tax or stamp act, but we must set our heads and hearts to annihilate the whole business."

He says high license has been proven an utter failure wherever tried—he is against "blood money" and says "away with such a revenue"—"the curse of God is on . . . . . revenue derived from the wrongs, the miseries, the poverty and suffering, the wretchedness, vice, crime, insanity, idiocy of the people." Then he cites the experiences of the city of Des Moines—facts taken from the records of the city clerk. "In 1871, license fee $150, there were 12 saloons; in 1872, license fee $200, there were 25 saloons." Probably the population did not more than double in one year, but the saloons did, although the license fee was increased 33⅓ per cent.

Again the Doctor gives us the fact—same city: "1880, license fee $250, there were 49 saloons; 1882, license fee $1,000, there were 60 saloons."

How do you account for that, my high license friend? Dr. Rembaugh says he got this from the city clerk—perhaps you better write to the clerk yourself. Then Dr. Rembaugh makes this brutal remark: "The low groggery is far less harmful and dangerous to the community than the gilded and glittering saloon; for here is where the temptation *begins*. It ends in the low groggery where the helpless and hopeless congregate."

Reading after the doctor one would contract a prejudice against these beautiful slaughter houses, if he should give way to his feelings. Philadelphia has "one drinking saloon for every 29 voters; one bakery for 164½ voters; and one grocery for every 54¼ voters." He cites many authors to prove that alcoholism is hereditary, reproduces itself and develops in disease, insanity, idiocy, and things of that sort. He quotes Dr. Kroft Ebing, who thus disposes of the "visiting-the-sins-of-the-father-upon-the-children" doctrine:

First generation: moral depravity, alcoholic excess.

Second generation: drink mania, attacks of insanity, general paralysis.

Third generation: hypochondria, melancholia, apathy and tendencies to murder.

Rev. Dr. Talmage.

Fourth generation: imbecility, idiocy and extinction of family—this last a most desirable result if things are to go on in this way.

Dr. Rembaugh says that the children of drunken parents who escape the curse, are the exceptions and the escape is seldom if ever a complete one. Gellius said that "the children of drunkards are not likely to have sound brains," etc., etc., etc. It is hideous reading—one could endure it if it were not true—but only on that consideration.

"Drink alone destroys more people than all the other plagues together which afflict humanity." Buffon's *Discourse on Nature*. Another crank!

"A statement just issued by the Belgian Patriotic League against drunkenness, thus sums up the present aspect of the great drink question in Belgium. The number of public houses in that country, which was 53,000 in 1850, had increased to 125,000 in 1880, and is now 130,000. Suicides in last 40 years increased 80 per cent., of insane 104 per cent., of convicts 135 per cent.; of workmen who die in hospitals 80 per cent. are habitual drunkards."

SALOONS TO POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

"In Nevada there is 1 drinking saloon to every 65; Colorado, 1 to 65; California, 1 to 99; Oregon, 1 to 176; New Jersey, 1 to 179; New York, 1 to 192; Louisiana, 1 to 200; Ohio, 1 to 225; Connecticut, 1 to 266; Massachusetts 1 to 256; Delaware, 1 to 258; Pennsylvania, 1 to 263; Rhode Island, 1 to 266; Illinois 1 to 267; Maryland, 1 to 293; Wisconsin, 1 to 304; Minnesota, 1 to 311; Missouri, 1 to 337; Michigan, 1 to 350; New Hampshire, 1 to 376; Iowa, 1 to 377; Indiana, 1 to 380; Kentucky, 1 to 438; Nebraska, 1 to 487; Tennessee, 1 to 525; Texas, 1 to 549; Arkansas, 1 to 554; Alabama, 1 to 608; Georgia, 1 to 612; Florida, 1 to 653; Mississippi, 1 to 654; Virginia, 1 to 693; North Carolina, 1 to 708; Maine, 1 to 731; Vermont, 1 to 812; West Virginia, 1 to 817; Kansas, 1 to 877; South Carolina, 1 to 708."

Dr. Rembaugh makes many practical suggestions. He says that "it is of the utmost importance that the public mind should be disabused of the idea that the various non-alcoholic drinks are substitutes for alcohol, or that any such substitutes are

required. Alcohol is a poison through and through; the real substitutes are also poisons—viz., ether, chloral, chloroform, etc." "The digestive, nutritive qualities of barley are destroyed in the boiling process of making beer." He urges that coffee houses and pleasant places and resorts should be provided of the very first class and on some comprehensive plan. Perhaps saloon keepers and brewers and distillers would change their business and cater for the health rather than the disease of the public. Mr. L. O. Smith, the ex-brandy king of Sweden, has done this, and now cooks to support the life of a nation he once did so much to destroy by drink. There is a conscience in the liquor dealer and he must be reached by an appeal to it and to his love of his kind—which includes a living chance for himself.

Henry Ward Beecher said: "Every year I live increases my conviction that the use of intoxicating drinks is a greater destroying force to life and virtue than all other physical evils combined." The *London Times* says: "Drinking baffles us, confounds us, shames us, mocks us at every point. It outwits alike the teacher, the man of business, the patriot and the legislator. Every other institution flounders in hopeless difficulties; the public house holds its triumphant course." Cardinal Manning exclaims, speaking of the £140,000,000 = $700,000,000 expended by the people of England year by year for intoxicating drinks: "Can there be a more complete waste? Expend it in the drainage of England and the culture of the land and there would be bread for the hungry mouths of the people; . . . . . in the manufacture of cloth and there would be no man and no child without a coat on his back; . . . . . in the building of houses fit for human habitation, and there would not be a working man and his family without a roof over his head. . . . . Nay, I will go further. It is not only a waste, it has a harvest. It is a great sowing broadcast; and what springs from the furrows? Deaths, mortality in every form, disease of every kind, crime of every die, madness of every intensity, misery beyond the imagination to conceive."

To this utterance of the *London Times* quoted by Dr. Rembaugh I will add that of the *New York Tribune*, that these leading journals of the two hemispheres may be on

record in the cause of humanity together. March 2, 1884, the *Tribune* says in an editorial on the liquor traffic, with a force and moral elevation seldom excelled in human composition:

> It is impossible to examine any subject connected with the progress, the civilization, the physical well-being, the religious condition of the masses, without encountering this monstrous evil. It lies at the center of all political and social mischief. It paralyzes energies in every direction. It neutralizes educational agencies. It silences the voice of religion. It baffles penal reform. It obstructs political reform. . . . . There is needed something of that sacred fire which kindled into inextinguishable heat the zeal of the abolitionists, and which compelled the abandonment of human slavery to rouse the national indignation and abhorrence against this very much greater evil.

Resuming the thread of Dr. Rembaugh's pamphlet: Our school children should be early taught the chemical and physiological effects of alcohol. Dr. Channing, "A people should be guarded against temptation to unlawful pleasures by furnishing the means of innocent ones, such as produce a cheerful frame of mind." Mr. J. A. Partridge asks "why the honest working man should carry a drink-made pauper on his back as he now does." "I would appeal to the myriads of the dead, dead through drink, whose history is still vocal with the anguish and despair that found no utterance from the living lips." With a fact knotted into the lash, Dr. Rembaugh gives a mighty parting stroke to the blood-streaming back of the excoriated traffic, and closes thus: "One million people depend on the beer traffic for support in this country. In 1840 four gallons of liquor were consumed for every man, woman and child in America; in 1883 the amount has increased from four gallons to twelve."

Nothing is so terrible to the traffic as the publication of the truth. As we have already seen, this increase of quantity is attended with diminution of intensity, but of *pure alcohol* we now consume more per capita than in 1840. The poisonous effect of a given quantity of alcohol is not diminished by its administration through a large mass of fluid, and the aggregate evil was never greater among us than now.

Dr. William Pepper of the University of Pennsylvania, author of the great work on Medical Practice, and whose conceded prominence in the profession gives a special significance to whatever he may say, sends the following brief, but decided and invaluable communication. I think it one of the most encouraging indications of the time that the men who are making the medical history of to-day, and whose names are to survive to coming generations, are more and more espousing the cause of man against alcohol.

Commonly one hears the question put in this form: Is Alcohol a food or a poison? It is neither the one nor the other. It is not a food in the common and correct acceptation of the term, though it has points of resemblance with foods. It is not strictly speaking a poison, though it often produces highly-poisonous effects. It is to be regarded as a medicine or a drug, and belongs to the same class with Opium, Indian Hemp, Tobacco and some analogous substances. Nearly all healthy persons can with impunity take occasionally a small amount of dilute alcohol. With some individuals, however, even the smallest quantity disagrees and disorders digestion; on the other hand a very small proportion of individuals seem able to take large amounts regularly for many years without damage. But I do not doubt that this impunity is more apparent than real, and that nearly all such persons are slowly but surely injured by the habit. One of the worst features of the action of alcohol in a large majority of young persons is that, though taken in small amount and even in the form of light wines or beer, its first agreeable effect is followed by a feeling of lassitude and depression, readily mistaken for debility, and suggesting a repetition of the stimulant. But these unpleasant feelings are the direct result of the presence in the blood and tissues of poisonous matters, coming from the imperfect digestion of the alcohol, or of food with whose complete assimilation the dose of alcohol has interfered. Here evidently is a fruitful source of functional disorder; and still more is it a source of gradually-increasing use, ending in actual excess, with its inseparable physical and moral degradation. It is impossible to exclude from our consideration this enslaving tendency which separates alcohol so widely from all ordinary articles of diet, and relegates it to a special class of drugs. I am indeed satisfied that all persons in good health are better without alcohol in any form or in any amount, as a regular beverage. If this is true of dilute alcohol, by which I mean light wines or beer or greatly-diluted spirit, it may be asserted without hesitation that all stronger forms of alcohol capable of causing positive local stimulation or irritation of the stomach should be regarded purely as drugs, and

be used exclusively under medical advice. Their habitual use by healthy persons is highly injurious and involves the risk of developing serious disease. It is, however, impossible to deny the great value of alcohol even in large amounts during critical stages of some acute diseases. And I can speak with confidence of the beneficial effects, in suitable cases as determined by a physician, of small amounts of dilute spirit, or of generous wine, taken as a stimulant by weak and elderly persons. While, however, we admit the therapeutic value of alcohol in these and other suitable cases, it is clear to me that every medical man should prescribe it with a distinct recognition in each individual case of the special danger attaching to its habitual use.

WILLIAM PEPPER.

This long chapter must close. But there is no one thing more important to the temperance reform than that the medical profession should set its face firmly—like a flint, against the use of alcoholic beverages, and should restrain so far as possible the administration of this dangerous drug in disease. I believe that the grave degree of responsibility for the prevalence of intemperance, which attaches to those who pursue this high calling by reason of the deserved and almost universal confidence reposed in them by the people, is more and more realized; and that as the teachings of Dr. Davis and Dr. Richardson are studied, and more and more prevail, "the day of our redemption draweth nigh."

CHAPTER IX.

ALCOHOL IS PAUPERISM AND CRIME.

The Two Great Burdens of Society—The Difference and the Likeness between Them—What the Pauper Returns of Massachusetts Show—Figures and Facts from Almshouse Superintendents—Sir Matthew Hale's Statement of the Causes of Crime—Experience of New York Officials—What Governor Dix said in 1873—Startling Facts about the Effects of Beer Drinking by Women—A New Hampshire Opinion Based on Practical Experience.

PAUPERISM and crime are the two great burdens of society. Nearly every other form of taxation upon the income or productive force of the people, whether imposed by the state or submitted to voluntarily from motives of charity or otherwise, is in the nature of an investment made with a view of affirmative beneficial returns. Even money paid for the relief of the sick, anticipates their restoration to health and profitable life.

But money paid to a pauper, simply because he is a pauper, too poor to live from his own exertions, has in view his individual relief from suffering—not any pecuniary good to those who support him. Better for society that he be removed—he is a mere cumberer of the ground. Relief which gives opportunity for labor and a return for aid received, is but the discharge of the great debt of society to afford every human being the opportunity for honest toil, and I do not consider that in any sense charity. I refer to the support of pauperism pure and simple.

In the case of crime, its detection and punishment, the whole is a dead loss and burden placed upon honesty and good citizenship; indispensable, to be sure, for protection and defense of society, but still the whole is an expenditure which endeavors not to relieve the original injury, but to prevent the infliction of like losses in future. Whatever has been done is without remedy, even when a money penalty is exacted, for then the loss is only shifted from the victim or the State

to the perpetrator, who is himself an actual, and should be a productive, member of society, and it does not lessen the evil to the whole that it falls upon one individual rather than another. Crime is destruction, and pauperism is next to it. Both consume everything and produce nothing—good. The one is a fire to be put out for the future protection of all; the other lies helpless and hopeless on the bank of the Ganges. The heathen throws the breathing but useless body into the stream; Christian charity builds a hospital and provides a home. In either case, society would, in money at least, be better off if there had been no pauper and no criminal. But taxes for highways and for schools are money directly invested in public and private happiness.

The traffic in alcohol is the chief creator and promoter of these public evils, and in this chapter it is well to endeavor to obtain an idea of their extent.

It will be at once apparent that there are various causes which contribute to these evils; and there is room for the imagination as well as the judgment in apportioning to each its aliquot share of the common bad result. Still, as we know that alcoholic poisoning is the great promoter of hard conditions to labor, of laziness, mental, physical and moral weakness, and vicious disposition in society, and that these are the chief causes of absolute and helpless poverty, (which is pauperism,) and of crime, it follows that strong drink is very largely their indirect origin; and we know that in the overt act of crime, and in the manifest existence of pauperism, spirituous drink is generally the direct agency. I shall not enter upon elaborate calculations to fix the mathematical dimensions of this responsibility, but shall give some facts from authentic sources, and opinions of high and competent authority, which should arouse public attention and excite the public will to the extermination of this social Fiend.

The pauper returns of the State of Massachusetts are made annually to the Secretary of State, and it is well known that this Commonwealth is in advance of any other community in the fullness and accuracy of its social statistics; while the intelligence of her people, the vast variety and extent of her industries, and the excellence of her government and institu-

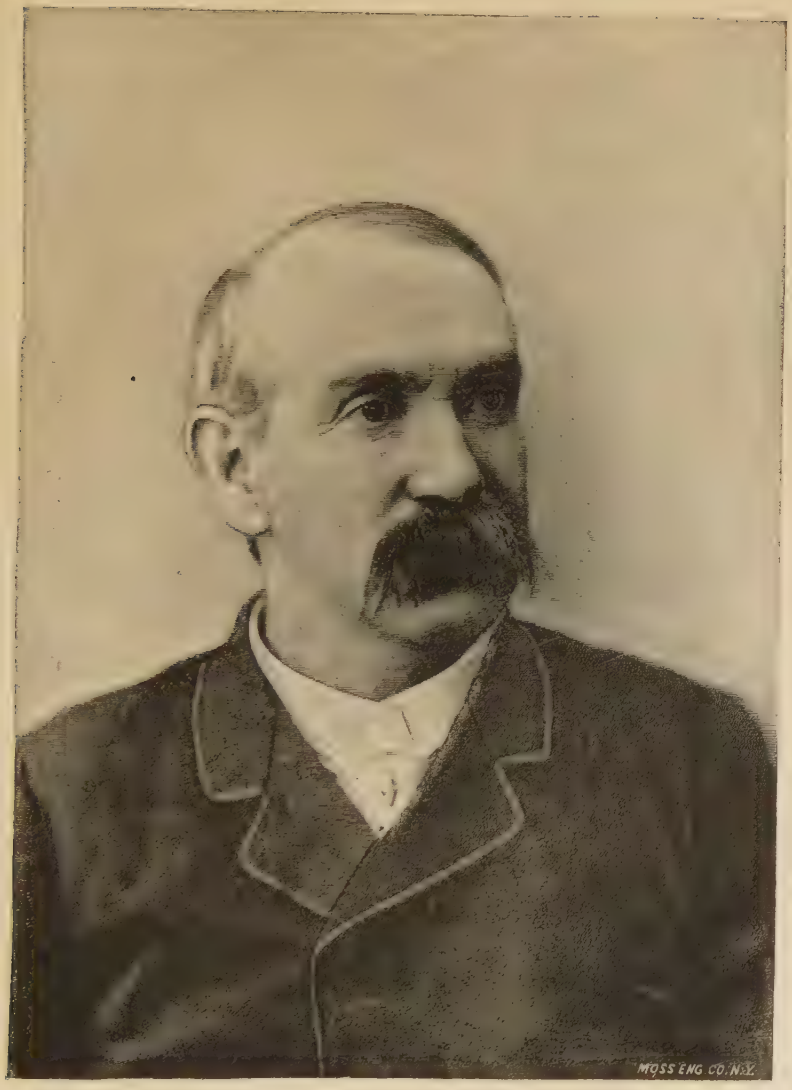
tions, should make both pauperism and crime more rare than elsewhere in the world. Notwithstanding these facts, there is a great degree of both among her people.

The returns referred to show an average of 80 per cent. of pauperism in the county of Suffolk, mainly the city of Boston, to be occasioned by intemperance. In the year 1863, for instance, the whole number of paupers relieved was 12,248, of which number 6,048 were made so by their own intemperance, and 3,837 by that of parents and guardians, in all 9,885 —nearly five sixths of the whole number.

The report of the Board of State Charities, p. 202 (January, 1867), declares intemperance to be the chief occasion of pauperism. Their fifth report says that "Overseers of the poor variously estimate the proportion of crime and pauperism attributable to the vice of intemperance from one third in some localities, up to nine tenths in others. In the sixth report of the Board of Health, the Chairman, Dr. Bowditch, states that he made the following inquiries, and received replies from 282 of the towns and cities:

1. What proportion of the inmates of your almshouses are there in consequence of the deleterious use of intoxicating liquors?
2. What proportion of the children are there in consequence of the drunkenness of parents?

The Superintendent of Deer Island Almshouse and Hospital replied: "I would answer the above by saying, to the best of my knowledge 90 per cent. to both questions." The authorities of the city of Springfield reported that they had fed 8,052 tramps; seldom found one not reduced to that condition by intemperance. "It is safe to say nine tenths are drunkards." Paupers beget paupers. Pauperism descends as certainly as scrofula, cancer, consumption or insanity. The *North American Review*, of April, 1875, contains the following from Dr. E. Harris, Registrar of the Board of Health of New York: "A pauper named Margaret lived in Ulster county some eighty-five years ago. She and two sisters have begotten generations of paupers and criminals to such an extent that the total number now known, mainly from Margaret—convicts, paupers, criminals, beggars and vagrants, including the living and dead—is six hundred and twenty-



Hon. Geo. W. Bain.

three. This mother of criminals has cost the county hundreds of thousands of dollars." If society is endued with the right of self-defense, shall such degraded and abandoned creatures be permitted to perpetuate their kind? There is somewhat too much of "personal liberty" in this, especially when we are told that the primal cause of it all—alcohol—is to thus breed criminals and vagabonds by the jail full, generation after generation.

Sir Mathew Hale, Chief Justice of England, is one of the few even among the greatest lawyers whose fame, acquired in the administration of the law, breaks through the barriers of mere professional immortality and survives age after age, close cherished in the popular heart. Perhaps he was specially eminent in the department of criminal jurisprudence, certainly his "Pleas of the Crown" has never been surpassed as an authority in that department of the law. In 1670 Chief Justice Hale declared:

> The places of judicature I have long held in this kingdom have given me an opportunity to observe the original cause of most of the enormities that have been committed for the space of twenty years; and by due observation I have found that if the murders and manslaughters, the burglaries and robberies, the riots and tumults, the adulteries, fornications, rapes, and other enormities that have happened in that time, were divided into five parts, four of them have been the issues and product of excessive drinking—of tavern or ale-house drinking.

The testimony of eminent judges and of other high authorities ever since and down to the present day, both in Europe and America, is to the same effect. I have seen no authority which places the proportion of crime committed as the *outcome* of intoxicating drink at less than two thirds, while some fix it with great confidence at nine tenths.

Dr. Elisha Harris of New York, after an inspection of the prisons, wrote that full 85 per cent. of the convicts gave evidence of having been "in some larger degree enticed to do criminal acts" from the use of intoxicating drinks, and the Board of Police Justices of that city, in 1874, say they are fully satisfied that intoxication is "the one great leading cause which renders the existence of our police courts necessary."

The Report of the State Board of Charities of Massachusetts for 1869 traces four fifths of the crime of the commonwealth to intemperance. The inspectors of Massachusetts State Prison, in 1868, say that "about four fifths of the number committed the crimes for which they were sentenced, either directly or indirectly, by the use of intoxicating drinks. These men were confined for the more heinous crimes.

Judge Noah Davis, of New York, whose reputation is too high and well known to require commendation says that ninety per cent. of the criminal business of the courts is caused by the liquor traffic.

The Christian Advocate says: "Some years ago a striking comparison was made between Vineland, New Jersey, and New Britain, Ct. . . . . They each had about 11,000 inhabitants; New Britain had 80 saloons; Vineland had none New Britain paid $8,500 for the care of paupers; Vineland $224. New Britain paid for police $7,500; Vineland $75."

In 1872 the Board of Public Charities of Pennsylvania said: "The most prolific source of disease, poverty and crime is intemperance." The Citizens Association of Pennsylvania, which was chartered by the state, declare that it will not be doubted that two thirds of the pauperism and crime are justly attributed to intemperance. In 1867 the cost of maintaining the prisoners in county jails and in the penitentiaries of Pennsylvania was $1,464,029—$2.45 for each voter in that state—including paupers and criminals, due to strong drinks, was $2,204,244.

In 1870 the cost of pauperism alone to this country was over $7,000,000, direct loss from strong drink; indirect loss, as much more. It is not less than $20,000,000 in all, yearly, at the present day.

In 1873, Governor Dix, in his message to the New York Legislature, said: "The alarming increase in the frequency of the crime of murder in the city and its environs demands your most serious consideration. Scarcely a day passes without witnessing a brutal, and in many instances a fatal assault, upon the persons of unoffending individuals, usually in drinking saloons." Eight thousand of the ten thousand arrests in Baltimore were owing to the same cause in 1873.

Hon. William J. Mullen, prison agent of Philadelphia, in

a paper to the National Congress held in Baltimore in 1872, stated that, "of the half-million persons who had been committed to the county prison of Philadelphia during the last twenty years, there had been about five hundred for murder, seven hundred for attempts to murder; over forty thousand for assault and battery, and over 200,000 for drunkenness. *In nearly every case of murder or attempt to murder, the parties were intoxicated.*"

Rowland Burr, Esq., a magistrate of Toronto, Canada, stated to the Canadian Parliament "that nine tenths of the male prisoners and nineteen twentieths of the females are sent to jail by intoxicating drinks. Of twenty-five thousand sent to the Canada jails in four years, twenty-two thousand owed their imprisonments to drinking habits.

In 1876 there were spent in Pennsylvania for criminals $1,324,604; for dependents, $1,942,916; in all $3,267,520; and Dr. Hargreaves says that "of this more than $2,000,000 is directly the result of drink and the *licensed* drink traffic; for every drink-shop is a moral plague-spot and a hot-bed of destitution, vice and crime."

If we estimate the yearly direct cost of crime at one million dollars for each million of population, which I am satisfied is a low estimate, we have an aggregate of $60,000,000 at the present time, $40,000,000, if not $50,000,000 of which could be saved by destroying alcohol, and beside saving the money *we could prevent the crime also.* I hope my money-loving countrymen will excuse the suggestion of this last circumstance. Some old-fashioned people may think it important, although of course it is nothing compared with the money.

I insert the following without note or comment. It is just published. Will you please think of it for one half-hour, and then write to me your views of "National Prohibition?"

L. M. Hall, Superintendent of the Woman's Reformatory Prison, Sherborn, Mass., narrates her experiences as follows in *Godey's Lady's Book:*

Out of an examination of 204 inebriate women, I found that 128 began their drinking by the use of beer, 37 by drinking whisky (as punch at first, usually), 20 began with wine, 8 with gin, and 11 could not remember what beverage was first used. These young girls, mill and shop girls largely, began by going to some so-called refreshment

saloon with their friends, and the *debutante* usually began by sipping a little tonic (made of hops, sugar and water, charged with carbonic acid gas and colored with burnt sugar); beer soon followed, and soon rioting, other kinds of intoxicants, recklessness and crime; and what was an innocent, foolish girl yesterday is to-day a branded criminal, all for a glass of beer. Alas! how many ruined lives I have seen!

Beer was also the beverage which older inebriate women used to entice the younger ones to drink. A call upon one of these old sots was the signal for the pitcher of beer to be sent for, and a little coaxing and urging would result in the first fatal glass being indulged in. The steps were then easy. Beer is the trap which the drunkard maker sets for the feet of the unwary, and he usually makes sure of his prey because of it. A glass of raw whisky would have presented but slight attraction to those overworked, half-fed girls, had it been offered them at first. After that sleeping devil—the appetite for intoxicants—had been aroused by beer it became altogether a different matter, and at last, in many cases, chloroform or peppermint oil was added to the drink of these maddened creatures, so furious had the appetite become for something stronger.

It may be of interest to note that out of the 204 inebriate women, 126 had been guilty of other crimes, and yet in but 16 instances did the first commitment of crime antedate the habit of drinking.

Of the beverages first used, while in but 37 cases it began with whisky, in 187 it had become the favorite beverage. Several hopeless drunkards, far gone toward insanity, had never drank any other intoxicant than beer.

One hundred and thirty-two were committed to prison for drunkenness, 56 for offenses against chastity and public order, and 16 for crimes against property. Their ages when last committed averaged 30½ years. Sixty-five were between 30 and 40 years of age, 49 between 25 and 31 years of age, 34 between 20 and 26 years of age, 30 between 15 and 21 years of age. The remainder were over 41 years of age.

Many of the older ones could not tell how many sentences they have received, showing the absolute uselessness of punishing these poor creatures while the temptations are left in their way.

To show the effect upon the children of inebriate parentage, I collected the following: Of 111 inebriate mothers, 33 of whom had inebriate husbands, 408 children were born. Of these 227 perished in infancy and early childhood, and of the survivors many are doomed evidently to an early death. In many cases the death of these children was indirectly due to the inebriety of the parents, as cold, deprivation, etc. Ages—Twenty-seven of the 204 women began to drink intoxicants before they were 10 years of age; 11 between the ages of 9 and

15; 74 between 14 and 21; 37 between 20 and 26; 33 between 25 and 31; 19 between 30 and 41; 3 between 40 and 51.

Average age, 18 1-2 years. More than one half had formed habits of intemperance before they were 21 years of age, and more than one third at the giddy age of from 15 to 20 inclusive.

One hundred and thirty-two began to drink socially and with female friends.

The following letter from Hon. A. G. Fairbanks of Manchester, N. H., is written as the result of many years of practical experience and observation in the management of the business affairs of a great county, embracing the two cities of Manchester and Nashua, and a large rural population also. Mr. Fairbanks was also for a long time a sheriff in the same county. There could be no more competent witness, as there is no better man.

MANCHESTER, N. H., Sept. 5, 1887.

DEAR SIR:—In accordance with your request, I will give you my opinion of the effect of alcohol in all its different mixtures as the cause of crime and pauperism so far as it has come under my observation, and perhaps it would not be out of place here to say that from 1865 to 1874, I occupied the position of jailer of the county of Hillsborough, the largest county in the Granite state, and from 1883 to the present that of commissioner for the same county, the former position bringing me to know full well its effect upon the offenders of the law, and my present, its effect as the cause of pauperism. I would give it as my opinion in the matter of crime that, directly and indirectly, it is safe to say that seventy-five per cent. of all crimes can be traced to the use of alcohol as a beverage. During the time I was jailer I had under my charge an average of forty persons, and there is no risk in saying that thirty of them (and then leave a good margin) came there from its use. I remember of once making the statement in public as above, and that during the time I was jailer I had had about one thousand under my charge, of all ages between that of eighty and that of the boy of eight years. The question was at once asked, how long the boy of eight had been a confirmed drunkard; and then came up the fact in all its force of our responsibility in the care and training of our children, and that this boy's responsibility was not so great in his breaking the law as was that of his parents, who were confirmed drunkards. At the very time that their boy was found in the store into which he had gained entrance in the night time, they were in a state of intoxication. The same statement which I have made in regard

to crime can be fully sustained in regard to *pauperism*, and leave as large, if not a larger margin against the use of alcohol as a beverage. Could our tax-payers look upon the crime and pauperism caused by this, the greatest of evils, and one which they are taxed to support, it would seem that they would rise in their strength and suppress, if not banish, the monster evil from our land.

Hoping these few lines will aid you somewhat in the good cause in which you are engaged, I remain, as ever,

Very truly yours,

A. G. Fairbanks.

It will be easy for any one who desires further statistics showing the relation of intemperance to pauperism and crime to be that of the first great cause, to obtain them; but I deem it unnecessary to mass them here.

CHAPTER X.

INTEMPERANCE AMONG MANUAL WORKERS.

A Topic that is closely connected with the Labor Problem — Testimony taken by the Senate Committee — A Manchester Carpenter's Thoughtful Observations — Practical Effect of the Drinking Habit on the Skilled Trades — Wages and the Money Spent for Drinks — Some Considerations Based on Tenth Census Facts — Edward Atkinson's Calculations — George E. McNeill's Contrary Views on the Subject of Economy — His Statement of the Cost of Living — Mr. Powderly's Answer to a Critic — A letter in which he Defends his Position as an Ultra Temperance Man — His Presentation of the Cost of the Drinking Habit to Workingmen — Testimony of Fall River Mill Hands — Some Final Considerations upon the Relation of Temperance to the Wage and Labor Problems.

IN this chapter I desire to discuss briefly the causes, effects and remedies of alcoholic intemperance among those who depend upon their labor for support, and specially but not wholly from an economical point of view. This topic is closely connected with the labor problem, a subject which of itself would require volumes, and I shall not presume to be thorough or dogmatic where the greatest minds are still in the dark.

The ills of poverty and of intemperance have this difference: that, however they may produce, exist with and aggravate each other, the former are most frequently owing to causes beyond the control of the sufferer; while intemperance, by the consumption of strong drink is a personal act for which, however great the temptation and strong the impulse, the individual is directly responsible. This statement is still true, although the habit may at last become irresistible. The enslaved consumer sold himself and is therefore guilty of his own thralldom. Poverty on the other hand is in most instances, not always of course, the result of conditions which are beyond the control of its victim. The great body of those who suffer for the comforts of life neither elect nor create their condition. Nor do they remain in it from lack of the same degree of desire and effort to obtain comfort and competency which is manifest

on the part of those who are in less exacting circumstances. It is unjust to demand, and useless to expect, of those who have no accumulation of means, either inherited or otherwise acquired, the exhibition of virtues which are not possessed by others in more fortunate circumstances, when the sacrifice is made from the absolute necessaries of life. If the poverty be so great that the whole nature is constantly overtaxed, there will be a strong tendency to purchase temporary relief from mental horror and bodily exhaustion in the use of some agency which has power to take one, for the moment at least, out of the insufferable environment. Expenditures of this nature constitute a cause of poverty that illustrates the tendency which any condition has to reproduce or increase itself, and to create additional conditions which have like consequences. The long struggle for a competence, and, lacking that, for a decent living, in which most human beings engage, thwarted so often by accident, sickness, misfortune, and sometimes by the absence of those inherent qualities of endurance, frugality and hope, which others possess and which are a natural or acquired capital more necessary in the battle of life than any other; the innate desire to enjoy life to some extent while living, if possible, and to escape from its hardships when there ceases to be expectation of further happiness in living, very often drives even a powerful mind to despondency and, in a manner, compels the utilization of surrounding temptations to avoid despair. To be sure the remedy is worse than the disease, and there is no escape from personal responsibility. The very constitution of society compels us to hold every reasonable man responsible for the natural consequences of his own act; but we are speaking of causes, and the cause of intemperance and waste and ruin in such a case as I am supposing, was expressed by the inspired writer upon the labor question when he said that the "destruction of the poor is their poverty." Nor does the fall in these cases imply any want of equal strength and merit of character compared with others who do not fail because of different surroundings. Trifling things make or mar our fortunes. Individuals are merged in, and controlled by, the system of which they are a part. It is a well-accredited fact that ninety per cent. of the merchants of our

large cities become embarrassed in business during their business lives. Their embarrassments as a rule do not imply any less industry or economy than are exhibited by the few who never have failed. The commercial system of the country, and those other causes in the course of nature and in general affairs by which the individual atom is controlled, sweep him on to fortune or destruction. In a similar way conditions which they did not create, and which they cannot avoid, and from which they have never had the opportunity or power to escape, cause and perpetuate the poverty of a large proportion of the poor, and finally induce them to yield to habits and vices which destroy all hope whatever. While we know that the average human being will succumb to these surroundings, and that only systematic effort of the masses and their gradual uplifting will remove these causes of poverty —those deep and strong movements from within which elevate humanity as the earthquake heaves up the mountain, or by continual pressure lift the continent to its place—it still remains true that the expenditure of the fruits of industry or the idleness and destruction of the power to work itself, by reason of any needless or vicious indulgence, has its evil consequences, and the individual and society must suffer so long as he yields to its practice. While I would not overlook the responsibility of society at large for much of the want and suffering which exist, still it remains true that whatever remedy we get must come almost wholly from ourselves, and each one will only add to his inevitable troubles by the gratification of any bad habit or propensity. So it has been, so it will be; and, whatever the excuse or the unavoidable cause, the consequence will follow.

It is of little use then for us to complain of those consequences, the causes of which either are or have been of our own making. There is no doubt that the amelioration of our own condition is to a great extent under our own control, and that we are ourselves a great and responsible part of that very "society" whose aggregate power must apply the larger and systematic remedies for evils in the life of the community as a whole. In a country like this he is a vagabond, indeed, who has not or may not make at least the opportunity for honest work and frugal saving. If he cannot save he need

not waste. And here, too, the poor man, the man of moderate means, can make the law, and the law is society in its highest form of action.

It is idle for us to attribute the habit of intemperance to any one but ourselves. Every man must make an effort in this world, and if he fails in everything else he can at least die conscious of having done his best. That consciousness is itself victory. The old Athenian in his oration over the tombs of those who had died for their country in battle exclaimed: "What was the part of gallant men they all performed. Their success was such as the Supreme Ruler of events dispensed to each." So in the battle of life. Our responsibility is for high endeavor, and ends there. But the man who wastes his resources of body or of mind, or his time or his money, or spends them for that which satisfieth not, has no claim against fortune, and is in no condition to prosecute society. He is his own curse and a curse to society also, and especially to all those who depend upon their daily labor for their daily bread. I was greatly impressed with this fact by the testimony of a mechanic before the Senate Committee, taken in the investigation upon the relations between Labor and Capital.

The following is the official report of his testimony found in Vol. III. of Report of Senate Committee on Education and Labor, p. 251, in answer to questions proposed by myself:

MANCHESTER, N. H., October 15, 1883.

Alphonso Crosby examined by the Chairman:

Q.—Where do you reside?

A.—I reside in this city.

Q.—How long have you resided here?

A.—Thirteen years.

Q.—Have you had occasion to make any observations upon the habits of the people here as to the use of intoxicating drinks?

A.—I have.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I understand you have some data, some statistics or facts, which you can give us, so please proceed to do so in your own way, with a view of showing the bearing of intemperance upon the sufficiency of the wages received by working people for their labor.

THE WITNESS.—I would only speak especially of it in my own line. I am a carpenter. I have worked at that business for forty-one years,

Benjamin R. Jewell,

Secretary Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society.

and it has always been my study to advance the efficiency of journeymen carpenters. I was called here somewhat hurriedly, so that I have not a full opportunity of affording you actual information, but there is, I think, among the carpenters about here, 25 per cent. that are total abstainers, that do not drink at all; those that drink moderately, and that drink to excess, would make up the remainder. The habit is so strong among a few that it injures all. We are actually working not only in Manchester, but elsewhere—and I have taken pains to make inquiry, and have had some experience in Chicago and Boston—and I am convinced that nearly all mechanics are working to-day for the prices established by the drinking men, because the drinking men are improvident, and are obliged to sell their labor at the lowest figure, and when there comes a pressure they have nothing to fall back upon and so must go into the market, and those who have labor to buy will of course buy it as cheaply as they can. There is another thing that has had a tendency, as far as my experience has gone. Drinking men have been at the bottom of strikes. I was once a member of a carpenter's association formed in 1861 or 1862 in Boston, and it was all the sober men could do to keep the drinking men from a strike. We had no strike, however; we laid our case before the employers, and they acceded to our demands readily without any trouble.

As far as the carpenters are concerned the employers and employees have never been far apart in New England. When the employer has an hour or two of leisure he takes off his coat and goes to work with his journeymen, but the agitation of the labor question has tended to push the employer and employee further apart, as I look upon it from my stand-point, and the drinking habit is at the bottom of it. But I think that we are, as a class here in Manchester, not troubled with that as much as in most places in New England, with the exception of Maine. In Maine whisky is not so easily obtained, and of course the people are not annoyed by it as we are here and in some other places. There is a great deal of perplexity caused among the employers by the drinking men, who do not turn up as they ought to do after they have been paid. Very often they do not put in their appearance for a day or two. What the percentage of loss is I am not able to say, but I know that in one shop, of which I had charge in Manchester, the men left work on Saturday night, and the 4th of July came on Monday. My crew didn't get to work before the next Monday. And my loss on that job (which was a $3,000 job) was $50 then, and I judge, if I lost as much as that, that other men doing a larger business must suffer much greater than I did.

Q.—What is your observation upon the effect of the drinking habit upon other classes of workmen in this city or elsewhere?

A.—My observation is that when the habit becomes confirmed in a

man his advancement in any mechanical business is stopped. He does not advance at all. He will either remain where he is or deteriorate.

Q.—Do you think this habit prevails to the extent of absorbing the wages of the working people in the city?

A.—Yes: my observation, of course, is limited, but at least there is ten per cent. of the proceeds of labor in this city that goes for alcoholic drinks. I think I am setting it quite low, but there is a large number that do not drink at all.

Q.—You feel confident that ten per cent. of the entire wages earned goes for drink?

A.—I do feel positive that ten per cent. of the entire wages earned in Manchester goes for intoxicants.

Q.—Do you think that there is that proportion earned which is deposited in the savings-banks?

A.—Well, I could not say whether it is or not, but it may be more. There are some that are very economical; others spend the whole and are continually in debt.

Q.—From your observation of wages paid labor in this city, during the time you have lived in it, thirteen years, you say, is it or not your judgment that it has been reasonably well paid—that is, to such an extent as to give a good, fair, comfortable support, with the opportunity of saving something for disability and old age?

A.—Well, I think that the wages for labor have been reasonably well paid here in Manchester; during the pressure, during the hard times as we call it, I think the wages here were rather in advance of what they were in any of the cities around us. But since times got better the wages of the carpenters have not come up here as elsewhere. I know of no case where the habits have been good where they are not comfortably well off, and some are accumulating property.

Q.—Is there any other fact that occurs to you that you would like to state.

A.—I don't know that there is.

The testimony of Mr. Crosby is that of one who knows the very heart of labor because he is a toiler, an observer and a thinker himself. But sometimes those of the best intentions and utmost desire to be both virtuous and industrious are held as in a vise. He who cannot stir must have help, and there are many to whom a dollar, a lift, or even a smile or tear of sympathy, is the very power of God.

It is inevitable that where laborers are classified, as must be the case for many years, certainly until our generation has lost all interest in economic questions, the rate of wages

will be based on the rate received by those who earn the least in their class; and, if it were not so, the better laborer would be paying a part of his earnings to him who received more than his due. The employer cannot pay for more work than he receives in the aggregate, and continue to employ at all.

The result is that the unskillful, unreliable, thriftless and dissipated, rob not themselves alone, but the whole mass of toilers to which they belong. It may be said that this is an evil of the wage system. So it may be. But the wage system is a tremendous dominating fact and will be for years. What we cannot remove we must adapt ourselves to until we can, and there appears to me to be no doubt that intemperance and improvidence reduce largely the compensation of the sober and industrious by enabling, if not by compelling, the employer to adjust his scale of payment to the lowest, rather than the highest, standard of efficiency. Payments by the piece will obviate this to some extent, but such payments are in the great mass of wage labor at present impossible. The loss to diligent and skillful labor from this source is incapable of computation, but it must be very great, and I have no doubt it is one of the serious causes of inadequate compensation to the mass of those whose wages are the only means of their support.

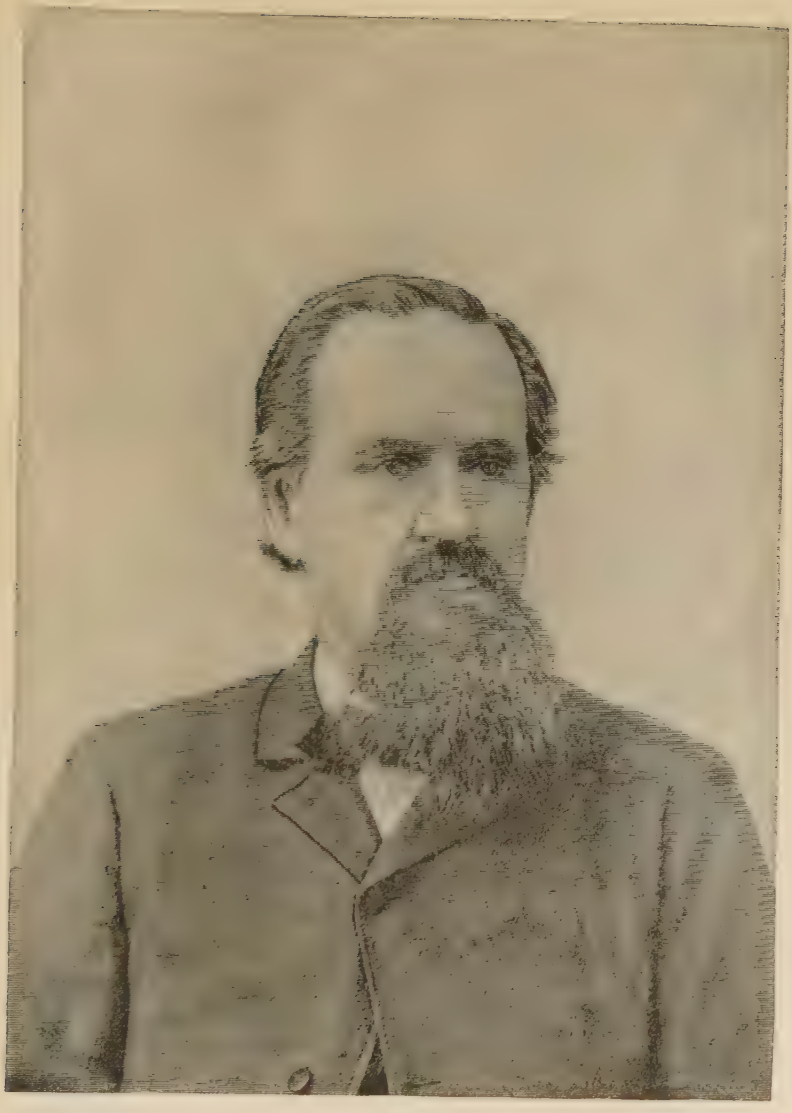
This witness was an honest man of much intelligence and experience. He was a practical man, whose knowledge was not based so much upon figures, which sometimes make mistakes even if they never lie. I think that no one will question the truth of his observations. So far as they relate to the city where he resides, I believe them to be quite within the truth, although Manchester is one of the most industrious, sober and prosperous cities in the country. There is another thing which should be noted in regard to all statistics of averages and general estimates.

While they may be correct in showing the relation of the facts concerned to the community or class as a whole, yet they never depict the real state of the case. For instance, to say that labor loses ten per cent. of its earnings by intemperance, conveys no correct idea of the real effect of the vice. If only ten per cent. were thus wasted and the loss and consumption were divided equally among all, it would be vastly

better than the facts really are. But Mr. Crosby estimates that twenty-five per cent. of the carpenters are total abstainers—they waste nothing of what they actually receive; the moderate drinkers spend comparatively little, and the great loss and consequent want and misery fall chiefly upon the remainder and their families, who are perhaps one fourth of the whole. The evil thus concentrated results in starvation, squalor, disease, crime and misery, awful to contemplate as these actually exist. If we could divide all the evils and sorrows of the world per capita, and work or suffer out our misery in equal parts daily, it might be endurable; and if along with this community of sorrows there could be a community in joys, regardless of the relations between cause and effect, perhaps the equal division of evil and good would leave us each a tolerable existence. Statistics of averages seem to be based upon some such utopian thought. But there is no such equalization of happiness and misery. There is a logic—a progression from cause to effect, extending through the generations and so on to a *conclusion*, which is heaven or hell. We do not rest in equilibrium or on a horizontal plane. The movements of individual humanity are upward or downward, and the end, whatever it may be, is a logical result of his own deeds, or those of his ancestors, visited upon every responsible being.

Who then shall undertake to depict the terrible consequences of the investment of ten per cent. of the earnings of labor in these poison drinks? Men ruined, women worse than ruined, fathers and mothers heart-broken and crushed, husbands and wives alienated, brutalized, grief-stricken, crime-stricken, wretchedness, despair and death despoiling domestic love and destroying *home*—the very synonym of heaven; children birth-cursed, life-cursed, struggling up through the ban of society which buries the hapless innocents—victims of its own negligence and wrongs—under the heavy frown of humiliation and disgrace, all culminating in burdens too grievous to be borne, and weighing down the bent back of the body politic itself.

There are 332 manufacturing industries enumerated in the tenth census of the United States. The amount of capital employed is $2,790,272,606; the number of laborers employed



James H. Roberts,

Chairman Prohibitory Committee of Massachusetts.

is 2,732,595; the total amount of wages paid for the year, $947,953,795; the total value of materials, $3,396,823,549; the total value of products at wholesale price, $5,369,579,191. Labor is 17.65 per cent. of the wholesale price, or a little more than one sixth.

The number of hands employed includes those who are engaged in the manufacture of liquors of all kinds, 33,689. These industries do not include agriculture, mining, commerce, trade, transportation, printing, telegraphy, professional nor common laborers, personal or household servants, etc., or scientific labor of any kind. They do, however, include trades and occupations among which the hardships of poverty are perhaps as severely felt as in any, and among which there is an average per capita consumption of alcoholic drinks.

These 2,732,595 of our fellow-citizens include 531,369 women over 15 years of age, and 181,921 children and youths, in all 713,290, so that there remain male workmen over 16 years of age, 2,019,035. If wages were equally divided among all these individuals, the average yearly earning or wages would be $346. If the estimate of Mr. Crosby be substantially correct, these 2,732,595 workers would invest ten per cent. of their wages in intoxicating beverages or $94,795,379. The increase of population since 1880 is not less than 10,000,000 or twenty per cent. of 50,000,000, which is a little less than the population in 1880. At the same rate of expenditure the same classes of our population would now spend of their wages $104,274,916. As only 2,019,035 are men, or say in round numbers 2,000,000, of whom probably 500,000 are total abstainers, 1,000,000 of the remainder moderate drinkers, and 500,000 those who drink to a greater or less degree of excess—then if we allow $4,274,916 to be the total amount consumed by women and children, which is no doubt too much, it will be probably as correct an estimate as can be made, to say that the 1,500,000 men consume $69 or $70 each annually of their earnings for alcoholic drinks.

It can hardly be too much to say that $50,000,000, or one half the amount of alcohol, is consumed by those who use it to excess, of whom we estimate there are 500,000 men, giving an expenditure of $100 yearly for this class, and $50 per

year by the moderate drinker. Now the man who drinks one hundred dollars worth of alcohol yearly will lose so much time in consequence thereof, and will fail as a worker in so many ways, that, as a rule, he will not more than earn the liquor which he consumes and that man really becomes a dead weight upon his family, if he has one, and upon the community if he has not, or more likely both man and family become a public burden. Unless he reforms, it becomes, economically considered, a matter of little importance how soon he vanishes from the scene of his indulgence. From them, and such as they, graduate the thousands who fall victims to the destroyer, and although their ranks are more than decimated yearly, yet they are renewed forever from the constantly degenerating ranks of the moderate drinkers who are steadily traveling the same downward road.

It is said that the indirect losses to the country from the traffic are equal to the direct, and I think no one can candidly say that the estimate is too high—but if we calculate the consumption of all who are engaged in what are termed the "gainful" occupations upon the same basis of the consumption of ten per cent. of their earnings in alcoholic drinks, we shall find these estimates very moderate.

The money paid by the consumer for intoxicating drink in the United States is variously estimated at from $600,000,000 to $900,000,000 yearly. Mr. Edward Atkinson, the eminent writer upon political economy, and Mr. F. N. Barrett, the distinguished editor of the *New York Grocer*, estimate the sum at $700,000,000, and arrive at their conclusions in different ways. Neither of these gentlemen would be likely to overestimate the amount and it is probably at least $150,000,000 too low.

The careful estimates we have already given with those of Mr. Atkinson and Mr. Barrett more than confirm the moderate per cent. adopted by Mr. Crosby, who had come to his conclusions by constant study and close observation of men and things around him for fifteen years. Notwithstanding the clamor of those whose living depends upon being paid for systematically destroying their fellow-men, protected therein by the guilty co-operation of society at large, that "temperance statistics" are exaggerated beyond fable, there is no

way to escape the terrible conviction that they are too small. If they are to any extent unreliable, those who complain have but themselves to blame, because for twelve years or more these temperance "fanatics" have been beseeching Congress for an impartial commission to serve the public without personal reward and to be composed of representatives of the liquor traffic, as well as of its accusers, to inquire into the whole subject-matter under discussion. Six times at least has the bill for this purpose passed the Senate and as often has it been defeated by the direct opposition of the liquor interest in the House of Representatives.

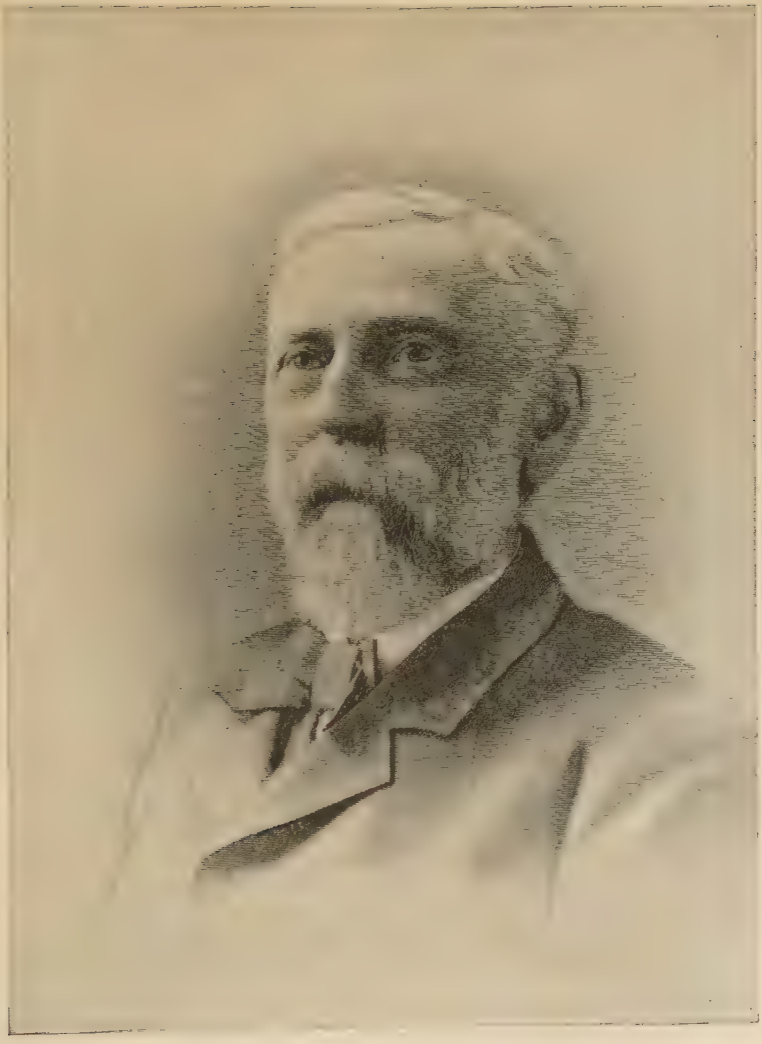
Indeed the continual defeat of the "Alcoholic Enquiry Commission Bill" has been one of the chief glories which has blossomed around the head of the astute and sleepless gentleman who for many sessions has so ably guarded the den of King Alcohol against all illumination by the torch of truth. But to continue: Dr. Hargreaves, who is, I believe, reliable and correct in his estimates on this important matter, fixes the aggregate amount paid directly for alcoholic beverages, during the ten years from 1875 to 1886, inclusive, at the enormous sum of $7,809,815,615. The average for the first five years, $675,080,460. The annual average for the second five years, $886,882,662, and the annual average for the ten years, $780,981,561. I am satisfied that even this is too low, but it is infinitely more than the imagination can comprehend, and in these vast accounts the difference of a hundred millions more or less is not really within our grasp. It is there, however, all the same, and works death to thousands with unfailing certainty.

If to these payments for liquor consumed be added what are called indirect losses, such as waste of time and vitality, disorganization of productive forces, to support paupers, criminals, administer and execute the laws, destruction of valuable materials and perversion of capital and labor from useful pursuits, loss by premature death of victims annually, to say nothing of impaired vitality and productive powers, the destruction of infant life, and other causes, the aggregate must be more than doubled. Rev. Charles H. Zimmerman says, from elaborate calculation, it becomes more than quadrupled or $4,000,000,000 annually.

(See *Union Signal*, June 16, 1887.)

The wage workers of the country are not its most intemperate and wasteful citizens; and the amelioration of their state by securing better conditions of toil, with the opportunity to work brought within reach of all; reasonable hours, well-ventilated and healthful lodgings, good and nutritious food, opportunities for reading, lectures and other forms of intellectual improvement and entertainment; occasional recreation with kindly personal intercourse and recognition of the common humanity which exists between all classes, and especially by the exhibition of good feeling on the part of employers and managers, which is sure to be gratefully reciprocated, is, in my belief, the first step and most efficient means, next to the destruction of the liquor itself, of removing the poverty which comes from intemperance. But if the liquor did not exist the temptation would not exist, and the surroundings of the toiler being rendered comfortable the disposition to save would assert itself, and from the waste of the present our wage-working people, in ten years, could banish all distressing poverty. The saving of seventy dollars a year now wasted by each adult laborer, or of fifty even, would give general relief. It is, however, impossible to expect anything of the kind so long as the appetite exists, the liquor is made, and the law and public opinion, or public indifference, which is the same thing, permit the present conditions to continue. Some force outside those who are the victims must intervene. Different conditions must be established by those who already have the power. These people need the hand of their big brother who is already better off. Society as a whole must bind up the wounds of its members, and the chief remedy will be to give the opportunity of self-help by removing temptation to waste and vice with the arm of the law.

While on this point, however, I wish further to observe that the close competition of the times has already reduced wages so low that only by strict economy can the average worker support himself and family in even the coldly comfortable supply of the wants which our higher civilization has developed. There is very little chance for him to save, no matter how economical he may be, unless he have also income from the earnings of wife and child.



Henry H. Faxon,

"of Quincy."

Mr. Atkinson estimates the wage of the average worker at $450 per year. I do not think he actually realizes more than $300 or at most $350. Many get more, many others less, and here comes in again this wicked, misleading average—but it is the way folks theorize, so let us go on with it.

Mr. George E. McNeill, the eminent industrial student and leader, the author of that timely and valuable work, "The Labor Movement," in a letter recently published, gives the items of expense in the family of an intelligent workman as shown by his accounts. Replying to some one who proposes economy as the only remedy required for the ills of life, he says:

Our correspondent's next remedy is economy. Next to the word liberty, no more sins have been committed in any one name than in that of economy. The average wages of labor in this state are not enough to furnish the necessities of our civilized conditions. Let us examine an example of the proper expenditure of money, as shown from the accounts kept by an intelligent workingman.

Here is a family of four persons, living in their own house: Groceries cost $158.07; provisions, $96.25; vegetables, $15.57; clothing, $142.68; fuel, $49; light, $5.40; furniture, $3.68; education, $1.85; sickness, $12.62; charity, $2.50; religion, $2.46; newspapers and periodicals, $11.36; total, $501.42.

To these expenses must be added the following: Hair-cutting, 60c.; freight on tool-chest, $3; dentistry, $3.50; toilet articles, $2.40; Christmas and bridal presents, $9.25; amusements, $1.42; repairing clock, wringer and stove, $4.05; water bill, $8; tools, $10.23; boy boarding in country two weeks, $5; balance on sewing-machine, $31; taxes, $44; repairs on house, $26.12; interest on mortgage, $40; total, $185.57, or a grand total of expense for one year of $686.99.

To these should be added expenditures for recreation and travel, and meals away from home when at work at a distance. No family should live any more economical than this. The food costs about 18 cents per day for each person. The clothing $35.50 each for the year. The taxes, water rates, repairs, etc., are equivalent to $118.12 for rent, or with the interest on the valuation less the mortgage, $238.12.

I have given these figures that our economic friends may see that the total expenses of this family, covering as they do only the needed things of a civilized life, are at least $300 more than the average annual earnings of wage workers.

I quite concur with those who believe that there are many causes of poverty beside intemperate drinking, smoking and

the like. But my point is that, on the other hand, intemperance alone must be a great, I think the greatest, subtraction from the actual earnings of the producer—earnings at best hardly sufficient for the comfortable support of a family—and this loss is something that might be saved, and either laid up for a rainy day or expended at once for necessity or for rational enjoyment.

Look over that table of expenditures. Who can demand them to be smaller unless he does so from the impulses of a brutal nature? But when you subtract $50 or $100 for rum—then take out further from the earnings the value of the time, sure, sooner or later, to be lost as a consequence of the dissipation and deterioration which the poison will inevitably produce, and then consider the years of helpless age in the future, as well as of sickness and accident in the family during the years of active life, you can imagine something of the havoc which any deleterious and expensive habit will work in the wage laborer's life.

By the census of 1880, 34.68 per cent. of the entire population are classed under the "gainful" occupations, viz.: Agriculture, professional and personal services, trade and transportation, manufacturing, mechanical and mining industries—or a total of 17,392,099 persons who are supposed to be productively employed; so that those engaged in manufacturing industries in 1880 were a little less than one sixth of the entire population engaged in gainful occupations. If, as we calculated above, the former now expend $104,274,916 yearly for alcoholic beverages, the entire amount now expended by all engaged in gainful occupations would be obtained by multiplying that sum by $6\frac{1}{3}$, making $760,407,801. Dr. Hargreave's annual average was $886,882,662 for the whole population from 1881 to 1886 inclusive.

As the luxurious and spendthrift and dependent, defective, criminal, non-producing classes are not included in our calculation, there would remain $125,374,861 to be consumed by them for intoxicating beverages, which is probably below the real amount. I consider this a remarkable confirmation of the probable correctness of the estimate of ten per cent. of the earnings of the productive classes being now expended directly for intoxicating drinks; and even the estimates of

Mr. Atkinson and Mr. Barrett reduce the result in but a slight degree.

The eloquent and impassioned words of Mr. Powderly, Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, upon the subject of this chapter are before me. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend." They save life and heal without a scar.

This letter deserves immortality, and I will do what I can to extend its influence. If the rich drone spends his money for that which is naught, and his labor for that which satisfieth not, he is wasting substance which is not required by those dependent upon him, and by his dissipation is destroying a useless life. But the demon who robs the American laborer of his time, money, health and life starves and kills broken-hearted women and innocent little ones, unless, perchance, still more unfortunate, they survive to suffer the prolonged miseries of the drunkard's home and an inheritance of disgrace. And the worker is the nation. Preserve him and the nation is perpetual.

If wrong, we must advise him—admonish him—if need be, offend him—at all hazards we must save him, or rather he must save himself. The law has no exceptions; all who are saved work out their own salvation.

In the *Journal of United Labor*, July 2, 1887, Mr. Powderly says:

> Among the letters that came to me to-day I find one from an old friend, who takes me to task for my words on the temperance question, spoken some ten or twelve days ago in Boston and Lynn. He says:
>
> "In the main you are right, even the rum-seller himself will not deny the justice of your position, but remember that in the very organization of which you are the head there are many good men who drink; there are thousands who will not agree with you, and after all why do you so bitterly arraign the poor drunkard? It is not required of you by the Constitution or laws of the Knights of Labor. You could well afford to remain silent or at least neutral, preferring to teach rather by example than precept, etc. . . . . I very much fear that you will be misunderstood, etc."

My friend makes the candid admission, in starting out, that in the main I am right, that even the rum-seller will not deny the justice of my position. Having said as much he should have stopped—even then he told me nothing new. I know that I am right; I know that in refusing to even touch a drop of strong drink I was, and am, right.

In refusing to treat another to that which I do not believe to be good for myself to drink, I know I am right. In refusing to associate with men who get drunk, I know I am right. In not allowing a rum-seller to gain admittance into the Order of the Knights of Labor, I know I am right. In advising our Assemblies not to rent halls or meeting rooms over drinking places, I know I am right. I have done this from the day my voice was first heard in the council halls of our Order. My position on the question of temperance is right—I am determined to maintain it, and will not alter it one jot or tittle. If, "in the main" I am right, why should I alter my course? If the man who sells liquor will "not deny the justice" of my position, why should I deviate to the right or left? If he will not deny, why should he not admit that I am right? I know that in the organization of which I am the head there are many good men who drink, but they would be better men if they did not drink. I know that there are thousands in our Order who will not agree with me on the question of temperance, but that is their misfortune, for they are wrong, radically wrong.

Ten years ago I was hissed because I advised men to let strong drink alone. They threatened to rotten-egg me. I have continued to advise men to be temperate, and though I have had no experience that would qualify me to render an opinion on the efficacy of a rotten egg as an ally of the rum drinker, yet I would prefer to have my exterior decorated from summit to base with the rankest kind of rotten eggs rather than allow one drop of liquid villany to pass my lips, or have the end of my nose illuminated by the blossom that follows a planting of the seeds of hatred. envy, malice and damnation, all of which are represented in a solitary glass of gin.

Ten years ago the cause of temperance was not so respectable as it is to-day, because there was not so many respectable men and women advocating it. It has gained ground; it is gaining ground, and all because men and women who believe in it could not be brow-beaten or frightened. Neither the hissing of geese nor serpents nor the throwing of rotten eggs has stopped or even delayed the march of temperance among the workers.

"Why do I so bitterly arraign the *poor* drunkard?" For the reason that he is a drunkard, and because he has made himself poor through his love of drink. Did I, or any other man, rob him of the money he has squandered in drink? Did I make him poor? The vilest names that tongue can frame would he apply to me. Must I stand idly by and remain silent while he robs himself? Did he rob only himself it would not make so much difference. He robs parents, wife and children. He robs his aged father and mother through love of drink. He gives for rum what should go for their support. When they murmur he turns them from his door, and points his contaminated drunken

finger toward the poor-house. He next turns toward his wife and robs her of what should be devoted to the keeping of her home in comfort and plenty. He robs her of her wedding ring and pawns it for drink. He turns his daughter from his door in a fit of drunken anger and drives her to the house of prostitution, and then accepts from her hand the proceeds of her shame. To satisfy his love of drink he takes the price of his child's virtue and innocence from her sin-stained, lust-bejeweled fingers, and with it totters to the bar to pay it to the man who "does not deny the justice of my position." I do not arraign the man who drinks because he is poor, but because through being a slave to drink he has made himself and family poor. I do not hate the man who drinks, for I have carried drunken men to their homes on my back rather than allow them to remain exposed to inclement weather. I do not hate the drunkard—he is what drink has effected; and while I do not hate the effect I abhor and loathe the cause.

Take the list of labor societies of America, and the total sum paid into their treasuries from all sources from their organization to the present time will not exceed $5,000,000. The Knights of Labor is the largest and most influential of them all; and though so much has been said concerning the vast amount of money that has been collected from the members, yet the total sum levied and collected for all purposes—per capita tax, *Journal*, assistance fund, appeals, assessment, insurance and co-operation—up to the present time will not exceed $800,000.

The total sum collected for the first nine years of the existence of the General Assembly was but $500,725.14. In nine years less than $600,000 were collected to uplift humanity to a higher plane, and to bring the workers to a realizing sense of their actual condition in life. It took less than $600,000 to teach the civilized world that workingmen could build up an organization that could shed such light upon the doings of landlords, bondlords, monopolists and other trespassers on the domain of popular rights that they were forced to halt for a time and stand up to explain. Less than $600,000 (not a dollar unaccounted for), and on the statute books of the nation will you find the impress of the workman's hand. On the law book of every state can be traced the doing of labor's representatives. Less than $600,000 to turn the batteries of greed and avarice against the Order of the Knights of Labor. Less than $600,000 to create a revolution greater, further reaching in its consequences and more lasting in its benefits, than the revolution which caused the streets of the towns and cities of France to run red with human blood less than a century ago. Less than $600,000 to make men feel and believe that woman's work should equal that of the man. Less than $600,000 to educate men and women to believe that "moral worth and not wealth is the true standard of individual and

national greatness." Less than $600,000 to cause every newspaper in the land to speak of the work being done by the Knights of Labor—some of them speaking in abusive terms, others speaking words of praise, according to the interests represented by the papers or according as the work done harmonized with the principles of the Order. For paying less than $600,000 the members of the Knights of Labor have been told that they were being robbed. In one day an employer's association organizes and pledges itself to contribute $5,000,000 to fight labor. The next day the papers are almost silent on that point, but are filled to the brim with lurid accounts of the reckless autocratic manner in which the officers of the Knights of Labor levy a twenty-five-cent assessment to keep over 100,000 locked-out men and women from starvation. Putting two and two together, it is not hard to guess why papers that applauded the action of the employers in one column should in another column advise the workers not to pay the twenty-five-cent assessment;—$600,000 for sober men to use in education and self-improvement.

Now let us turn to the other side. In the city of New York alone it is estimated that not less than $250,000 a day are spent for drink. $1,500,000 in one week; $75,000,000 in one year. Who will dispute it when I say that one half of the policemen of New York city are employed to watch the beings who squander $75,000,000 a year? Who will dispute it when I say that the money spent in paying the salaries and expenses of one half of the police of New York could be saved to the taxpayers if $75,000,000 were not devoted to making drunkards, thieves, prostitutes and other subjects for the policemen's net to gather in? If $250,000 go over the counters of the rum-seller in one day in New York city alone, who will dare to assert that workingmen do not pay one fifth, or $50,000, of that sum? If workingmen in New York city spend $50,000 a day for drink, they spend $300,000 a week, leaving Sunday out. In four weeks they spend $1,200,000—over twice as much money as was paid into the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor in nine years. In six weeks they spend $1,800,000—nearly three times as much money as that army of organized workers, the Knights of Kabor, have spent from the day the General Assembly was first called to order up to the present day; and in one year the workingmen of New York city alone will have spent for beer and rum $15,600,000 or enough to purchase and equip a first-class telegraph line of their own:—$15,600,000—enough money to invest in such co-operative enterprises as would forever end the strike and lock-out as a means of settling disputes in labor circles.

A single county in Pennsylvania, so I am informed, spent in one year $17,000,000 for drink. That county contains the largest industrial population, comparatively, of any in the state:—$11,000,000 of

the $17,000,000 come from the pockets of workingmen. New York city, in one year, contributes $15,600,000 to keep men and women in poverty, hunger and cold, while one county in Pennsylvania adds $11,000,000, making a total of $26,600,000. Twenty-six million six hundred thousand dollars! I have a conundrum to ask of you, Mr. Purdy: If the General Officers of the Knights of Labor are thieves because they levy an assessment which brings in less than a dollar apiece for each man, woman and child who needs it, what would you call the men who collect as a voluntary gift from foolish workingmen the sum of $26,600,000 in one year?

The press, and not a few indignant workingmen, raved because the twenty-five-cent assessment was levied; but both press and indignant workingmen remained silent while that damnable robbery of $26,600,000 was going on. Who arraigns the poor drunkard now? Does he not arraign himself before the bar of condemnation every time he ranges himself before the bar in a rum hole?

The Richmond session of the General Assembly voted $50,000 to purchase headquarters for the Order;—$45,000 went to buy the building on Broad street, Philadelphia. For complying with the order of the General Assembly the General Officers have been abused and slandered most villainously, principally by men who never contributed a cent toward the purchase of the building. The enemies of the Order, or of the Officers of the Order, have styled the headquarters "The Palace." On another street in the city of Philadelphia there is a saloon called "The Palace." I inquired of the proprietor what it cost him and he said $20,000. Nine years ago he began business, selling rum, on a capital of $73, and in that time he has acquired the money with which to purchase the building and the lot on which it stands. He also owns $50,000 in railroad securities—all on an original cash capital of $73. His patrons are chiefly workingmen. Why do we not hear a protest go up against the means by which that palace was erected?

"It is not required of you by the Constitution or laws of the Knights of Labor." I know it. Neither is it stated in the Constitution of the Order that I shall not stand on the public highway and rob the passer-by, yet I know that I should not do such a thing. If I saw a man about to hang himself, the Constitution does not specify that I should cut the rope.

"You could well afford to remain silent or at least neutral, preferring to teach by example rather than precept." If I cared more for the praise and approbation of labor's enemies than I do for the interest of labor I would remain silent. The man who remains neutral while his friend is in the grasp of the enemy, or while his friend is in danger, is a coward at heart and does not deserve the name of man or friend.

Remain silent and neutral while the house is on fire and you have nothing left but blackened, defaced walls and—ashes.

Teach by example? I cannot in so large a country as this. If my example is good, then my words should proclaim it to the world. I am no better than other men, but the virtue of temperance is good, even in a bad man, and that is what I wish to hold up before our members and workingmen outside of our Order.

"I very much fear that you will be misunderstood." Do not fear; I will not be misunderstood when this letter is read. I am not a fanatic. I do not damn the man who sells liquor. I have nothing against him. Many men who now sell liquor were once workingmen and were victimized through a strike or lock-out. I would not injure a hair of their heads, but I would so educate workingmen that they would never enter a saloon. Then the money saved from rum and rum holes would go to purchase necessaries, and such an increased stimulus would be given to trade that the rum-seller could return to an honest way of making a living.

I may be taken to task for being severe on the workingmen. It may be said that I slander them even. If to tell the truth is to be severe, then on this one question I hope some day to be severity itself; but I speak to workingmen because it is in their welfare that I am interested. I have not been delegated to watch or guard the fortunes of millionaires, and in no way can I hope to accomplish anything until I state my policy freely and frankly to those I represent. We are seeking to reform existing evils. We must first reform ourselves.

Some mischievous urchins once found a man sleeping by the roadside. They procured some soot and blackened his face. When he awoke and went into the crowded street every man he met laughed at him. He did not learn the cause of the merriment until a friend held a mirror up before him. He became very mad, and for a time felt angry toward the man who held the mirror; but he soon came to his senses, laid the blame where it properly belonged, and thanked the man who showed him why others ridiculed him. I am holding the mirror up to human nature. True, it exposes folly and vice. I may and do receive condemnation, but if I can only show the men I speak to who it is that is blackening their faces, characters and hearts; if I can only show them how to remove the stains and become sober men again, I will be content to put up with their anger, for I know that they will one day thank me or bless my memory for the words I have spoken and written in the cause of temperance.

T. V. Powderly.

I will cite the testimony of one professional witness given before the Senate Committee in reply to my questions, discuss-

ing very intelligently the causes of poverty. The strong and evident sympathy of the witness with people who are manual laborers gives to this testimony peculiar importance. It was taken by the committee at the request of honorable Robert Howard, and I ask attention to it as containing much food for thought, and, as it seems to me, also ground for action. Fall River is, as is well known, one of the chief manufacturing cities of the country, and the statements of Dr. Stow, must be taken to be the general result where like conditions prevail:

BOSTON, MASS., October 18, 1883.

Dr. Timothy D. Stow examined by the Chairman:

Question.—You are a physician?

Answer.—Yes.

Q.—You live at Fall River?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Won't you state how you happen to appear before the committee, what your object is in coming here, and at whose request you come, and then give us the benefit of any observations you choose to lay before us?

A.—Mr. Robert Howard, of our city, called on me yesterday, and desired me to appear here to-day before your committee to give whatever testimony I could, relating particularly to the physical and mental, and perhaps the moral, condition of the operatives and laboring classes of Fall River. I have made no notes, and I hardly know what your plan is; but I would as soon answer questions as to make any detailed statement.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We want to find out how the working people of Fall River are living and doing; you can tell us that in the way in which one gentleman would talk to another, the one understanding the subject and the other not understanding it. Just tell us the condition of the operatives there in your own way, bearing in mind that we would rather have it without premeditation than as a prepared statement.

THE WITNESS.—I have been in Fall River about eleven years, though I have been one year absent during that time. As a physician and surgeon, of course, I have been brought into close contact with all classes of people there, particularly the laboring classes, the operatives of the city.

With regard to the effect of the present industrial system upon their physical and moral welfare, I should say it was of such a character as to need mending, to say the least. It needs some radical remedy.

Our laboring population is made up very largely of foreigners, men, women and children, who have either voluntarily come to Fall River, or who have been induced to come there by the manufacturers. As a class they are dwarfed physically. Of course, there are exceptions to that; some notable ones. On looking over their condition and weighing it as carefully as I have been able to, I have come to the conclusion that the character and quality of the labor which they have been doing in times past, and most of them from childhood up, has been, and is, such as to bring this condition upon them slowly and steadily. They are dwarfed, in my estimation, sir, as the majority of men and women who are brought up in factories must be dwarfed under the present industrial system; because by their long hours of in-door labor and their hard work they are cut off from the benefit of breathing fresh air, and from the sights that surround a workman outside a mill. Being shut up all day long in the noise and in the high temperature of these mills, they become physically weak. Then most of them are obliged to live from hand to mouth, or, at least, they do not have sufficient food to nourish them as they need to be nourished. These things, together with the fact that they have to limit their clothing supply—this constant strain upon the operative—all tend to make him upon the one hand uneasy and restless, or on the other hand to produce discouragement and recklessness. They make him careless in regard to his own condition. All these things combined tend to produce what we have in Fall River.

Now, first, as to the moral condition of the operatives of Fall River, I think so far as crime is concerned we have quite as little crime there as in any city of its size. We have a population rising on 50,000. There is a disposition at times, and under certain pressure, for some operatives to violate the law, to pilfer, or something of that kind, and I think it grows out of not what is called "pure cussedness," but a desire to relieve some physical want. For instance, a man wants a coat and has not the means of earning it, and he is out of employment and being pinched with the cold and with no prospects of getting employment, or of getting a coat by honest means, he steals one. Or perhaps he steals food on the same principle.

But, so far as crime is concerned, we have comparatively little. But what I do say, and what has been on my mind ever since I came to Fall River, with reference to operatives there, is the peculiar impress they seem to bear, a sort of dejected, tired, worn-out, discouraged appearance, growing out of bad influence of long hours of labor, the close confinement of the mills, the din of the machinery, their exclusion from social intercourse, except at night.

And I think we can look for a solution of the problem which the country at large is endeavoring to solve—that with reference to the

Miss Anna Gordon,

Associated with Miss Willard.

intemperate habits of the laboring classes and the operatives—in those facts that I have mentioned. I have questioned many thoughtful men and women in regard to that. I have said: "Why is it that at night particularly you frequent the dram shops? Why is it that by day you drink; that you store enough even for the day in your houses?" The answer is: "Well, doctor, I tell you the fact is this: there is a sense of fatigue over us which we do not know how to overcome, and which we must overcome for the time being, if we are to have any of the social qualities of an evening, and we can't do it without taking something which will bridge over the time and make us equal to the emergency of the evening or the occasion." For instance, the operative being in the mill all day long comes out at night, and it is the only time he has, unless he uses Sunday—and he uses that largely—in which to visit his friends, who are scattered here and there all over the city. Families are, of course, scattered in that way. They are either brought over here by the manufacturer, or come of their own accord. One person finds a place in one mill, and another in another mill. They have no means of communication with each other except at night, or on a Sunday. Now they say to themselves, "How can we fit ourselves for this social intercourse—what we deem a necessity?" The result is that a man steps into a lager beer saloon, or often into a place where he gets stronger liquor, and he takes a glass of it, and in a few minutes he begins to feel the stimulating influence of the liquor, and it braces him up. But I have said: "How does this make you feel? You say you have been feeling fatigued in the evening and discouraged; that your future does not look bright; how do you feel when you get the liquor?" "Why," he will say, "it covers that all up; we lose all thought of that, and for the time being we feel well." And so they go on from day to day, and from night to night.

Now, after all, I do not know of many drunkards in Fall River, but this is true: the operative spends his five, ten, fifteen or twenty-five cents a night for liquor, and it is so much money lost to him, and yet he feels impelled to it, because he does not know how otherwise to adapt himself to the circumstances of the evening. It does not seem to affect his constitution, and most of them keep up pretty well, but some succumb to it. Others who cannot succumb to the influences of lager beer often resort to stronger liquors, such as brandy, whisky and so on, to stimulate them more, because they require more and more to keep up the effect. Those go down to the drunkard's grave.

I should say that the average man there who reaches that condition gets to be a pauper at thirty-five or forty. The women, particularly the English women, brew their own beer to some extent, but they buy largely of the stores, and keep beer in their houses for the day. It is

a common thing for these bar-keepers to peddle around beer and ale, to leave from half a dozen to a dozen of ale a week at a house. Almost every Saturday some families will put in from a dozen to two dozen bottles of ale.

Now, it is invariably the testimony of the more intelligent men and women in answer to the question, "Why do you persist in drinking?" "It makes us feel better; we are relieved of the *ennui* of life; we are relieved of mental depression for the time being, and after the evening's social engagements are over we get home and go to bed, and think nothing of it, and next day resume our day's work." And so it goes on from day to day.

In considering this testimony in connection with that of Mr. Crosby and other facts now before us, one is reminded of Agur's prayer: "Give me neither poverty nor riches." Both are causes of intemperance, and intemperance being a waste of health and strength must cause poverty—for what is poverty? It is the absence of health, strength, and the ordinary comforts of life. Intemperance takes all these away—and it increases poverty already existing. Poverty does not create intemperance by any direct act. Intemperance is the direct act.

Poverty creates by distress an abnormal state of mind and body, and in that condition the act of intemperance takes place. It is always the *act* with which we deal, and that is where we stop in the enforcement of responsibility—poverty and wealth are both indirect causes of intemperance as they are of theft and of waste—and behind these conditions are still deeper causes—rooted in human nature and our surroundings, which it is the struggle of evolution to remove and escape from—the limitations and tendencies and influences of human nature, and of all nature, in the past and in the present.

Of all the direct acts which we can perform or avoid for the removal of poverty or of the acquisition of comfort, competency and wealth, the drinking of intoxicating liquors is the worst, and for it we are responsible, because it is an act of volition.

But our saving will only help, it will not solve the labor problem. Abolish intoxication and there will be more dollars, but even then the sober man will not always get the dollar. The problem of the distribution of labor as well as

of production remains. And who shall protect and maintain the unfortunate? Alas, my brother!—Society has not yet learned its duty—far less performed it. In the future—in the good time coming—there will be no such word as charity. When charity is swallowed up in duty, then shall be revealed the glory of the latter days.

Society has a perpetual life. The knowledge and experience of the ages accumulate and proceed with the successive generations. In this larger field of action—the action of society—there is a responsibility for wealth and poverty and intemperance, vice and crime, which cannot be escaped from, and as members of the perpetual corporation of humanity, we must discover and remove those ultimate causes of human suffering which come from poverty of the many or extravagance of the luxurious few. To secure this, wealth, the means of supplying proper human wants, must be created, and then must be distributed where the wants exist. To effect this creation and distribution as it should be done is the great unsolved problem of "Labor," of which the Temperance Reform is one of the most important factors. In a great war, first one battle and then another is for the time being the most important thing to be done. The Temperance Reform is one of these great battles. We must win our Bunker Hill, and our Saratoga, or we shall fail at Yorktown. The Labor movement, the Temperance Reform, Popular Education, Moral and Religious instruction, the making and the administration of good laws, are all parts of one great movement and are indispensable to each other. It is useless to quibble and make wry faces like children on the street, and say each to the other, "I'm the biggest," and "You're a fool." The progress of the world is a battle—a great game in which we play with the team and interchanging our parts, and, so far as God gives us power, in all ways for the good of all mankind.

Let all unite, and put forth the utmost effort in union with others, in every direction of helpful effort. We are trying to put down the original rebellion of the fallen angels which has broken out, and has raged fearfully in this old world of ours, Lo! now at least six thousand years.

"Lend a hand."

CHAPTER XI.

ALCOHOL DESTROYS THE WEALTH OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE.

Things Proved and Clear in Regard to the Effects of Alcohol — An Invoice of the Stock in Trade of an Industry of Destruction—The Claim that Temperance Statistics are Inflated and Unreliable—The Demand for a Commission of Inquiry—Col. Switzler's Work—The Liquor Production of the United States—A table Representing a Gigantic Business Transaction—Remarkable Increase in the Use of Malt Liquors—Facts Furnished by the Brewers' Association—Letter of Louis Schade—Mr. Zimmerman's Figures—The 100,000 Annual Victims—The Figures for 1886—The Cost of Drink per Family—The Annual Loss to the Nation —Demands for a Commission of Inquiry.

WE have thus far confined our attention chiefly to the investigation of the nature of alcohol and its effects within the human system. It is clear from the light of experience, observation, science and history that alcohol is a destructive poison to the healthy body; that its supposed benefit as a food is a fallacy; that as a medicine its use is seldom or never necessary, always attended with danger, specially liable to abuse on the part both of the physician and the patient, full of latent and fatal fascination to the patient as yet uncursed by its love, and almost sure to revive the tyranny of old appetite, which may have been by great effort partially suppressed, but which can seldom, if ever, be wholly eradicated; that the food quality in the least noxious forms known, as in the fermented drinks, is so small that its use as a nourishment elevates the practice of extracting sunbeams from cucumbers into a comparatively fruitful industry, and gives dignity to the occupation of those who sup on the east wind; that in an economical view the millionaire would be ruined in the vain attempt to pay his board bill if he were to live upon pabulum of this description, while it would be a manifest impossibility for the physical machinery to manipulate the vast mass of liquid with its homœopathic atoms of fodder, so that the digestive powers of the giant could save the gnat from rapid starvation; that there

is no form of horrid or fatal disease which does not find in its use either its origin or aggravation; that the intellect disintegrates and perishes under its baleful influence; that it eats out the moral nature as with a tooth of a hot iron; converts its victim into a criminal or an imbecile; and makes death more welcome than life; that it casts forth the drunkard upon society, wrecked body and soul, damned beforehand, and already a naturalized citizen of the infernal world.

This we have seen to be the natural and almost unavoidable result of the habitual and prolonged use of alcohol by the individual human being. But it remains for us to ascertain, if possible, and to sum up the vast account of crime and misery—to take an invoice, as it were, of the stock in trade of this great industry of destruction and despair.

This is no easy task; to it have been given great volumes written in blood, with pens of power on pages lighted with unearthly fire. But there is a magnitude to the subject which the most vivid imagination cannot compass. The figures are like those of astronomy, and their tremendous impressiveness cannot be increased by illustration. To one who comprehends at all the force of mathematical notation—of facts in the form of figures—nothing can be so vivid and overwhelming as the contemplation of a truthful and moderate statistical statement of the extent of the traffic in alcoholic beverages, in our country and in the world.

It is to such a statement, with no more of explanation and comparison than shall be necessary to assist the mind, in part, to grasp the significance of calculations and tabulated matter, that this chapter will be devoted. It has long been claimed by those engaged in the liquor traffic and their advocates that "temperance statistics" are inflated and unreliable. It is true that the opponents of the traffic have never been able to secure the services of their own government to assist in obtaining the whole truth; but this has been prevented by the opposition of the traffic itself, which preferred to rest under the weight of what was already proven, and asserted with such proof that it was apparent to all that official investigation would more than confirm its most astounding aggregates.

For six Congresses, twelve years in succession, have the enemies of alcohol called upon the government for an impar-

tial Commission of Inquiry into this traffic. Six times has the American Senate passed the bill, and so far the liquor lobby has strangled the bill—that it might suppress the truth. That truth is stranger and worse than the wildest fiction to be found in the literature of the advocates of the Great Reform—and they who oppose the investigation well know it.

The Bureau of Statistics, under its very able chief, who is a broad and liberal statesman, as well as eminent statistician, has given us the most recent and reliable of all official data, ever collected in any country, of the extent of the liquor trade. This invaluable service entitles Col. Switzler to the everlasting gratitude of his countrymen living, and of the generations to come. Henceforth we have a minimum resting upon the solid basis of official mathematics. Above and beyond rises the structure of probability and of demonstration from other impregnable evidence—but there is need of nothing more than these records to convince every honest and unprejudiced mind that the traffic in alcoholic beverages must go.

The table on page 197 exhibits the amount of production of fermented liquors and distilled spirits in the United States, together with the quantity of distilled spirits withdrawn for consumption from bond, (where it is placed during the process of evaporation and until required for sale, so that tax may not be exacted for more than is available for use), from 1863 to 1886, inclusive. What gigantic business transactions does this table represent! What misery, crime and despair! Better that the civil war had raged unchecked during the whole period, if this terrible trade could have been destroyed along with the institution which drenched this glorious Union in fraternal blood.

The table on page 198 exhibits the annual consumption per capita of population during the years 1840, 1850, 1860, and from 1870 to 1886 inclusive. These per capita exhibits, which, so common in tabulation, are perhaps the best to convey an idea of the extent of the traffic as compared to the whole population, but they also convey a false idea as to the actual injury inflicted by it. The most of the burden of this whole evil is in the first instance concentrated upon individual consumers, and their immediate dependents, being

PRODUCTION OF DISTILLED SPIRITS, EXCLUSIVE OF BRANDY DISTILLED FROM FRUIT.

Year Ending June 30—	Production of fermented liquors.	Bourbon whisky.	Rye whisky.	Alcohol.	Rum.	Gin.	High wines.	Pure, neutral or cologne spirits.	Miscellaneous.	Total.	Production of fruit brandy.	Total production of distilled spirits.	Distilled spirits other than fruit brandy withdrawn
	barrels. a	*Tax. galls.*	*Tax. galls.*	*Tax. galls.*	*Tax. galls.*	*Tax. galls.*	*Tax. galls.*	*Tax. galls.*	*Tax. galls.*	*Tax. galls.*	*Tax. galls.*	*Tax. galls.*	*Tax. galls.*
1863.....	2,006,625	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	*b*16,149,954	*c*16,149,954
1864.....	3,141,581	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	*b*85,295,393	*c*85,295,393
1865.....	3,657,181	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16,936,778	37,196	16,973,974	16,936,778
1866.....	5,115,140	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	23,844,051	248,654	24,092,705	14,599,289
1867.....	6,207,402	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	32,299,029	440,907	32,740,236	14,148,132
1868.....	6,146,603	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16,396,954	515,202	16,912,213	6,769,546
1869.....	6,342,055	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	53,367,884	508,858	54,276,742	61,185,559
1870.....	6,574,617	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	71,357,999	1,223,840	72,590,929	77,266,368
1871.....	7,740,260	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	54,576,446	2,472,011	57,048,457	59,842,047
1872.....	8,659,427	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	68,275,745	1,089,998	69,365,143	65,145,880
1873.....	9,633,323	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	68,230,467	2,965,987	71,292,554	62,945,154
1874.....	9,600,897	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	68,805,374	766,687	69,572,061	61,814,875
1875.....	9,452,697	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	60,930,425	1,757,202	62,687,627	62,068,709
1876.....	9,902,352	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	57,969,447	672,221	58,631,808	57,310,472
1877.....	9,810,060	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	59,042,268	1,527,141	61,439,409	57,016,248
1878.....	10,241,471	6,405,520	2,831,119	10,277,725	1,603,376	364,963	19,412,985	14,108,023	4,096,352	56,103,053	1,239,103	57,342,456	49,900,838
1879.....	11,103,084	8,587,981	4,094,048	19,594,283	2,243,455	372,777	18,033,652	13,459,486	5,600,810	71,892,021	996,752	72,888,373	52,906,467
1880.....	13,347,111	15,414,448	6,341,894	21,631,009	2,433,501	394,668	15,210,589	20,057,975	8,265,789	90,355,270	1,023,147	91,378,117	61,126,634
1881.....	14,311,028	33,032,615	9,931,609	22,088,960	2,118,506	549,596	14,363,581	23,556,608	10,586,666	117,728,150	1,799,861	119,528,011	67,126,000
1882.....	16,052,085	20,575,967	9,224,777	15,201,671	1,701,084	569,134	10,962,379	27,871,293	10,744,156	105,850,161	1,180,051	107,283,212	70,759,548
1883.....	17,757,892	8,062,245	4,784,654	10,718,706	1,801,960	545,768	8,701,951	28,295,253	10,502,771	74,013,308	1,281,202	75,294,510	75,508,785
1884.....	18,098,619	8,896,832	5,089,958	19,385,229	1,711,158	641,724	6,745,688	28,538,680	11,426,170	75,435,739	1,095,428	76,531,167	78,479,845
1885.....	19,185,953	12,277,750	5,328,043	13,436,916	2,081,165	639,461	3,235,889	27,104,382	10,811,757	74,915,363	1,489,711	76,405,074	67,089,250
1886.....	20,710,933	19,318,819	7,842,540	11,247,877	1,799,952	656,607	2,396,248	26,538,581	10,543,756	80,344,380	1,501,880	81,849,260	69,295,361

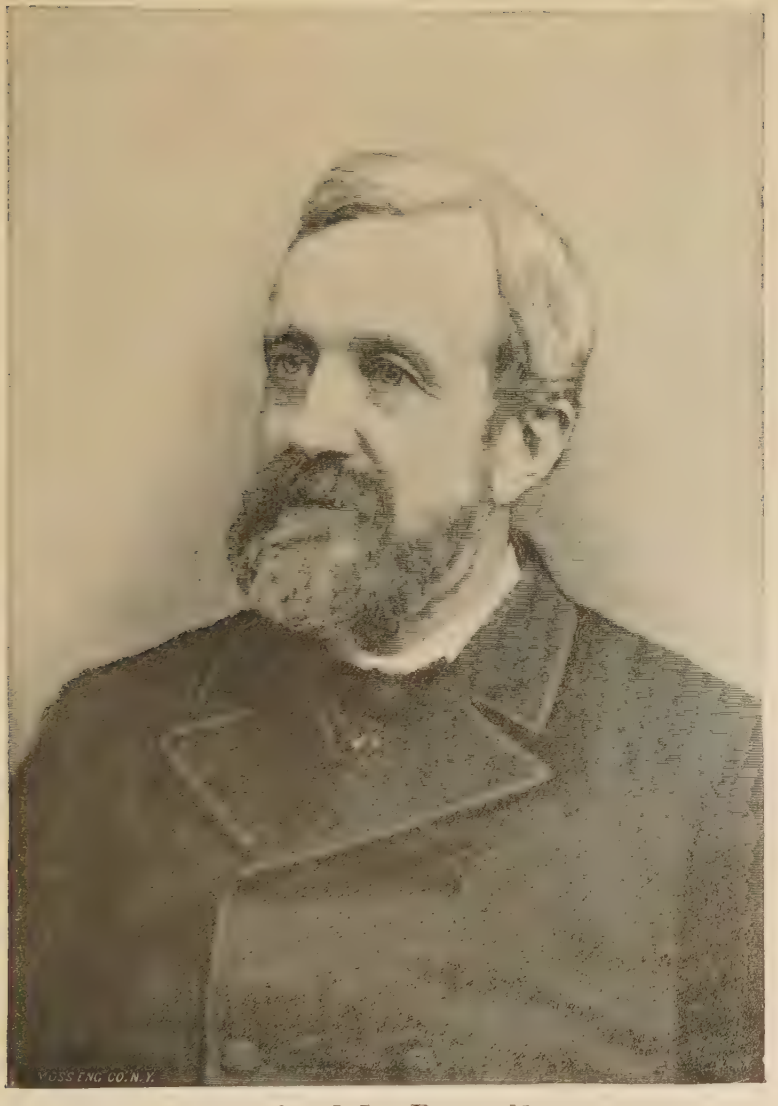
a Of not more than 31 gallons. *b* The returns of spirits distilled from apples, grapes and peaches were included in the account of spirits distilled from other materials until July 1, 1884. *c* Including fruit brandy. No returns of the production of the different kinds of spirits other than fruit brandy were made prior to July 1, 1877. There are no official data of annual production of spirits prior to 1866 except quantities on which tax was paid. There are provisions for exportation of spirits without payment of tax in Acts of July 1, 1862, and June 30, 1864; also provisions for abatement of tax on spirits lost by leakage in transportation in Acts of March 3, 1863, and June 30, 1864, but there are no data in the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue by which the total quantity of spirits so exported and lost by leakage each year can be determined prior to fiscal year 1866-67. Hence the production above given for 1863, 1864 and 1865 is the same as the tax-paid quantities for those years, and represents the true production less unknown quantities exported and lost by leakage. To get production for 1866, the quantity returned for tax that year (14,847,943 gallons) is added to 9,214,762 gallons stock on hand at close of same year (see page ix. Rep. Com. Int. Rev., 1867), making 24,062,705 gallons as production of 1865-66, though some of the quantity in warehouse at close of the year may have been, and doubtless was, produced in previous years.

ANNUAL CONSUMPTION OF DISTILLED AND MALT LIQUORS AND WINES IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE AVERAGE ANNUAL CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA OF POPULATION DURING THE YEARS 1840, 1850, 1860, AND FROM 1870 TO 1886, INCLUSIVE.

Year ending June 30—	DISTILLED SPIRITS CONSUMED				WINES CONSUMED.			MALT LIQUORS CONSUMED.			TOTAL CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA OF POPULATION.				
	Spirits of domestic product.		Imported spirits entered for consumption	Total.	Wines of dom'stic product.*a*	Imported wines entered for consumption	Total.	Malt liquors of domestic product.*a*	Imported malt liquors entered for consumption	Total.	Total consumption of wines and liquors.	Dis. tilled spirits.	Wines.	Malt liquors.	All wines and liquors.
	From fruit.	All other.													
	Pr.galls	*Pr.galls.*	*Pr.galls.*	*Pr.galls.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Pr.galls.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*
1840.....	(*b*)	40,378,000	2,682,794	43,060,884	124,734	4,748,362	4,873,096	23,162,571	148,272	23,310,843	71,244,817	2.52	0.20	1.36	4.17
1850.....	(*b*)	46,768,083	5,065,390	51,833,473	221,249	6,094,622	6,315,871	36,361,708	201,301	36,563,009	94,712,353	2.23	0.27	1.58	4.08
1860.....	(*b*)	83,994,258	6,094,393	89,968,651	1,860,008	9,199,133	11,059,141	100,225,879	1,120,790	101,346,699	202,374,461	2.86	0.35	3.22	6.43
1870.....	1,223,830	77,266,568	1,405,510	79,895,708	3,059,518	9,165,549	12,225,067	203,743,401	1,012,755	204,756,156	296,876,931	2.07	0.32	5.30	7.69
1871.....	2,472,011	59,842,617	1,745,033	64,059,661	4,980,783	10,853,280	15,834,063	239,838,137	1,299,990	241,138,127	321,031,851	1.62	0.40	6.09	8.11
1872.....	1,089,698	65,145,789	2,186,702	68,422,280	6,968,737	9,713,300	16,682,037	268,357,983	1,940,933	270,298,916	355,403,233	1.68	0.41	6.65	8.74
1873.....	2,965,987	62,945,154	2,125,998	68,037,139	8,953,285	9,893,746	18,847,031	298,519,675	2,177,587	300,697,262	387,581,432	1.63	0.45	7.27	9.29
1874.....	766,687	61,814,775	1,958,528	64,540,990	10,951,859	9,516,855	20,468,714	297,519,981	2,001,084	299,521,065	384,529,869	1.51	0.48	6.59	8.98
1875.....	1,757,202	62,068,709	1,694,647	66,120,558	12,954,961	7,036,369	19,991,330	292,961,047	1,992,110	294,953,157	381,065,045	1.50	0.45	6.71	8.66
1876.....	672,221	57,340,472	1,471,197	59,483,890	14,968,085	5,193,723	20,161,808	306,852,467	1,483,920	308,336,387	387,982,085	1.32	0.45	6.83	8.60
1877.....	1,527,141	57,016,248	1,376,729	59,920,118	16,942,592	4,933,738	21,876,330	303,854,988	1,072,679	304,926,667	386,723,115	1.29	0.47	6.58	8.34
1878.....	1,103,351	49,600,838	1,227,752	51,931,941	17,953,386	4,310,563	22,263,949	317,136,597	832,755	317,969,352	392,165,242	1.09	0.47	6.68	8.24
1879.....	1,021,708	52,003,467	1,255,300	54,278,475	19,845,113	4,532,017	24,377,130	343,724,971	880,514	344,605,485	423,261,090	1.11	0.50	7.05	8.66
1880.....	1,005,781	61,126,634	1,394,279	63,526,694	23,298,940	5,030,601	28,329,541	413,208,885	1,011,280	414,220,165	506,076,400	1.26	0.56	8.26	10.08
1881.....	1,701,206	67,426,000	1,479,875	70,607,081	18,931,819	5,231,106	24,162,925	442,947,664	1,164,505	444,112,169	538,882,175	1.37	0.47	8.63	10.47
1882.....	1,216,850	70,759,548	1,580,578	73,556,976	19,934,856	5,628,671	25,562,927	524,843,379	1,536,601	526,379,980	625,499,883	1.39	0.48	9.97	11.84
1883.....	1,253,278	75,598,785	1,600,624	78,452,687	17,406,028	8,372,152	25,778,180	549,616,338	1,881,002	551,497,340	655,728,207	1.45	0.48	10.18	12.11
1884.....	1,137,056	78,479,845	1,511,680	81,128,581	17,402,938	3,105,407	20,508,345	588,065,609	2,010,908	590,016,517	691,653,443	1.46	0.37	10.62	12.45
1885.....	1,468,775	67,689,250	1,442,067	70,600,092	17,404,698	4,495,759	21,900,457	594,063,095	2,068,771	596,131,866	688,632,415	1.24	0.38	10.44	12.06
1886.....	1,555,994	69,295,361	1,410,259	72,261,614	17,366,393	4,700,827	22,067,220	640,746,288	2,221,432	642,967,720	737,296,554	1.24	0.38	11.18	12.62

a Product less exports. *b* Included with "All other."

NOTES—(1) The data as to product of domestic liquors and wines for 1840, 1850 and 1860 were derived from the Census. (2) The consumption of imported liquors and wines for 1840, 1850 and 1860 is represented by the net imports. (3) The production of domestic wines, from 1870 to 1885, has been estimated by the Department of Agriculture; by Mr. Charles McK. Leoser, president of Wine and Spirit Traders' Society, New York, and other well-informed persons, and the amount stated as consumed represents the production minus the exports. (4) The consumption of domestic spirituous and malt liquors, from 1870 to 1886, was obtained from the reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. (5) In computing the quantity of sparkling and still wines and vermuth in bottles, 5 so-called quart bottles are reckoned as equivalent to the gallon. (6) The consumption of distilled spirits as a beverage is estimated to be about 90 per cent. of the product consumed for all purposes. See letter of Mr. James A. Webb, of New York, page 398 of Colonel Switzler's report.



A. M. Powell,

Editor of "The Temperance Advocate."

not more than perhaps one fourth of the entire people, who thus become as it were a pestilential citizenship within the body politic, operating upon the whole nation and world as the poison itself does upon the natural body of the individual.

The most striking fact revealed by the table is the decrease in the percentage of per capita consumption of distilled spirits during the last half-century on the one hand and the increase of the percentage of consumption of wines and liquors not distilled on the other. It must be remembered that this is not a decrease of the amount actually consumed by the people. On the contrary, the first table shows that the amount of distilled liquors produced increased from 16,000,000 gallons in 1863 to 81,000,000 in 1886, and the amount actually withdrawn for consumption from 16,000,000 to 69,000,000 gallons, although during that period population has only doubled. During the half-century the increase of per capita consumption of malt liquors has been more than eightfold, while population itself has increased less than fourfold, or from 17,000,000 to 60,000,000.

The following history in figures of the malt liquor traffic in the United States and in each state and territory during the last thirteen years and of its development during the last twelve years, is very perfect and equally astounding. It is duly authenticated by Hon. Louis Schade, the attorney for many years of the liquor traffic at Washington and editor of the *Sentinel*, published in that city, which is the organ of the interest he represents. Having first called upon him in his absence and then written to him for information touching the traffic, I have to thank Mr. Schade for this and other courtesies, but for which this book might have contained fewer facts and therefore have been less damaging to his clients. Mr. Schade did me the honor to publish my letter to him in the *Sentinel*, and I therefore reciprocate the courtesy so far as I am able, by giving his letter such currency as may be, in this book. It shows how an able and honest gentleman may be conscientiously engaged in a business which ruins his fellowmen. One thing is certain, the great interest he represents could not employ one whose personal character is better calculated to confer respectability upon a business sadly in need of that service.

If there were not so many respectable and able men engaged in it, and if society itself in its ignorance and appetite were not even now so oblivious of the extent of the evil which like an inherited disease interpenetrates the body politic, the task of its removal would be less difficult. I pity them, but I never denounce the men who are engaged in the liquor traffic and those who aid and abet them as worse than the community which tolerates their business. But as a member of society, with no pecuniary interest involved, and in no way dependent upon its prosecution for the necessaries of life, and having no unsought entanglements with the trade, if I fail to denounce the miserable and infernal business and to devote my last dollar of money and moment of time, and if need be drop of blood, to its annihilation from the face of the whole earth, then *I* deserve the pity of no one and the everlasting execration, not of man alone, but of God. *And I shall have my reward.*

That is the way I feel about liquor dealers, the liquor trade and those of us who are in favor of the liquor business without an excuse. The strength of the liquor trade is in the countenance it receives from those who want to share in the liquor money and the liquor vote. How unconscious is Mr. Schade of the real effect of business in which he is engaged! He even thinks that the increase of the malt trade is in the interests of "true temperance." He seems to think that we must be boozy upon beer or delirious on whisky. The alternative of total abstinence and legal prohibition does not dawn upon his mind. Both Mr. Schade and his table are worthy of profound study.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 22, 1887.

DEAR SIR:—Your desire to be furnished by me with reliable statistics in regard to the production of fermented and distilled liquors I shall try to fulfill to the best of my abilities.

To-day I send you a table giving you the production of fermented liquors in this country since 1875. The figures are compiled from the Internal Revenue Reports and reliable. The same Internal Revenue Reports will give you also the production of alcoholic spirits. But whilst you can safely assume that all the fermented liquors are consumed as beverages, that assumption is not safe in regard to alcoholic liquors manufactured, and hence all such statistics are mere guess-work, as a great deal of alcohol is being

used for mechanical purposes. Possibly the Revenue Department might give you a table showing the amount of spirits turned into whisky and other liquors used as a beverage, or exported.

That fermented liquor table which I inclose* will show you how Maine and Vermont have gone back since 1875 on true temperance, by stopping the brewing business and forcing their people to the whisky bottle. Surely that cannot be the aim of a true temperance man.

I regret that you called at my office in my absence, as I would have been glad to meet you. I thank you also for the friendly sentiments you are kind enough to express in your letter in regard to me.

I have written to the U. S. Brewers' Association and they will forward to you a number of documents. You will also observe that, though an old Democrat, I do not excuse the prohibition proclivities in my party, on the contrary censure them more severely than I have done heretofore in regard to those I have met with in the Republican party. At any rate I shall always act honestly in this important issue. I remain, sir, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

LOUIS SCHADE.

HON. HENRY W. BLAIR,
U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.

If we should assume that the average percentage of alcohol in ale, beer, wine, cider and all fermented liquors consumed is 10 per cent., which, considering the processes of fortification carrying some of them as high as 25 per cent. even, is, I think, none too high an estimate, and the average of distilled spirits as containing 50 per cent. of alcohol, then five gallons of the former would be the equivalent of one gallon of spirits. The total consumption of wines and liquors (fermented) for 1886 was 737,296,554 gallons or 145,459,311 gallons of distilled spirits. It has already been shown that the alcohol performs its work with the same efficiency according to its actual quantity, whether mixed with much or little water.

Thus we have as the consumption of alcohol reduced to the form of distilled spirits in the United States, during the year 1886, 217,720,925 gallons or an average per capita consumption of the people of the United States in 1886 of 3.63 gallons. If now we reduce the quantity of wines and fermented drinks consumed in 1840 to distilled liquor, as we have done above for the consumption of 1886, and divide the total by the popu-

*See p. 202 for table here referred to.

Sales of Malt Liquors in the United States, for Revenue year ended May 1, 1887, and for 12 previous years, showing the increase or decrease in each state for year ended May 1, 1887, over year ended May 1, 1886, also increase in the brew of the United States since the year 1876. Net increase 1887 over 1886, 2,171,316 bbls. Net increase 1887 over 1875 (twelve years), 14,076,625 bbls.

States and Territories.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	Increase, 1887, compared with 1886.	Decrease, 1887, compared with 1886.	Total increase, twelve years.	Total decrease, twelve years.
Alabama	461	602	265	.....	.....	80	4	.....	8	28	550	7,156	12,740	5,584	.....	12,349	.....
Alaska	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	287	246	355	414	59	.....	414	.....
Arizona	327	726	894	713	720	1,461	3,065	3,806	3,173	2,827	1,755	1,227	909	.....	318	582	.....
Arkansas	95	160	120	119	72	37	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	95
California	562,287	236,004	365,243	377,768	385,150	376,874	411,509	424,486	458,270	477,377	503,183	506,988	572,114	65,126	.....	269,827	.....
Colorado	25,510	20,246	22,747	23,900	21,166	50,048	69,715	84,434	94,656	116,270	100,257	99,590	117,921	18,331	.....	94,405	.....
Connecticut	52,566	61,943	61,527	58,528	51,988	64,572	72,464	99,376	119,523	157,247	128,226	124,852	144,061	19,209	.....	91,558	.....
Dakota	1,826	2,761	4,854	4,616	4,531	6,013	7,750	14,846	28,881	34,477	37,938	42,394	46,884	4,490	.....	45,061	.....
Delaware	5,646	6,373	4,897	7,841	9,563	9,388	11,734	14,282	15,120	18,000	20,911	21,290	27,517	6,227	.....	21,871	.....
Dist. Columbia	21,573	26,830	34,097	27,506	29,126	42,030	34,856	39,496	46,188	62,933	65,999	67,717	83,442	15,725	.....	61,869	.....
Georgia	5,560	5,560	7,710	7,710	7,710	11,729	9,826	2,870	11,000	12,678	10,610	10,642	4,570	.....	6,072	.....	960
Idaho	945	997	779	936	1,504	1,926	1,979	2,747	3,749	3,865	3,735	5,141	5,382	241	.....	4,467	.....
Illinois	526,919	556,264	569,788	579,808	608,627	766,730	870,175	1,004,789	1,071,403	1,144,996	1,204,092	1,317,233	1,608,562	291,329	.....	1,071,745	.....
Indiana	181,953	184,538	187,640	182,358	193,250	247,360	276,854	325,804	321,031	351,924	366,029	363,087	425,668	62,581	.....	242,615	.....
Iowa	180,956	184,218	179,388	185,276	162,630	223,712	247,983	292,391	267,693	256,304	182,524	197,372	185,464	.....	13,908	2,811	.....
Kansas	25,992	23,004	20,718	20,995	24,506	32 437	28,926	26,133	23,417	26,716	20,828	17,482	16,488	.....	994	.....	7,104
Kentucky	114,070	100,842	103,491	127,416	144,372	174,534	181,745	225,127	206,039	238,257	238,349	261,821	280,120	18,299	.....	166,050	.....
Louisiana	30,910	36,352	45,884	26,352	47,307	57,352	51,832	57,192	55,210	83,944	90,861	140,616	131,873	.....	8,743	100,963	.....
Maine	14,327	11,800	11,800	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11,527
Maryland	191,548	193,347	205,576	208,228	195,048	214,442	253,711	301,507	311,880	335 674	359,842	396,348	435,084	38,736	.....	243,536	.....
Massachusetts	479,357	489,809	520,367	602,062	561,872	649,062	736,533	816,783	857,711	861,285	878,778	880,286	990,670	110,384	.....	511,313	.....
Michigan	161,274	204,804	216,714	200,324	212,231	272,694	278,230	330,740	340,392	389,886	391,903	420,691	464,227	43,536	.....	272,953	.....
Minnesota	88,567	94,255	102,315	101,994	113,529	142,534	173,384	211,704	241,107	264,310	282,119	301,040	325,439	24,399	.....	236,872	.....
Mississippi	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7
Missouri	397,663	418,081	476,391	447,686	582,400	727,869	803,427	1,017,446	1,022,659	1,139,101	1,136,401	1,176,882	1,387,920	211,038	.....	990,257	.....
Montana	3,467	3,467	3,942	4,077	5,516	7 088	9,096	12,449	14,927	16,588	16,490	21,795	24 254	2,459	.....	20,787	.....
Nebraska	22,867	25,304	22,878	27,100	29,270	40,963	45,270	54,363	55 714	60,235	69,230	84,868	108,756	23,918	.....	85,889	.....
Nevada	12,360	15,417	14,005	12,116	13,969	15,435	13,482	11,660	10,535	10,602	9,484	7,025	7,123	98	.....	.....	5,867
New Hampshire	139,482	137,549	121,704	122,235	108,283	175,151	203,367	246,130	256,253	318,843	322,055	332,360	305,320	.....	27,040	165,838	.....
New Jersey	485,000	516,446	505,708	502,574	519,867	612,389	665,867	783,931	843,205	900,022	944,577	1,034,901	1,171,349	136,448	.....	686,349	.....
New Mexico	1,190	1,197	750	110	91	283	387	1,007	2,379	2,760	4,505	6,488	5,987	.....	101	4,797	.....
New York	2,889,777	3,034,551	3,354,433	3,564,778	3,846,569	4,445,149	4,855,429	5,535,594	5,843,254	6,229,581	6,408,843	6,847,271	7,370,159	522,888	.....	4,480,382	.....
North Carolina	81	42	.....	.....	4	90	19	26	31	28	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	81
Ohio	480,114	873,176	895,740	988,515	955,644	1,194,382	1,291,203	1,566,454	1,585,852	1,705,954	1,707,409	1,742,566	1,928,257	185,691	.....	1,448,143	.....
Oregon	7,257	9,183	10,620	13,362	16,159	20,387	24,895	24,263	26,732	29,952	27,797	31,870	43,518	11,448	.....	36,261	.....
Pennsylvania	964,644	1,023,710	1,095,097	1,036,295	1,030,581	1,284,887	1,508,154	1,683,744	1,706,946	1,961,524	2,009,086	2,089,581	2,297,085	207,504	.....	1,332,451	.....
Rhode Island	18,975	21,502	22,605	25,210	27,831	50,260	57,842	68,600	69,518	61,916	54,363	57,351	65,680	7,729	.....	46,705	.....
South Carolina	1,835	1,272	1,038	778	572	1,253	8,052	10,154	8,976	8,716	8,894	14,082	15,253	1,171	.....	13,418	.....
Tennessee	1,541	890	107	6,980	7,107	7,808	8,735	11,044	5,209	6,250	8,156	20,124	30,610	10,516	.....	29 069	.....
Texas	14,057	16,806	16,306	10,651	7,718	5,812	2,970	3,117	2,239	1,810	15,179	31,781	35,257	6,476	.....	24,200	.....
Utah	6,329	7,993	8,754	9,430	11,476	13,123	15,138	18,015	21 539	22,594	21,271	22,490	27,650	5 160	.....	20,821	.....
Vermont	1,195	687	504	4,868	8,605	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,195
Virginia	14,878	17,256	17,013	16,694	15,694	17,187	20,110	25,470	26,750	29,477	30,200	34,060	35,530	1,470	.....	20,652	.....
Washington Ty	5,253	6,698	7,647	7,365	7,251	8,665	11,335	13,375	16,369	20,872	19,103	20,052	21,280	628	.....	16 027	.....
West Virginia	26,526	25,726	25,155	23,122	24,158	31,517	36,200	47,228	50,110	61,836	69,299	74,875	93,138	18,263	.....	66,612	.....
Wisconsin	440,614	450,508	472,309	509,544	584,673	791,783	926,297	1,185,097	1,298,183	1,423,471	1,439,488	1,450,961	1,605,144	154,183	.....	1,164,530	.....
Wyoming	2,792	3,489	4,794	4,060	4,505	5,122	6,028	5,547	5,355	5,628	4,133	2,948	2,316	.....	632	.....	476
Total bbls.	8,383,720	9,159,654	9,752,030	10,181,158	10,589,337	12,800,900	14,125,466	16,616,364	17,349,424	18,356,826	19,216,630	20,289,029	22,460,345	2,229,124	57,808	14,103,937	27,312

lation of 1840, we have the following result: 71,244,817 divided by 5, equals 14,248,963 gallons, which added to 43,060,884 gallons of distilled spirits as shown by the table gives a total of 57,309,804 gallons as the total consumption of alcohol reduced to the form of distilled spirits in the year 1840, or 3.20 gallons per capita, an increase since 1840 of per capita intemperance as shown by the actual consumption of alcohol of forty-three hundreths, or or nearly one half gallon for each man, woman and child in the country. This increase is more than 10 per cent. of alcohol actually consumed by each person since 1840. Of all these totals, as shown in note to the table, 90 per cent. is consumed in the form of beverages; all that used in medicine, in the arts and scientific processes, etc., is included in the other tenth. I do not think these calculations can be successfully assailed by those who claim that the increase in the consumption of fermented beverages has lessened that of alcohol, however it may have changed the classification of drinks consumed, from one column to another. It is the same old devil in another uniform, or, to change the image, the same old poison sugar-coated, that it may sell the better, and so the more surely in the end kill the unwary.

The table on the following page shows the kinds of distilled and malt liquors and wines consumed (not the amount produced) in the United States during the year, ending June 30th, 1886.

Here we have the various arms of the same service. I have endeavored above to indicate their aggregate deadliness by reducing them all to the same unit of action, which is the alcoholic power contained by each.

Nine tenths of this amount was consumed in the form of drinks last year, that is 663,566,889 gallons, which is eleven gallons apiece; or, if the drinking population be one fifth of the whole, as many estimate, it is fifty-five gallons to each. But efforts to give to each his aliquot part of the evil is like an attempt to equalize the pestilence, the ravages of the cyclone or of the Chatsworth railroad disaster.

Only those who can reckon the calamity of a destroyed body and a lost soul, and apportion it to the whole community can make a satisfactory general average of the evils

of last year's consumption of intoxicating drinks in this country. They tell us that 100,000 human beings—our own countrymen—were destroyed by the direct and indirect action of alcohol, used as a beverage, in the year of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, 1886. Suppose there was *one*, what is the damage? Was it infinite? Was there any need of it? Who is responsible? What is the extent of that responsibility? Am I my brother's keeper? We are consuming still more in 1887. My countrymen, think of these things.

KIND OF LIQUORS.	Quantity.	Import value.	KIND OF LIQUORS.	Quantity.	Import value.
DISTILLED SPIRITS.			MALT LIQUORS.	*Gallons.*	*Dollars.*
Domestic:	*Proof galls.*	*Dollars.*	Domestic	640,746,288	
From fruit	1,555,994		Imported:		
Other:			In bottles	939,573	794,225
Bourbon whisky	14,080,623		Not in bottles	1,281,859	412,032
Rye whisky	5,132,634				
Alcohol	8,861,247		Total imported	2,221,432	1,206,257
Rum	922,695		Total malt liquors	642,967,720	
Gin	675,653				
High wines	2,400,886		WINES.		
Pure, neutral, etc.	26,434,289				
Miscellaneous	10,787,334		Domestic	17,366,393	
Total domestic	70,851,355		Imported:		
Imported:			Champagne, etc	547,678	3,002,400
Alcohol	832	667	Still wines:		
Brandy	455,231	1,106,852	In bottles	560,933	1,286,722
Cordials, etc	109,522	265,486	In casks	3,535,157	2,396,539
Other:			Vermuth:		
From grain	651,984	326,508	In bottles	56,799	67,640
From other material	192,689	117,067	In casks	260	171
Total imported	1,410,258	1,816,580	Total imported	4,700,827	6,753,472
Total spirits	72,261,614		Total wines	22,067,220	

The grand total of all is—

Distilled spirits	72,261,614
Malt liquors	642,967,720
Wines	22,067,220
Gallons	737,296,554

But, see! here is our reward. Look into the columns of the next table (p. 205).

There it is—"Total internal and customs revenue!" What a mass of money—and of misery!

Ninety-six millions last year!—one dollar and sixty cents apiece—while on the other hand the people for this paid fifteen dollars *in cash*, every one of them, if you divide it equally. On this transaction each one of us receives $1.60 and pays out $15.00—losing $13.38, or eight times as much as

we get—*besides all the rest* for which see the records of crime, wretchedness and shame in full. As a fact, everybody suffered greatly, and twelve millions of us were chained by it in a land of darkness,—the valley of the shadow of death, where no Redeemer is, with staff and rod to comfort. There is no rescue in that valley, for it is one vast infernal region, where nothing lives save that which imparts death with bludgeon, bite or noxious exhalation. Absolutely this is all: one dollar and sixty cents apiece, our annual dividend in this partnership with Giant Despair. I might leave the statement here, so far as our own country is concerned. These tables are the key of infinite investigation, argument and thought.

AMOUNTS OF INTERNAL AND CUSTOMS REVENUE RECEIPTS OF THE UNITED STATES FROM MALT LIQUORS, DISTILLED SPIRITS AND WINES FROM 1866 TO 1886, INCLUSIVE.

Year ending June 30—	Internal revenue.		Customs revenue.			Total internal and customs revenue.
	Spirits.	Fermented liquors.	Malt liquors.	Distilled spirits.	Wines.	
	Dollars.	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*
1866.....	[illegible]	5,220,553	194,233	1,903,883	3,644,399	44,231,240
1867.....	[illegible]	6,057,501	205,202	3,542,582	3,421,295	46,769,532
1868.....	[illegible]	5,955,869	235,930	3,317,671	2,981,703	31,146,804
1869.....	[illegible]	6,099,879	276,083	3,653,141	3,524,005	58,624,339
1870.....	[illegible]	6,319,127	315,915	3,911,167	4,110,645	70,262,948
1871.....	[illegible]	7,389,502	433,658	3,951,560	4,478,974	62,535,542
1872.....	[illegible]	8,258,488	584,469	4,373,410	4,265,826	66,957,719
1873.....	[illegible]	9,324,938	662,952	4,250,524	4,280,014	70,617,800
1874.....	[illegible]	9,304,680	586,988	3,917,010	3,912,872	67,165,640
1875.....	[illegible]	9,144,904	577,499	3,391,406	3,393,263	68,588,163
1876.....	[illegible]	9,571,281	425,318	2,947,694	2,980,185	72,350,793
1877.....	[illegible]	9,480,789	317,769	2,761,999	2,752,961	72,782,948
1878.....	50,420,816	9,937,052	240,292	2,459,410	2,466,526	65,524,176
1879.....	[illegible]	[illegible]	254,099	2,511,136	2,595,241	68,660,081
1880.....	61,185,509	12,829,803	283,296	2,788,531	3,089,445	80,176,584
1881.....	67,153,975	13,700,241	321,048	2,965,708	3,376,901	87,517,873
1882.....	69,873,408	16,153,920	417,202	3,161,522	3,604,929	93,210,981
1883.....	74,368,775	16,900,616	511,383	3,374,507	5,367,451	100,522,732
1884.....	76,905,385	18,084,954	533,241	3,141,391	3,589,255	101,254,226
1885.....	67,511,209	18,230,782	546,999	2,943,992	3,665,792	92,898,554
1886.....	69,092,296	19,676,731	585,102	2,834,696	3,774,349	95,963,144

Colonel Switzler has published, in connection with his tabulated and other matter, an "estimate of the cost of alcoholic beverages to the consumer, prepared at his request by Mr. N. F. Barrett, the able editor of the *New York Grocer*." This estimate is not subject to the criticism that it is exaggerated. On the contrary, as we may hereafter see, it is at the lowest minimun of probability, and therefore particularly valuable. It is made purely from the economic stand-point, and is here

introduced that it may be found in connection with the other important matter contained in Colonel Switzler's report.

To begin with, both Mr. Barrett and Mr. Edward Atkinson agree that the total cost of intoxicating liquors in this country for the year 1886, after deducting ten per cent. for various forms of useful comsumption, was $700,000,000. Of course that sum is wholly beyond comprehension, and its increase or diminution becomes important only in comparison with other vast amounts which make up the schedule of our national affairs. Mr. Barrett believes that whatever amount of the entire mass of liquors manufactured is consumed, otherwise than as a beverage, is made good by the various forms of adulteration and of dilution by water, for which the consumer pays as for the liquor itself. He thinks fifteen per cent. covers all forms of adulteration or reduction by the use of any other agent. Mr. Barrett presents the following table or estimate of the "cost of alcoholic beverages to consumers in the United States."

DISTILLED SPIRITS.

The annual consumption of domestic and imported distilled spirits as reported by the United States Bureau of Statistics for the five years ending June 30, 1886, was as follows:

	Gallons.
1886	72,261,614
1885	70,600,092
1884	81,128,581
Total for three years	223,990,287
Average per year	74,663,429
1883	78,452,687
1882	73,556,976
Total for five years	375,999,950
Average per year	75,199,990

He adopts 75,000,000 gallons as representing the quantity of distilled spirits (including alcohol) annually consumed in the United States, and after deducting for various causes, and increasing for other reasons, that finally the consumer drinks and pays for that amount.

The retailer gives $2.25 per gallon for liquors and $1.15 to $1.25 for high wines, and the drinker pays 7½ cents per glass. The retailer gets 60 glasses from a gallon, making the total cost of "whiskies" $337,500,000.

He gives us the following table as to beer; the annual consumption of which for five years has been as follows:

	Gallons.
1886	642,967,720
1885	596,131,866
1884	590,016,517
Total for three years	1,829,116,103
Average yearly	609,705,367
1883	551,497,340
1882	526,379,980
Total for five years	2,906,993,423
Average per annum	581,398,685

Adopting the average annual consumption for three years as a basis, we have 609,705,367 gallons as representing the quantity drunk, of which 2,100,370 gallons were imported.

He concludes, after careful calculation, that fifty cents per gallon fully represents the cost to the consumers, and finds the cost of beer to be $304,852,683.

WINES.

Four million one hundred thousand six hundred and sixty-four gallons of imported wines at $4.00 per gallon cost the consumer $16,402,656; 17,391,343 gallons of domestic wines at $2.00 per gallon cost $34,782,686.

His summary is in the following table:

Kinds of Liquors.	Quantity, gallons.	Estimated cost.	
		Per gallon.	Total.
Spirits	75,000,000	$4 50	$337,500,000
Beer	609,705,367	50	304,852,683
Imported wines	4,100,664	4 00	16,402,656
Domestic wines	17,391,343	2 00	34,782,686
Total annual cost to consumers of alcoholic beverages in the United States for three years, ending June 30, 1886			693,538,025
Add for illicit whisky and home-made wines			6,461,975
			700,000,000

Mr. Barrett corroborates his general accuracy by the following appeal to "the last yearly statement of the Bureau in detail."

BUREAU STATEMENT.

	Gallons.	Gallons.
Domestic spirits consumed		70,851,355
Less alcohol used in arts	8,861,247	
Less spirits used to adulterate imported brandy	455,231	
		9,316,478
Used as a beverage		61,534,877
Water added estimated at 15 per cent		9,298,515
Imported spirits (less brandy and alcohol)		954,195
Total spirits consumed		71,787,587

ESTIMATED COST.

Domestic distilled spirits, 71,787,587 gallons, 60 drinks per gallon, at 7½ cents per drink, or $4.50 per gallon	$323,044,141
Domestic beer, 640,746,288 gallons, at 50 cents	320,373,144
Imported beer, 2,221,432 gallons, at $1	2,221,432
Domestic wines, 17,366,393 gallons, at $2	34,732,786
Imported champagne, 547,678 gallons or 2,738,390 quart bottles, at $2.50	6,845,975
Imported still wines, 4,096,090 gallons, at $4	16,384,360
Imported vermuth, 57,059 gallons, at $6	342,354
Imported brandy, 455,231 gallons; domestic spirits, used in adulteration, 455,231 gallons; total, 910,462 gallons, at $8	7,283,696
Total	$711,227,888

So this is the result of a determined effort of the able editor of the *American Grocer*,—I quote his language—"to present such a statement as would command the indorsement of such high authorities as yourself (Col. Switzler) and Mr. Edward Atkinson, and in order that it may be used to put a stop to the wild stories constantly circulated regarding the enormous sum annually spent in the United States for alcoholic beverages."

I confess that for one I do not see much cause for congratulation over the result. Few of the most fanatical of temperance statisticians do worse for the liquor traffic than

Mr. Barrett and Mr. Atkinson, so far as the direct cost is concerned. Nine hundred million is the estimate of some, but usually the direct losses are considered about $750,000,000; and indirect, for which Mr. Barrett provides no place, at as much more. I will, however, for the sake of showing that there is some method in the madness of these "fanatics," give a condensed statement of the estimate of Rev. Chas. H. Zimmerman, as published in the *Union Signal* of June 16, 1887. He says that the drink traffic is a legalized wholesale robber. It robs the people of this country of $4,000,000,000—four *billions*—annually. Yet he estimates for the direct cost—(the same for which Mr. Barrett and Mr. Atkinson fix upon $700,000,000—for the purpose of silencing the prevalent nonsense of temperance fanatics) only $900,000,000. As to this item we see later on whether he is so far out of the way.

Then Mr. Zimmerman comes to the indirect losses to the nation. The second item, "$900,000,000 worth of time wasted by wage workers and business men through the effects of drink." He says it takes 40 or 50 cents worth of bad whisky or beer to unfit a man for a whole day's work, which to the average wage worker means a loss of $1 to $2, and skilled mechanics, contractors and business managers from $3 to $10, and in case of the latter probably $50 for the day wasted in a drunken spree and in getting over the effects. He then alludes to the testimony of "a score of witnesses before the Senate Committee on the relations between labor and capital," which testimony was given in the presence of the author of this work, to the effect that many workmen when paid off Saturday, immediately "go on a spree" and are hardly fit for work on Monday, while many do not return to work until Tuesday or even Wednesday. When paid on Monday they frequently lose still more time. "Now when we consider that much of the money spent in drink thus entails a loss of from four to six times as much in wasted time it becomes plain that my second item in the robbery account, $900,000,000, is a low estimate."

His third item is $600,000,000 "for annual cost of paupers, criminals, almshouses, asylums, jails, prisons, extra police, criminal courts and prosecutions." Then he proceeds to assert that two thirds of all insanity and three fourths of pau-

perism and crime, cost of criminal and police administration, etc., of buildings required and charity which is made necessary by drink, poverty, physicians' services (not one fourth of which is ever paid for, but which is all the same a loss), and the "immense sum that might have been earned by drink-made paupers, invalids and criminals," are chargeable to strong drink, and the Reverend "Fanatic" thinks that $600,000,000 is reasonable for all this.

Then he figures the loss of the labor and capital converted annually into a worthless and accursed article at $1,000,000,000. Now as this article costs $700,000,000, according to Mr. Barrett, and $900,000,000, according to Mr. Zimmerman, and the same labor and capital might have been employed in producing something useful instead, there appears to be great moderation in fixing this item at $1,000,000,000. I would raise that a few hundred millions; but this is not my estimate.

Then comes the fifth item of $600,000,000, which he says the 100,000 people killed annually by the liquor crime would have added to society's wealth. He is not responsible for the statement that 100,000 die in this way annually. Wise and conservative physicians and expert statisticians say that. But he says that an average of fifteen productive years is thus taken from the lives of these 100,000 victims, or a total of 1,500,000 years, annually, and then cites Mr. Atkinson as stating that the "average yearly earnings of all who are engaged in gainful occupations in the United States are $450, which, by the way, I think is $150 too high. He fixes the amount at $400, and finds a total of $600,000,000 annually lost to society by the premature destruction of the productive power of these 100,000 men who die fifteen years before their time. Mr. Zimmerman puts it as follows:

The drink bill	$900,000,000
Value of time wasted through the effects of drink	900,000,000
Paid to support paupers, criminals, etc.	600,000,000
Value of time wasted in non-productive work by men in the traffic, and by officials engaged in caring for its victims	1,000,000,000
Value of time lost to society by premature death of 100,000 annually	600,000,000
Total	$4,000,000,000

Mrs. Dr. John P. Newman,
of Washington.

The worst thing about the ravings of Mr. Zimmerman is that he seems to prove them to be true. It certainly seems to me that until its friends secure the appointment of a National Commision for Inquiry into the alcoholic liquor traffic, and so vindicate their craft, that they must be willing to accept the modest general estimate of the more conservative of the fanatics, to wit: that they damage the United States at least $1,500,000,000 every year, while they accomplish no appreciable good. But Mr. Zimmerman concludes with a reflection full of discomfort to us all. "In our country the people are the sovereigns, the real law makers. . . . . We therefore are the real criminals against God and humanity." Worse still—but this is for men only—he insists that "more manifestly true is it that the hands of every man who votes to legalize and perpetuate the drink crime under license or tax laws, or in any form, are red with the blood of the 100,000 people it murders annually." I am sorry that Mr. Zimmerman said that. It makes me uncomfortable. I have long felt a great and complacent aversion toward the super-devilish depravity of the brutal fiends who perpetrate railroad horrors for plunder and gain. But when I thought I was so good a man, and only last Sabbath gave a silver dollar, with some ostentation I fear, to the heathen, to be told by a minister that I am one of 60,000,000 of good, civilized, people who murder 100,000 of their fellow citizens every year, and lose $4,000,000,000 by it besides, reveals me to myself in the light of both a villain and a fool; nor does it relieve me much if the cash loss be only $1,500,000,000; neither am I really happy in the thought that by sharp reckoning, and by casting out the worst and biggest items, I am still a murderer at an annual loss in money of $700,000,000 *only*, and that the clergyman admits that he is himself one of the same sad combination. Now let us indulge in the proudest exclamation of man, "I am an American."

The liquor traffic should go.

The following table is taken from the Political Prohibitionist for 1886, and is inserted here for the convenience of those who desire to pursue the traffic to its lair in the several states. It contains the latest available data, is prepared with much labor and is of great value.

STATISTICS OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC—1886.

(For the year ending June 30.)

States and Territories.	Population, in 1880.	Vote in 1884.	Dealers in Distilled Liquors.				Dealers in Malt Liquors.				Summary.			Liquor Produced.		Taxes Paid.	
			Retail Dealers.	Wholesale Dealers.	Rectifiers.	Total Dealers.	Retail Dealers.	Wholesale Dealers.	Brewers.	Total Dealers.	Total Dealers in all Liquors.	No. of Pop. (1880) to each Dealer.	No. of Votes (1884) to each Dealer.	Distilled Liquors, Gallons.	Malt Liquors, Gallons.	On Distilled Liquors.	On Malt Liquors.
Alabama	1,262,505	153,789	1,089	31	2	1,122	11	9	1	21	1,143	1,105	135	14,068	232,500	$43,422 80	$8,058 76
Arkansas	802,525	125,669	659	31	2	692	8	18	..	26	718	1,118	175	42,670	.....	62,602 09	992 10
California	864,694	196,641	10,988	365	125	11,478	247	120	191	558	12,036	72	16	660,204	16,072,756	1,044,496 27	506,211 23
(a) Colorado	185,116	.....	2,282	48	4	2,334	76	65	29	170	2,504	73	....	48	3,247,994	63,064 25	103,551 82
Connecticut	622,700	137,215	2,874	50	22	2,946	131	93	18	242	3,188	195	43	142,381	3,928,010	217,584 06	126,875 57
(b) Delaware	.....	.....	651	8	3	662	15	3	7	25	687	....	....	7,687	676,885	23,976 74	21,135 71
Florida	269,493	69,961	357	11	..	368	1	10	..	11	379	711	185	.....	.....	10,720 05	645 43
Georgia	1,542,180	125,978	2,348	59	16	2,423	32	24	1	57	2,480	622	51	212,226	344,100	246,869 46	11,773 75
Illinois	3,077,871	672,669	10,973	239	114	11,326	583	161	120	864	12,190	252	55	25,149,981	42,125,063	21,216,044 38	1,288,161 70
Indiana	1,978,301	494,774	6,082	77	13	6,172	171	109	51	331	6,503	304	76	4,750,539	11,949,012	4,325,724 85	373,132 39
Iowa	1,624,615	375,877	3,769	57	8	3,834	152	64	98	314	4,148	391	91	2,396,007	6,059,167	2,138,662 40	195,711 02
Kansas	996,096	265,374	2,318	19	2	2,339	83	27	8	118	2,457	406	108	37,613	538,439	94,974 52	21,097 62
Kentucky	1,648,690	275,913	3,691	227	59	3,977	87	29	29	145	4,122	399	67	20,738,278	8,188,278	14,040,046 63	251,438 15
Louisiana	939,946	109,345	5,484	150	25	5,659	45	21	11	77	5,736	175	19	1,058	3,636,641	143,088 13	111,467 95
Maine	648,936	130,462	951	6	..	957	73	7	3	83	1,040	624	125	.....	2,170	26,554 74	2,901 24
Maryland	934,943	185,866	5,853	150	89	6,101	187	48	57	292	6,393	146	29	2,119,259	14,646,625	1,064,119 16	447,723 39
Massachusetts	1,783,085	303,381	7,678	228	51	7,957	393	182	38	613	8,570	208	34	1,674,516	29,965,778	955,940 08	916,392 30
Michigan	1,636,937	406,223	6,080	54	11	6,145	184	96	107	387	6,532	250	62	.....	18,527,253	168,615 43	423,660 63
Minnesota	780,773	190,017	4,066	41	11	4,058	130	57	116	303	4,361	179	44	.....	9,439,004	111,682 76	229,423 21
Mississippi	1,131,579	120,049	1,057	19	..	1,076	207	8	..	215	1,291	869	93	971	.....	25,644 56	4,363 74
Missouri	2,168,380	441,070	6,348	180	54	6,582	169	106	59	334	6,916	313	64	3,310,277	37,300,502	3,019,028 85	6,128,314 05
(c) Montana	71,769	.....	1,715	56	1	1,772	67	30	47	144	1,916	37	....	.....	869,891	51,042 21	31,854 64
(d) Nebraska	587,579	.....	2,910	56	3	3,009	85	92	54	231	3,240	181	....	1,607,244	4,132,765	1,467,157 61	134,694 90
(e) Nevada	206,229	.....	764	14	1	779	18	4	33	55	834	247	....	.....	968,347	24,160 43	31,990 14
New Hampshire	346,991	84,555	1,141	6	1	1,148	157	44	5	206	1,354	256	62	25,958	10,203,030	50,346 27	310,292 78
New Jersey	1,131,116	262,174	7,553	64	30	7,647	384	134	48	566	8,213	137	32	399,635	32,728,467	482,475 94	996,078 16

(*f*) New Mexico.	160,005	.....	1,693	47	4	1,744	23	41	23	87	1,831	87	....	1,612	243,567	$ 47,884 20	$ 10,952 51
New York.....	5,082,871	1,171,263	31,908	850	296	33,054	2,473	502	324	3,299	36 353	139	32	1,948,888	215,211,300	2,549,385 88	6,517,844 39
North Carolina...	1,399,750	268,474	1,917	22	7	1,946	33	22	..	55	2,001	699	134	480,077	....	484,309 94	1,738 35
Ohio	3,198,062	784,610	16,758	340	84	17,182	285	239	147	671	17,853	179	44	10,336,980	54,985,413	9,345,223 49	1,673,705 32
(*g*) Oregon.... ..	280,112	.....	1,750	38	6	1,794	105	11	78	194	1,988	141	....	8,325	1,701,869	48,701 17	58,924 20
Pennsylvania....	4,282,891	898,864	18,809	421	234	19,464	751	314	361	1,426	20,890	205	43	3,363,880	65,712,963	2,938,662 79	2,020,098 65
Rhode Island....	276,531	32,771	1,425	36	10	1,471	62	21	3	86	1,557	177	21	.....	1,712,130	37,023 89	53,328 65
South Carolina .	995,577	92,860	938	25	1	964	17	11	2	30	994	1,001	93	38,978	456,134	62,714 95	14,697 21
Tennessee	1,542,359	259,424	1,932	30	14	2,006	32	27	2	61	2,067	746	127	809,573	680,047	879,012 23	23,109 39
Texas.....	1,591,749	325,317	3,223	56	13	3,292	586	142	10	738	4,030	395	85	16,152	987,071	93,143 56	48,868 71
Vermont.....	332,286	59,409	516	1	..	517	49	7	..	56	573	579	161	597	.....	13,129 59	1,400 95
Virginia	1,512,565	284,991	2,649	44	15	2,708	23	23	2	48	2,756	549	103	264,269	1,118,170	311,692 81	35,531 39
West Virginia ...	618,457	132,157	816	11	5	832	38	5	8	51	883	700	138	419,304	2,309,438	210,817 33	70,753 99
Wisconsin.....	1,315,497	319,870	6,126	84	40	6,250	236	86	201	523	6,773	194	47	869,593	46,137,734	952,528 50	1,401,435 20
Totals.....			190,121	4,290	1,376	195,787	8,409	3,012	2,920	13,715	209,500			81,849,447	642,038,513	$69,092,266.00	$19,676,731 29

(*a*) Including the Territory of Wyoming. (*b*) Including the state of Delaware, two counties of Virginia and nine counties of Maryland. (*c*) Including the Territory of Idaho. (*d*) Including the Territory of Dakota. (*e*) Including the Territory of Utah. (*f*) Including the Territory of Arizona. (*g*) Including the Territories of Washington and Alaska.

One further matter in the valuable calculations of Mr. Barrett: He finds an expenditure for liquor of about one twelfth to one sixteenth as much as for the total cost of support. He thinks one fourth of the people are consumers of liquor, therefore they would expend one fourth to one third as much for liquor as for all articles of sustenance—provided that liquor consumers lived as well as the temperate, industrious and thrifty. With the total cost of strong drink, direct and indirect, falling primarily upon one fourth of the population—according to Mr. Barrett's careful estimate—or upon one fifth, which I think to be nearer the true number who consume any considerable amount, the imagination need not be called upon to magnify the sufferings of the drunkard and his family, when, unfortunately, he has any.

I also ask attention to this table:

CONSUMPTION OF BEER AND WHISKY COMPARED.

YEAR.	In the United States. Distilled liquors withdrawn for consumption.	Malt liquors consumed.	Vinous liquors consumed.	YEAR.	In Canada. Distilled liquors consumed.	Malt liquors consumed.	Vinous liquors consumed.
1877.....	59,920,118	304,926,667	21,876,330	1877.....	3,864,254	9,080,949	386,925
1878.....	51,937,941	317,969,352	22,263,949	1878.....	3,933,916	8,658,346	369,425
1879.....	54,278,475	344,605,485	27,377,130	1879.....	4,569,377	8,922,255	409,325
1880.....	63,526,694	414,220,165	28,329,541	1880.....	2,930,507	9,106,516	312,811
1881.....	70,607,081	444,112,169	24,162,925	1881.....	4,149,106	9,787,914	450,250
1882.....	73,556,976	526,379,980	25,562,927	1882.....	4,614,485	11,928,616	546,788
1883.....	78,452,687	551,497,340	25,778,180	1883.....	4,900,120	12,934,424	589,217
1884.....	81,128,581	590,016,517	20,508,345	1884.....	4,568,364	13,379,677	537,961
1885.....	70,600,687	596,131,836	20,881,635	1885.....	5,287,542	13,392,486	511,849
1886.....	72,045,681	644,295,116	22,349,577	1886.....	.....	.....	.....
Aver. 1st 5 yrs.	60,054,062	385,166,707	24,201,975	Aver. 1st 4 yrs.	3,799,513	8,964,403	369,621
Aver. last 5 yrs.	75,156,922	581,664,767	23,016,135	Aver. last 5 yrs.	4,704,041	12,084,623	527,213
Increase	25 per ct.	50 per ct.	—5 per ct.	Increase...	23.8 per ct.	34.8 per ct.	42.3 per ct.
Increase, population in 5 yrs., about		15 per ct.		Increase, population, 4½ yrs., about			10 per ct

While the average consumption of malt liquors in the United States during the last five years of the period is 50 per cent. more than the average consumption during the first five years, the average increase in the consumption of spirituous liquors between the same periods and compared in the same way is 25 per cent. In Canada the average consumption of beer during the last five years increases 34.8 per cent. over the average consumption of the four preceding years; yet the same comparison shows an average increase in the consumption of spirituous liquors of 23.8 per cent. and of wines of

42.3 per cent. The increase in population in the United States in five years, the period between which the two average comparisons are made, is only 15 per cent.; the increase in Canada for four and one-half years, about 10 per cent.

Figures are taken for the United States from the Reports of the Bureau of Statistics. The figures were furnished by the Canadian Department of Internal Revenue. The reason why the comparison begins at 1876 is because the Federal tax on distilled liquors since that time has remained practically unchanged.

The following estimate, prepared for *The Voice* by C. B. Cotton, is also worthy of careful study as showing the waste of materials and perversion of industry to hurtful production. Major Cotton having for many years been engaged in the liquor business, and given careful study to special statistical phases of the liquor question, is a reliable authority.

LABOR EMPLOYED BY THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC, 1886.

Distillers, 6,242; rectifiers, 1,376; wholesale dealers, spirituous liquors, 4,290; retail dealers, spirituous liquors, 190,121; brewers, 2,292; wholesale dealers, malt liquors, 3,012; retail dealers, malt liquors, 8,400; distillers' employees, 62,420; brewers' employees, 45,840; rectifiers' employees, 6,880; employees, wholesale dealers, spirituous liquors, 30,120; employees, retail dealers, spirituous liquors, 190,121; employees wholesale dealers, malt liquors, 15,060; employees retail dealers, malt liquors, 8,409; total, 564,592.

MATERIALS USED, 1886.

Bushels of grain, 19,195,332; gallons of molasses, 2,308,130.

Returning to the subject of the present cost of the liquor traffic to our own country, I wish to place on record the conclusions of Dr. Hargreaves as given by himself, after careful study of the statistics of Col. Switzler, and the estimates of Mr. Barrett.

The investigations of Dr. Young, the former chief of the Bureau of Statistics, were very thorough, and his conclusions as to the retail cost of the various kinds of liquors are adopted by Dr. Hargreaves, who first submitted them to the examination of an ex-retail dealer, and was informed that they are rather less than more than the prices actually paid by the consumer.

These prices are as follows:

Domestic spirits	$ 6.00 per gallon.
Domestic malt liquors	20.00 per barrel.
Imported spirits	10.00 per gallon.
Imported wines	5.00 per gallon.
Imported ale, beer, etc.	2.00 to 3.00 per gallon.

Applying these prices to the amount of liquor consumed in this country for the year 1886, and the total cost is $914,675,205, or $214,695,205 more than the estimate of Mr. Barrett. Dr. Hargreaves also insists with great force that so large is the increase in quantity sold on account of adulterations, and by "crooked whisky," that 20 per cent. is not too much to add to the amount which is included in the statistics of the government. "The business of selling oils, essences and chemicals for reducing, adulterating and mixing alcoholic liquors is carried on very extensively in most of our large cities and towns. . . Indeed it is so common that no secret is made of the business."

I insert the following tables of Dr. Hargreaves, which are in my belief not an excessive statement of the cost of the traffic in the years named. The second table contains only the aggregate cost of each year, but the result is worked out with the same detail as for the year 1886.

THE QUANTITY AND COST OF LIQUORS IN THE UNITED STATES FOR THE YEAR 1886.
[From Report of Bureau of Statistics.]

Domestic spirits	70,751,355 gals., at	$6 gal.,	$424,508,130
Domestic malt liquors, 20,669,235 bbls	640,746,288 gals., at	$20 bbl.,	413,384,700
Imported spirits	1,410,259 gals., at	$10 gal.,	14,102,590
Imported wines	4,700,827 gals., at	$ 5 gal.,	23,504,135
Imported malt liquors	2,221,432 gals., at	$ 2 gal.,	4,442,864
Total	719,830,161 gals., costing		$879,942,419
Add Domestic wines	17,366,393 gals., at	$2 gal.	34,732,786
Total	737,196,554 gals., costing		$914,675,205

THE COST OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES DURING THE TEN YEARS, 1877 to 1886, INCLUSIVE, IN PERIODS OF FIVE YEARS.

Cost for five years ending June 30, 1881.		Cost for five years ending June 30, 1886.	
1877	$635,613,534	1882	$875,665,344
1878	585,783,762	1883	944,629,581
1879	620,075,930	1884	899,898,490
1880	733,816,495	1885	834,277,480
1881	800,112,580	1886	879,942,419
Total five years	$3,375,402,301	Total five years	$4,434,413,316
Annual average, five years	675,080,460	Annual average, five years	886,882,662
Total ten years ending June 30, 1886			$7,809,815,615
Annual average for ten years			780,815,561

Commenting upon these estimates, Dr. Hargreaves says:

The above costs are exclusive of domestic wines and cider, the wine alone consumed as given in Mr. Switzler's report was 186,461,736 gallons, and at the low estimate of $2 a gallon, would cost the consumers during the ten years $372,923,526, or an average of $37,292,352 a year. What the cider would cost drank as champagne and other beverages, it is impossible to estimate, but is undoubtedly a large sum. I am therefore confident that my estimates of the prices of liquors, the quantity consumed with their cost annually in the United States, would be found not more than the actual amount, if it could be ascertained, which is not possible, as so many difficulties meet us in our efforts. At the best we can only approximate, but I hope the time is not far distant when Congress will, in defiance of the liquor interest, appoint a commission of inquiry into the alcoholic liquor traffic, and furnish the country with more official information than at present obtainable, and that we may be able to say, within a few million dollars, what the actual cost of alcoholic beverages is to our people, as well as their relation to trade and commerce, and pauperism, crime, vice and disease, and the other evils that have their chief source in alcoholic drinks and the traffic in them throughout our nation. The truth is our only desire, for exaggeration and falsehood will not aid us or any other good cause. Let us have the truth, for

"Ever the truth comes uppermost
And ever is justice done."

The poetry is very encouraging and I quote it sometimes myself, but in this connection it seems like the recommendation by the owner of his graphiphone, who said it would reproduce its impressions of sound *forever*. Being asked how he knew it, he replied "*we have tried it.*" If the truth ever does get uppermost it will be the end of the liquor business in this world, but there are the *consequences of all that has been*, which will last forever.

"The saddest is this, it might have been."

If one half the cost of domestic wine and cider be added to the average cost of other liquors, we have an aggregate of over $800,000,000, so that the yearly cost of intoxicating beverages is three times greater than all the expenses of the general government, including the interest on the public debt. It may be said then, to illustrate this enormous sum by comparison, that the direct losses by liquor yearly are more than half the entire amount of all the money, greenbacks, bank bills, gold, silver and all, in circulation in the United

States; ten times the sum paid out for the support of the common schools of the country; and, the average duration of school attendance being little over five years, enough yearly to educate, after the fashion that we do educate in our common schools throughout the country, two generations of our children. The colleges of the country cost yearly, according to the last census, in round numbers five millions of dollars and the number of students is sixty thousand. The liquor waste would pay the tuition of ten million students and so give collegiate education to more than half, instead of one in every three hundred, of the school population of the country who now receive it. This is more than the average common school attendance, so that, if it could be so applied as to reach all daily, the liquor money would pay for liberal courses of study to all the children of the country. In fact, it would be cheaper to make the college system of education as free and universal as the common school, than to maintain the liquor traffic. Beside the relief from the great evils of intemperance, who can conceive of the positive good which would spring from such a common school, where all the knowledge of the world should be free to the poorest child.

In 1880, by the census, there were four times as many drinking places as churches, nine times as many liquor sellers as ministers, and twelve times as much was paid for liquor as for gospel in the United States. The cost of the civil war was included in the eight years of the administrations of Lincoln and Johnson, and the expenses of the government during that period were $8,500,000,000, or about $1,000,000,000 yearly—hardly more than the direct cost of the annual drink bill, to say nothing of the consequences of its consumption.

In two years the drink bill amounts to more than the national debt. The money wasted for liquor yearly would buy homesteads of one hundred and sixty acres at $1.25 per acre of the public domain for three million families, or fifteen million—one fourth—of our people. One year's saving of liquor would buy land for everybody who is without it. In two years, or at most three, enough would be saved to settle every family in a comfortable home. But this saving must include the liquor waste of the rich as well as of the poor. The pensions of our soldiers are scarcely one tenth of the cost of our strong drink.

In a striking work by Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, entitled "Figures of Hell; or, the Temples of Bacchus," published some years since, and from which I have received much assistance in some of these calculations, the actual loss to the country by reason of the liquor traffic is estimated at not less than $1,171,291,518, which "would build and equip thirty thousand miles of railroad; . . . . . pay the cost of the public schools for fifteen years; erect and maintain twelve thousand colleges; send out and support one million two hundred thousand missionaries; pay the entire national debt in two years; the entire debt of the country, national, state and municipal, in less than four years; construct six hundred first-class ocean steamers; erect and maintain three thousand seven hundred and fifty hospitals, libraries, homes for the aged, etc.; provide one third of the people of the United States with homesteads of one hundred and sixty acres each; run the post-office department for thirty-four years; . . . . pay our foreign consular service for one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five years; purchase, at seven dollars per barrel, one hundred and sixty-seven million, three hundred and twenty-seven thousand, three hundred and fifty-nine barrels of flour, and pay the salary of the President of the United States for twenty-three thousand four hundred and twenty-five years."

On the 27th day of December, 1876, in a speech made in the national House of Representatives, in support of a joint resolution introduced by myself, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States in regard to the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, I presented certain facts and statistics from the census of 1870, and from other sources mostly official, which I prepared with great care, and although the speech has been in circulation since that time, and several hundred thousand copies have passed under the eyes of intelligent and sometimes hostile critics, if the fairness, moderation and accuracy of this statement have ever been assailed, the fact has not come to my knowledge.

It is true that this statement is based upon our condition when our population was 38,000,000, whereas now it is 60,000,000—but the records do not indicate a decrease of the extent of the traffic. On the contrary, although the consumption of distilled spirits has decreased from 2.07 to 1.24 gallons

per capita, on the other hand that of malt liquors has increased from 5.30 to 11.18 gallons by each person in the country. I therefore feel that I may fairly introduce this statement as evidence, the truth of which has passed unchallenged and practically admitted to be true in a time of controversy for more than ten years, and that it is illustrative of conditions still substantially unchanged in this country — save only that at last the people begin to turn over in their sleep.

After a general discussion of principles and methods I then said:

"I now desire to present in the best manner I can a statement of facts bearing upon the effect of the manufacture and use of intoxicating liquors on the wealth, industries and productive powers of the nation; also upon its ignorance, pauperism and crime. I have endeavored to authenticate every statement by careful inquiry. The information is drawn from the census returns, from records of the Departments of Government, reports of State authorities, declarations from prominent statisticians and responsible gentlemen in different parts of the country. Much of it is to be found, with a great deal more of similar matter, in a very valuable book published the present year. The author is William Hargreaves, M. D., of Philadelphia. No one who has not fought with figures, like old Paul with the beasts at Ephesus, knows how it taxes the utmost powers of man to classify, condense and present intelligibly to the mind the mathematical or statistical demonstration of these tremendous social and economic facts. The truths they teach involve the fate of modern civilization.

"In 1870 the tax collected by the Internal Revenue Department was upon 72,425,353 gallons of proof spirits and 6,081,520 barrels of fermented liquors. Commissioner Delano estimates the consumption of distilled spirits in 1869 at 80,000,000 gallons. By the census returns, June 1, 1860, there were *produced* in the United States 90,412,581 gallons of domestic spirits—and of course this was consumed with large amounts imported besides—but there are very large items which escape the official enumeration. These have been carefully estimated as follows:

Mrs. Frances J. Barnes,

Superintendent "Young Women's Work," National W. C. T. U.

	Gallons.
Domestic liquors evading tax and imported smuggled, at least	5,000,000
Domestic wines	10,000,000
Domestic wines made on farms	3,092,330
Domestic wines made and used in private families	1,000,000
Dilutions of liquors paying tax by dealers	7,500,000
	26,592,330

"This amount added to the total produced in 1860 would be 107,004,911; added to amount on which was collected tax in 1870 would be 99,017,683 gallons.

"It is well known that the great mass of alcoholic liquor is consumed as a beverage, and it will fall below the fact to place the amount paid for it at retail by the American drinker at 75,000,000 gallons yearly. But take the very modest estimate of Dr. Young, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, who makes the following estimate of the sales of liquors in the fiscal year ending June 1, 1871:

Whisky (alone), 60,000,000 gallons at $6.00, at retail	$360,000,000
Imported spirits, 2,500,000 gallons at $10, at retail	25,000,000
Imported wine, 10,700,000 gallons at $5.00, at retail	53,500,000
Ale, beer and porter, 6,500,000 gallons at $20.00 a barrel, at retail	130,000,000
Native wines, brandies, cordials, estimated	31,500,000
Total	$600,000,000

"I am satisfied that this is much below the real amount, but it is enough.

"This is one seventh the value of all our manufactures for that year, more than one fourth that of farm productions, betterments and stock, as shown by the census.

"Dr. Hargreaves estimates the retail liquor bill of 1871 at $680,036,042. In 1872, as shown by the internal revenue returns, there was a total of domestic and foreign liquors shown into the hands of the American people of 337,288,066 gallons, the retail cost of which at the estimated prices of Dr.

Young is $735,720,048. The total of liquors paying tax from 1860 to 1872—thirteen years—was 2,762,926,066 gallons, costing the consumer $6,780,161,805. During several of these years the government was largely swindled out of the tax, so that no mortal knows how far the truth lies beyond these startling aggregates.

"Dr. Young estimates the cost of liquors in 1867 at the same as in 1871—$600,000,000—and exclaims: 'It would pay for 100,000,000 barrels of flour, averaging two and one half barrels to every man, woman and child in the country.'

"Such facts might well transform the mathematician into an exclamation point. Dr. Hargreaves, who goes into all the *minutiæ* of the demonstration, dealing, however, only with bureau returns, declares that the annual consumption of distilled spirits in the United States is not less than 100,000,000 gallons annually, and this makes a very small allowance for 'crooked whisky.' Take now Dr. Young's moderate estimate of $600,000,000 annually, and, relying upon the official records of the country, in sixteen years we have destroyed in drink $9,600,000,000—more than four times the amount of the national debt, and once and a half times the whole cost of the War of the Rebellion to all sections of the country, while the loss of life, health, spiritual force and moral power to the people was beyond comparison greater. The lowest estimate I have seen of the annual loss of life *directly* from the use of intoxicating liquor is 60,000, or 960,000 during the period above mentioned; more than three times the whole loss of the North by battle and disease in the war, as shown by the official returns.

"The assessed value of all the real estate in the United States is $9,914,780,825; of personal, $4,264,205,907. In twenty-five years we drink ourselves out of the value of our country, personal property and all.

"The census shows that in 1870 the state of New York spent for liquors $106,590,000; more than two fifths of the value of products of agriculture and nearly one seventh the value of all the manufactures and nearly two thirds of the wages paid for both agriculture and manufactures, the liquor bill being little less than twice the receipts of her railroads. The liquor bill of Pennsylvania in 1870 was $65,075,000; of Illinois,

$42,825,000; Ohio, 58,845,000; Massachusetts, 25,195,000; New Hampshire, 5,800,000; Maine, where the prohibitory law is better enforced than anywhere else, 4,215,000, although Maine has twice the population of New Hampshire.

"Dr. Hargreaves says that there was expended for intoxicating drinks in—

1869	$693,999,509
1870	619,425,110
1871	680,036,042
1872	735,726,048
Total	$2,729,186,709
Annual average	$682,296,677

And he says the average is larger since 1872, exceeding $700,000,000.

"Each family, by the census, averages 5.09 persons, and we spend for liquor at the rate of $81.74 yearly for each. The loss to the nation in perverted labor is very great. In 1872 there were 7,276 licensed wholesale liquor establishments and 161,144 persons licensed to sell at retail. It is said that there are as many more unlicensed retail liquor shops. All these places of traffic must employ at least half a million of men. There were then 3,132 distilleries, which would employ certainly five men each—say 15,660. The brewers' congress in 1874 said that there were employed in their business 11,698. There would be miscellaneously employed about breweries and distilleries 10,000; in selling, say 500,000. In all, say 550,000 able-bodied men, who, so far as distilled liquors are concerned at least, constitute a standing army constantly destroying the American people. They create more havoc than an opposing nation which should maintain a hostile force of half a million armed men constantly making war against us upon our own soil. The temple of this Janus is always open. Why should we thus persevere in self-destruction?

"There are 600,000 habitual drunkards in the United States. If they lose half their time it would be a loss of $150,000,000 to the nation in productive power, and in wages and wealth to both the nation and themselves every year.

Dr. Hargreaves has constructed the following table:

The yearly loss of time and industry of 545,624 men employed in liquor-making and selling .	$272,812,000
Loss of time and industry of 600,000 drunkards	150,000,000
Loss of time of 1,404,323 male tipplers . .	146,849,592
Total	$568,861,592

And he adds that investigation will show this large aggregate is far below the true loss.

"By this same process 40,000,000 bushels of nutritious grain is annually destroyed, equal to 600,000,000 four-pound loaves; about eighty loaves for each family in the country.

Dr. Hitchcock, President of Michigan State Board of Health, estimates the annual loss of productive life by reason of premature deaths produced by alcohol at 1,127,000 years, and that there are constantly sick or disabled from its use 98,000 persons in this country.

Assuming the annual producing power of an able-bodied person to be $500 value, and this annual loss of life would otherwise be producing, the national loss is the immense sum of	$612,510,000 00	
Add to this the losses by the misdirected industry of those engaged in the manufacture and sale; loss of one half the time of the 600,000 drunkards and of the tipplers, as their number is estimated by Dr. Hargreaves	568,861,592 00	
And we have	$1,181,371,592 00	
The grain, etc., destroyed	36,000,000 00	
	$1,217,371,592 00	
Dr. Hitchcock estimates the number of insane, made so annually, at 9,338, or loss in effective life of 98,259 years, at $500 per year	$49,129,500 00	
Number of idiots from same cause, an annual loss of 319,908 years	159,954,000 00	
	$1,426,455,092 00	

Deduct receipts of internal revenue tax (year 1875)	$61,225,995 53	
Receipts, about 500,000 state licenses, at $100	50,000,000 00	
		$ 111,225,995 53
Annual loss to the nation of production		$1,315,229,096 47
Annual value of all labor in the United States, as per census of 1870 . .		$1,263,984,003 00
Losses from alcohol in excess of wages of labor yearly		$51,245,093 47

"This calculation includes nothing for interest upon capital invested, for care of the sick, insane, idiotic—it allows alcohol credit for revenue paid on all which is used for legitimate purposes. In England the capital invested in liquor business is $585,000,000, or £117,000,000. It was proved by the liquor dealers before the committee of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1867 that the capital invested in the business in Boston was at least $100,000,000, and in the whole country it cannot be less than $1,000,000,000, or ten times the amount invested in Boston. The annual value of imported liquors is about $80,000,000. It may be that the above estimate of losses yearly to the nation is too high. Perhaps $500 is more than the average gross earnings of an able-bodied man, and there may be other errors of less consequence. But any gentleman is at liberty to divide and subdivide the dreadful aggregate as often and as long as he pleases, and then I would ask him what good reason has he to give why the nation should lose *anything* from these causes.

PAUPERISM.

"I cannot detain the House with full statistics from the various states in regard to the pauperism occasioned by alcohol, but not less than 130,000 widows and orphans are left such in our country annually by liquor drinkers, and from two thirds to four fifths of the inmates of our poor-houses are sent there by drink.

CRIME.

"The statistics of crime are even more astounding. In the report of the United States Commissioner of Education for

1871, page 541, I find this statement: 'The fourth fact is that from 80 to 90 per cent. of our criminals connect their course of crime with intemperance. Of the 14,315 inmates of the Massachusetts prisons, 12,396 are reported to have been intemperate, or 84 per cent.' Ninety-three per cent. of those confined in Deer Island House of Industry are confined for crimes connected with liquor. 'In the New Hampshire prison 65 out of 91 admit themselves to have been intemperate. Reports from every state, county and municipal prison in Connecticut made in 1871 show that more than 90 per cent. had been in habits of drink by their own admission.' The warden of the Rhode Island state-prison estimates 90 per cent. of his prisoners as drinkers. These relate to those who have been guilty of the more serious offenses, not mere every-day arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct.

"The report of the Board of State Charities of Pennsylvania for 1871 says, page 89: 'The most prolific source of disease, poverty and crime, observing men will acknowledge is intemperance.'

"Mr. William J. Mullen, the well-known and highly-esteemed prison agent, in his report for 1870, says: 'An evidence of the bad effects of this unholy business may be seen in the fact that there have been 34 murders within this city (Philadelphia) during the last year alone, each one of which was traceable to intemperance, and 121 assaults for murder proceeding from the same cause. Of over 38,000 arrests in our city within the year, 75 per cent. were caused by intemperance. Of 18,305 persons committed to our prison within the year, more than two thirds were the consequence of intemperence.'

"Judge Allison, in a speech delivered in Philadelphia in 1872, says: 'In our criminal courts we can trace four fifths of the crimes that are committed to the influence of rum. There is not one case in twenty where a man is tried for his life in which rum is not the direct or indirect cause of the murder.'

"And Philadelphia is the city of brotherly love. She is excelled by no large city in the world in all the elements and evidences of enlightened Christian civilization. She has immortalized herself in our centennial year by a queenly majesty of municipal deportment and a magnificence of patriotic hospitality which are a source of love and pride to her

countrymen and have won for her the cordial and unstinted admiration of mankind. And it is a delightful relief for my aching head, as I copy and compile these statistics of damnation, to record the illuminating and illustrative fact that on those centennial grounds, from which intoxicating liquors were rigidly excluded, and where the æsthetic and diviner cravings of humanity were fed as from the gardens of God, among all the millions who wandered through that world of the last and highest results of civilization on earth, not one arrest was made for intoxication during the whole term of the exhibition. The infinite significance of that philosophy which not only demands prohibitory laws to restrain evil, but also the provision of food for the mind and stimulants to all the innocent, enlarging and ennobling tendencies of the soul, could not be more strikingly illustrated and enforced.

"Mr. Speaker, the records of New York, with her more than ten thousand liquor shops, one half of which are unlicensed, and which Mr. Oliver Dyer says would line both sides of a street running from the Battery out eight miles into Westchester county, having, by the report of Superintendent Kennedy, made, some years since, an average of 134 visits each daily, with 50,844 arrests for intoxication and disorderly conduct in the single year 1868, and with 98,861 arrests for crimes of every description, nine tenths of which were the result of drink; all these I have examined, but I have no heart to dwell upon them. I cannot endure their longer contemplation. The mathematics of this infinite evil are only paralleled by the tremendous calculations of astronomy, and as I quit the appalling theme I feel as though I had been calculating eclipses on the firmament of the pit.

"If we can do no more for this agonized land, groaning and travailing in despair, than to institute the commission of inquiry into the statistical evidences which are waiting everywhere for proper authentication, and a bill for which, having passed the Senate, reposes in the embrace of a committee of this House, we shall have accomplished something for which the ages to come will rise up to bless our memory; for I sincerely believe that nothing is required to work out our salvation from the great evil which we are considering but authentic knowledge, generally diffused among the people. In the

pressure of the momentous affairs by which we are surrounded, I have not been able to summarize and classify as I would otherwise have done this statement of such facts as appear to me to be derived from reliable sources; but I have done the best I could, hoping that abler minds will turn their attention to the subject, and that Congress will no longer neglect to institute official inquiries, with a view to such ultimate legal action as may arrest an evil which, if not arrested, will go far to destroy the American people.

BEARING OF THE SUBJECT UPON THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

"Some paper has sneeringly alluded to this proposed amendment as a measure of temperance reform for posterity. Chiefly so it is; and all the voices of humanity cry out for its adoption. All thinking men admit that the condition of posterity depends upon intelligence and virtue, and these are transmitted and developed by the educational institutions and processes of the country, of which by far the most important is the common school; and over that alone has the government any control. Contrast for a moment the means of education in virtue and intelligence with those which exist for the promotion of vice and crime and misery in this country, and then let those sneer who will at a measure which aims to save posterity from the fate which, if there is no reform, will overtake us in national life, just as surely as the time finally comes when the individual inebriate, whether in the horrors of delirium or the stupidity of the consumed sot, drops into the tomb of despair.

The census of 1870 show that there are in the United States 141,629 schools, with 221,042 teachers and 7,209,938 pupils who attend in the aggregate—the average is less—costing $95,402,826. Of these, 125,059 are public schools, with 183,198 teachers, 6,228,060 pupils, costing $64,030,673 yearly.

There are 12,955,443 between the ages of 5 and 18 years who should be at school, leaving 4,845,505 who do not attend at all. About 740,000 of these are engaged in labor of some kind; but there must be more than 3,000,000 who do not go to school at all. Dr. Hargreaves says that ninety-

Mrs. N. H. Knox,

President W. C. T. U., of New Hampshire.

nine hundreths of them are children of the intemperate, and he makes the following tabular statement showing the relative efficiency of the "two educational systems," as they are operated in Pennsylvania, whose condition is not discreditable in comparison with the country at large:

EDUCATION IN KNOWLEDGE AND VIRTUE.

Schools, colleges, etc., in Pennsylvania	16,090
Professors and teachers	18,783
Pupils and students, etc., in regular attendance	542,076
Cost for educational purposes in Pennsylvania	$8,399,723

EDUCATION IN IMMORALITY AND VICE.

Drinking places in Pennsylvania	23,606
Persons employed in liquor shops	45,490
Tipplers and drunkards	802,604
Direct cost of liquors in Pennsylvania	$80,000,000

More than nine times as much money spent to destroy as there is to save 'posterity' by these two systems. And again he says: 'Though within the last 20 years our teachers have increased from 25 to 30 per cent., and pupils attending school more than 50 per cent., yet crime has increased more than 60 per cent.'"

CENSUS RETURNS OF 1880, AND OTHER EVIDENCE.

There is no department of the temperance work where the voice of Dr. Hargreaves is not heard. The following statement by him is worth many volumes. It is based upon the last census and is the best epitome of its lessons upon the waste and woe of the liquor traffic which I have seen. I omit a few passages which previous matter renders superfluous.

OUR NATION'S DRINK BILL, AND SOME CONSEQUENTIAL RESULTS.

The effects of the use of intoxicating drinks, and the traffic in them, upon society are many sided—social, moral, religious and economical. The social relations are visible everywhere, and chiefly the effects of drunkenness on the family. The family is the source and foundation of all society. Drinks mar or destroy family life. No sorrow or cruelty is absent from the blunted affections and inflamed passions caused by drink; turning life's blessings into curses. The drink, by the poverty it produces and vile passions it arouses, makes the family almost impossible; and the social

decay it causes is seen everywhere in the decline of physical health. The very children, from the drink, inherit diseased or weak bodies and brains from their parents.

Social well-being is hindered, and its very existence endangered by drink blunting and blinding the conscience. The judges, magistrates and criminals all unite in their declarations of the close relation of drink and crime. Eighty-two per cent. of crime in Suffolk county, Mass., was traced to drink. Nothing so blunts the moral sentiments and destroys the influence of religious teachings as drink. But in this paper it is designed to examine briefly the economical and statistical aspect.

DRINK-SHOPS AND DWELLINGS IN THE UNITED STATES.

In the United States in 1880, there were 8,955,812 dwellings, of which 163,522 were taxed retail liquor places, and 11,610 taxed retail malt liquor shops, or a total of 175,133 drinking places taxed to sell liquors by retail. These-drink shops, if placed together, would make a city with more dwellings than there are in Philadelphia (146,412) and Pittsburgh (24,280) combined, and as many dwellings remain as will make another city as large as Sacramento, California; or they would make four cities as large as St. Louis, Mo., or two cities larger than New York. Indeed, they would make a city with more dwellings than New York city, Brooklyn, Albany and Syracuse, and 1,307 dwellings to spare.

The drink-shops of the United States, if arranged in one street, allowing each a frontage of thirty feet, would form a street with drink-shops on each side 497 miles long, nearly from Philadelphia to Cleveland, Ohio; or, placed side by side, would extend on each side of the railroad track from Philadelphia nearly to Cleveland.

INDIRECT COST AND LOSS AND DIRECT COST OF DRINKS.

It is estimated that the indirect cost and loss from the mischiefs arising from the use of the drinks, viz.: Pauperism, crime, disease, etc., amounts to fully as much as the direct cost of drinks. This is doubtless true, as shown by the following estimates of the indirect costs and losses flowing from the liquor traffic in the United States in 1880:

Loss of productive labor of 586,472 persons in the liquor trades	$283,236,000
Loss of productive labor of 700,000 drunkards,	175,000,000
Loss of productive labor of 2,138,391 moderate drinkers.	222,392,664
Amount carried forward, ...	$680,628,664

Amount brought forward, ...	$680,628,664
Loss of 66,660,792 bushels of grain destroyed in breweries and distilleries	33,330,390
Loss of time and cost of medical attendance and medicine in sickness caused by drinks	119,368,576
Loss to employers by time lost by drinking workmen	10,000,000
Cost of supporting 83,899 defective persons by drink as insane, etc., etc.	16,779,800
Cost of supporting 59,110 paupers made such by drink, at $100 a year, ...	5,911,000
Loss of labor of 59,110 paupers and vagrants, at $300 per annum, ...	17,733,000
Cost of supporting 39,481 prisoners at $100 a year,	3,948,300
Loss of labor of 39,481 prisoners at $300 a year,	11,844,300
Cost of police, prosecutions, court expenses, losses by jurors, witnesses, etc.	15,000,000
Total indirect cost and loss from use of drink,	$924,544,036
Annual average cost of liquors of 3 years (1880-1-2)	803,198,130
Total annual direct cost of drinks and loss, etc.,	$1,727,742,166

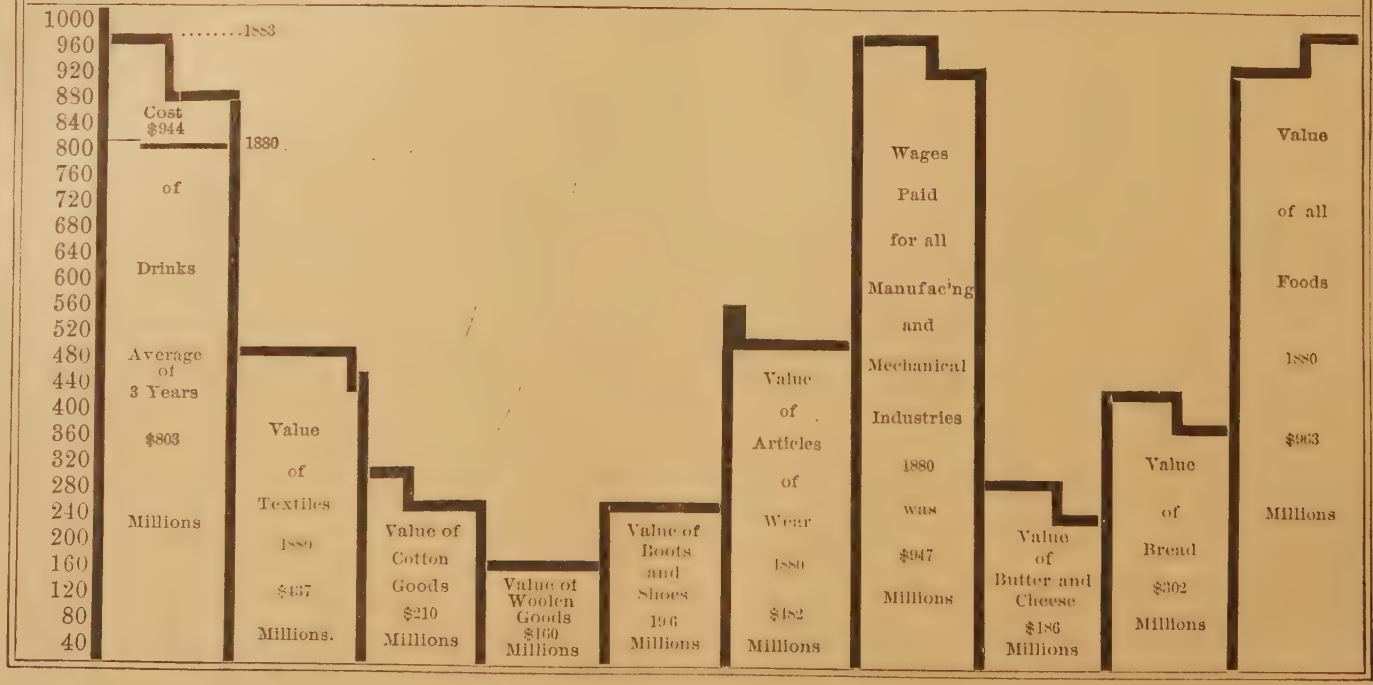
These estimates of the annual cost and loss are only approximations, yet they are doubtless below the real cost, as every one at all acquainted with the subject will testify. Seventeen hundred million dollars annually for vice, crime, demoralization, impoverishment, misery, disease and death! In the words of *The Times* (London) in a leader, "Drinking baffles us, confounds us, shames us at every point. It outwits alike the teacher, the man of business, the patriot and legislator. Every other institution flounders in hopeless difficulties, the public house holds its triumphant course!"

The above applies to the United States as fully as to England.

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES FOR NECESSARIES OF LIFE.

The value of articles of general consumption used in the United States will be about their value at the place of production; for by comparing the value of articles of common use imported and exported, the imported only exceed the value of exported by a few million dollars; not more perhaps than the value of articles remaining in stores and warehouses, etc., unsold. We will therefore estimate that our people expend annually for necessaries of life as appears in the diagram, p. 132:

DIAGRAM COMPRISING THE ESTIMATED ANNUAL EXPENDITURE IN THE UNITED STATES FOR INTOXICATING DRINKS, 1880 AND 1883, WITH THE CHIEF ITEMS OF EXPENDITURES FOR 1880.



Recapitulation:

For food and food preparations,	$963,000,000
Bread., etc.,	302,000,000
Butter and cheese,	186,000,000
Sugar, etc.,	234,000,000
Coffee, tea, cocoa, etc.,	145,000,000
Articles of wear (men and women),	482,000,000
Textiles,	437,000,000
Cotton goods,	210,000,000
Woolen goods,	160,000,000
Boots and shoes,	196,000,000
Worsted goods,	33,000,000
Carpets,	31,000,000
Cost of liquors in 1883,	944,629,581
Wages paid for mechanical and manufacturing industries,	947,953,795
Expenditures for drinks (an average of 3 years, '80 to '82),	803,000,000

The cost of drink for 1882 was 875 million dollars. Thus:

There was spent for drink nearly three times as much as for bread, and nearly as much as for all kinds of food.

Drink costs over four times more than for butter and cheese.

We spend nearly four times as much for drink as for sugar, etc.; and coffee, tea, cocoa and chocolate cost a little more than one sixth the cost of drink.

Articles of wear cost a little more than half the cost of drink.

All textiles of 1880 cost about one half the cost of drink in '82.

Cotton goods cost about one fourth that of drink.

Drinks cost five times as much as woolen goods.

We spent four times more for drink than for boots and shoes.

Twelve times more was paid for drink than for worsted goods and carpets.

Drinks cost in 1883 only about three millions less than was paid for wages in 1880 for mechanical and manufacturing industries.

By spending one hundred dollars for the aggregate manufactures of the United States, by the census 1880, $14.20 goes to labor; $100 spent for boots and shoes, $21.71 is for labor; for clothing, $17.42; for furniture, upholstery, etc., $23.71; for hardware, $24.17; for cotton goods, $16.91; woolen goods, $12.86; for worsted goods, $13.55; and for men's furnishing goods, $18.34; while $100 spent for liquors will only give to labor $1.23. To average a day's work at $2, one hundred dollars spent for boots and shoes will give one person work for $10\frac{71}{200}$ days; for cloth-

ing, $8\frac{7}{10}\frac{1}{0}$ days; for furniture, etc., $11\frac{1}{2}\frac{7}{0}\frac{7}{0}$ days; for hardware, $12\frac{1}{2}\frac{7}{0}\frac{7}{0}$ days; for cotton goods, $8\frac{3}{2}\frac{1}{0}\frac{1}{0}$ days; for woolen goods, $6\frac{4}{1}\frac{3}{0}\frac{3}{0}$ days; for worsted goods, $6\frac{1}{2}\frac{5}{0}\frac{5}{0}$ days; and for men's furnishing goods, $9\frac{3}{2}\frac{4}{0}\frac{4}{0}$ days; while one hundred dollars spent for liquor will only give one man work for a little over $\frac{6}{1}\frac{}{0}$ of a day, or a little over a half-day. It must be clear to every one that to spend money for intoxicating drinks inflicts serious injury on the trade and industry of the country and deprives our laboring classes of work and wages. Workmen! the drink question is more important to you than the tariff or any other question before the country. Abolish the drink traffic, and there will be work and good wages for all.

LOSS BY THE DESTRUCTION OF FOOD.

The grain and other products destroyed by the brewers and distillers to produce drink (articles unfit to nourish the human body) are a total loss. To make intoxicating drinks, over sixty-six million bushels of the various kinds of grain are destroyed annually. In 1882, there was destroyed in distilleries 2,192,719 bushels of malt; 301,241 bushels of wheat; 4,228,669 bushels of rye; 20,051,239 bushels corn; 168,488 bushels oats; 452,330 bushels mill feed, and 2,121,804* gallons of molasses. There were destroyed in breweries 39,201,697 bushels of barley. Total grain destroyed in distilleries and breweries 66,660,792 bushels, which at fifty cents a bushel would be worth $33,330,396. The average weight of grain used for liquors is about fifty-three lbs. per bushel, and yields forty lbs. of flour, makes sixty lbs. of bread, or fifteen four-pound loaves. The 66 million bushels would give a grand total of 990,000,000 four-pound loaves of bread, or more than 99½ loaves for each family in the United States in 1880. This does not include the grain destroyed in making the imported liquors used, nor the native wines, 30,000,000 gallons, as given in the Report of Agriculture, 1880, but only liquors paying tax as per Internal Revenue Report for 1882. These loaves used as paving stones would pave a street fifteen hundred miles long, or a road along the line of the railroad longer than from Boston to Omaha, Nebraska.

The drink not only ruins our people financially, but undermines virtue, blunts the conscience, effaces memory, enfeebles understanding, dethrones reason, and destroys life. It is certainly bad to destroy the grain, but it is very much worse to destroy the grain and ruin the people also. It is a sin and a crime to destroy food even when enough is left to feed the people. The food annually destroyed would feed not less than three millions of our people.

*The average yield of grain was 3,694 gallons spirits per bushel—one gallon molasses yielded .781 of a gallon of spirits. See Internal Revenue Report, 1881, p. lix.

Every bushel of grain made into liquor increases the price of what remains. *Dear bread means bad trade.* When people have to pay all, or nearly all, they earn for food, they cannot buy clothing and other necessaries. It is the same in the end whether 66 million bushels of food are destroyed in breweries and distilleries or rot in the fields by rain and mildew, and eut down by grasshoppers. You may say the farmer gets his money for the grain, and it employs labor and consumes products, etc. True. If I buy a barrel of flour for $5, and then throw it into the river, I cause a consumption of products. It is wasted, you say. How so? I paid the flour merchant—he paid the miller—the miller paid his men their wages —the farmer receives his money for the wheat, and the money is circulated. But you answer, you have not the barrel of flour you paid for—you have nothing for your money. There's the point! Neither the buyer nor consumer receives value for the money paid for liquor. It is an entirely useless commodity, and hence the materials used in its manufacture are destroyed; the labor employed to produce the drink, and the money paid for it, are entirely lost. With the destruction of the flour or grain the loss ends; but with money spent for drink there begins another series of losses—financial, physical, mental and moral—the least of which is the money paid for liquors. Therefore, if the grain was simply destroyed without being made into liquors, it would be vastly better for our people. No nation can practice such waste and continue to prosper.

MONEY SPENT FOR DRINKS AND OTHER PURPOSES.

There has been spent for intoxicating drinks during this century (from 1800 to 1883) more than twenty one thousand million dollars ($21,683,959,223), which is over four thousand million dollars more than all imports into and over six thousand million more than all imports from the country within the same period. In the three years from 1880 to 1882 (inclusive), over two thousand four hundred millions were spent for drinks, or a little less than all our exports, and about four hundred million dollars more than all our foreign imports. These three years drink bill was two hundred millions more than the value of all our agricultural products ($2,213,402,561) in 1880. Our last year's (1883) drink bill ($944,629,581) was only about three millions less than all the wages paid in 1880 for all manufacturing and mechanical industries ($947,953,795), and only about nineteen millions less than the estimated expenditures for food ($963,000,000) in 1880.

The value of the products of all manufacturing and mechanical industries of the United States in 1880 ($5,369,579,191) was 154 million dollars more than our last six years drink bill ($5,204,927,246).

Our last ten years drink bill ($7,206,598,304) was only 336 millions less than the value ($7,572,981,758) of all our agricultural products and all the products of our mechanical and manufacturing ndustries in 1880.

Our people in less than three years spent in drink the value of all our products of agriculture, and in about 10½ years expended the value of all the productive industries of the country. In other words, if a fire was kindled on the first of January every eleventh year, and continue burning during that year—if every article as fast as produced in all our factories, workshops and mines, and all our farm products, as fast as gathered, were thrown into this fire, and burned up until only the ashes remained, such destruction of the products of labor would not do as much harm nor inflict upon our people as much pecuniary injury as is produced every eleven years by the use of and the sale of intoxicating drinks. To destroy annually the products of our factories, workshops and farms of the value of the money spent for drink, by fire or flood, would be a great loss, and cries of woe and sorrow would be heard all over our land. Yet this destruction would not deprive our people of the ability and power to supply their loss with other products, as do the drinks for which the money is spent.

The assessed value of the real and personal property of the United States in 1880 was $16,902,993,543, and the real value about double that amount, or $33,805,987,086. We spent during the present century (from 1800 to 1883 inclusive) nearly 22 thousand million dollars ($21,683,959,223), or more than two thirds the real value of all the property, real and personal, that has accumulated in the nation since the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on Plymouth Rock.

If the real cost of liquors and the consequential results of their use could be ascertained since the Declaration of Independence of the United States, it would doubtless be found that more money has been spent than would buy to-day all our farms, factories, workshops, mines, railroads, houses, furniture, clothing, stores, warehouses, and everything they contained, with breweries, distilleries and liquor shops thrown in. If the money spent since the Declaration of Independence for drink had been spent for useful and necessary articles, the real and personal property would doubtless be nearly double what it now is, our people more intelligent, moral and religious, and our industrious classes free from the taxation imposed for charities and corrections.

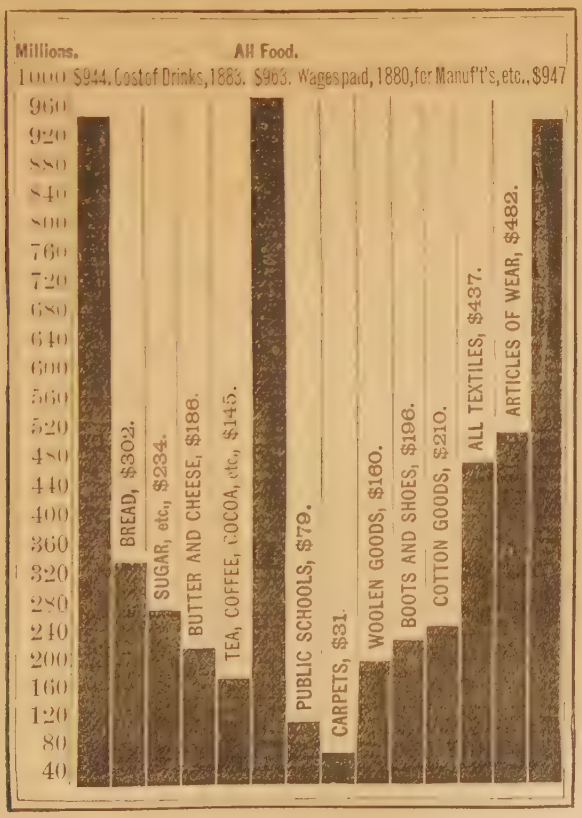
The ten years drink bill (from 1870 to 1879) was $6,706,913,406, or fifteen hundred millions more than the permanent investment ($5,182,445,807) in all the 87,891 miles of railroads operated in

1880. Our drink bill ($5,567,52,076) for the eight years from 1875 to 1882 inclusive, was 385 millions more than the investment in all the railroads in the country. The drink bill of 1880 ($733,616,495) was 72 millions more than the aggregate income ($661,295,391) of all the railroads in the nation that year.

No people, however favored, can continue to prosper who waste so large a proportion of labor value for poisonous drinks. No wonder that hard times and stagnation of trade should follow such waste and the violation of economic laws.

I here insert another of Dr. Hargreaves' diagrams, somewhat similar to the last, but conveying other facts and comparisons to the mind. These diagrams, conveying instruction through the eye, let in a flood of light, and a most startling landscape of waste, folly and misery it is.

DR. HARGREAVES' DIAGRAM, COMPARING EXPENDITURES FOR INTOXICATING DRINK IN 1883, WITH CHIEF ITEMS OF EXPENDITURES FOR NECESSARIES OF LIFE IN 1880.



CHAPTER XII.

ALCOHOL DESTROYS THE LIFE AND WEALTH OF THE WORLD.

The Fate of all Civilized Nations Affected by the Liquor Traffic—Consumption of Spirits in the United Kingdom—The Amount per Capita—Money enough Spent for Liquor from 1831 to 1881 to Purchase the Entire United Kingdom—The Case in France—The Use of Liquor Doubled in Forty Years—Report to the French Government—The Home of the American Despot—Telling Facts and Figures Showing the Vast Extent of the Traffic—Germany, Russia, Persia, the World.

THE unity of the human race is the great social and political fact. God hath made of one blood all men that do dwell on the face of the earth. That unity is true not only of all the living, but hereditary influence largely controls posterity; so that every individual man is affected by the total of all that has been done or suffered by all nations and all individuals who have already existed, and he is responsible according to the measure of his powers and opportunity for the condition of all who are to be unto the end of time.

Especially is it true that the fate of all civilized nations is vitally affected by the liquor traffic, and that they suffer from a common evil which united action alone can cure. We may feel a special interest in the Anglo-Saxon race, by reason of our common origin, language, history, literature and institutions. But the rapidly increasing facilities of inter-communication and of interchange of person, property and intelligence are rapidly abolishing all barriers and distinctions. Railroads, telegraphs and telephones are everywhere. They unite the world as by a universal emotion. They make their own conditions; reduce all things to homogeneity, and dominate wherever they are, as the light rules the day. It is clear to one who can see, that Asia and Africa will soon arise from the sleep of ages, break loose from the chains of the past and unite their billion of inhabitants with the more advanced western nations. Not many centuries and perhaps not many decades hence, the grand federation of all nations, tongues and peoples

under the whole heavens, which is the ultimate destiny of man, will be an accomplished fact. Alcohol is the special foe of civilized man; and, if destroyed, it must be by the assertion of the power of the whole over the evil wherever it exists; and that exertion of international power must reach the manufacture, the transportation and the sale. The appetite of the world will contrive to be satisfied, so long as the thing it craves exists within its borders. True that the most important of all action is by each nation within and for itself, and by exclusion of the hurtful commodity from its territory.

But, so long as the appetite and the manufacture exist, so long smuggling and all forms of illicit trade will to some extent perpetuate the evil in spite of the most stringent local and national restrictions. International action cannot be expected until the nations, one after the other, comprehend their reciprocal danger. Then they will assail the liquor traffic by the treaty-making power, which, combined with moral suasion, the forerunner and creator of all right sentiment and correct action, and with state and national laws, will in the end conquer, if it can be conquered—and it can be—this chief foe of man. We are therefore interested to know to what extent this evil prevails beyond our own domain, and the prospect of its prevalence or extinction in the rest of the world.

The United Kingdom naturally first claims our attention. The following tables, furnished to me as the best attainable by the Bureau of Statistics are the latest I have been able to secure, and are sufficiently comprehensive to convey to the mind a reasonably accurate idea in figures of the state of the liquor traffic in England, Scotland and Ireland.

ANNUAL CONSUMPTION OF WINE AND THE AVERAGE CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA OF POPULATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM DURING EACH YEAR, FROM 1881 TO 1885, INCLUSIVE.

[From the accounts relating to the trade and navigation of the United Kingdom.]

YEARS.	Wine consumed.*	
	Total.	Per capita.
	Gallons.	*Gallons.*
1881	14,925,955	.43
1882	14,317,329	.41
1883	14,154,202	.40
1884	13,892,600	.39
1885	13,425,287	.37

* The consumption is the net imports.

ANNUAL CONSUMPTION OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN DISTILLED SPIRITS AND THE AVERAGE CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA OF POPULATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM DURING EACH YEAR, FROM 1871 TO 1885, INCLUSIVE.

[From the "Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom," 1885.]

YEARS.	Distilled spirits consumed.			
	Domestic.	Foreign.	Total.	Per capita.
	Gallons.	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*
1871	24,563,993	10,728,545	35,292,538	1.12
1872	27,279,519	8,081,303	35,360,822	1.11
1873	29,322,087	11,872,196	41,194,283	1.28
1874	30,321,928	10,332,767	40,654,695	1.25
1875	30,659,043	12,956,833	43,615,876	1.33
1876	30,534,265	17,794,496	48,328,761	1.46
1877	30,361,163	10,492,759	40,853,922	1.22
1878	29,884,951	9,316,526	39,201,477	1.15
1879	28,508,850	10,459,768	38,968,618	1.14
1880	29,047,303	6,970,499	36,017,802	1.04
1881	29,334,161	5,543,905	34,878,066	1.00
1882	29,251,754	8,382,038	37,634,092	1.07
1883	29,421,590	7,217,068	36,638,658	1.03
1884	28,745,893	9,155,981	37,901,874	1.05
1885	27,348,805	9,282,951	36,631,756	1.01

ANNUAL CONSUMPTION OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN BEER AND THE AVERAGE CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA OF POPULATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, DURING EACH YEAR, FROM 1881 TO 1885, INCLUSIVE.

[From the statistical abstract for the United Kingdom and the account relating to the trade and navigation of the United Kingdom.]

YEARS.	Beer consumed.*			
	Domestic.	Foreign.	Total.	Per capita.
	Gallons.	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*
1881	1,184,362,048	572,585	1,184,934,633	33.90
1882	1,186,877,214	766,712	1,187,643,926	33.65
1883	1,178,287,517	918,411	1,179,205,928	33.13
1884	1,211,600 222	1,028,738	1,212,628,960	33.73
1885	1,190,286,373	983,632	1,191,270,005	32.79

*The British beer barrel has been computed at 36 gallons and the ale gallon at 1.22 United States gallons.

From these tables it appears that if we take the aggregate of distilled and fermented drinks, reducing the latter to distilled, as in the former calculation in ascertaining the per capita consumption of alcohol (see p. 201), the population of the British Isles consumed per capita in 1885 as follows:

	Gallons
Distilled spirits	36,631,756
Wines, 13,425,287 gallons ÷ 5 = spirits	2,685,057
Beer, 1,191,270,005 " ÷ 5 =	234,254,001
Total distilled spirits . .	273,570,814

The population of the United Kingdom was, in 1871, 31,513,000, in 1876, 33,089,237, and in 1885 must have been not more than 35,000,000.

Mrs Mary A. Livermore.

We have then a per capita consumption of distilled spirits of 7.8 gallons by the people of Great Britain and Ireland. The total consumption in the United States in the year 1886 was 217,720,925 gallons, or 3.63 gallons per capita.

Here is the foe which will silence the drum beat of the British Empire, and sink her proud navies in an ocean of liquid fire. Let Russia bide her time, and be *sober*. God save the Queen's dominions from strong drink. They need fear no other foe.

The tables (pp. 242,243) are prepared by Mr. Wm. Hoyle. They are mainly from government sources. The notes are by our Bureau of Statistics and the information is of the highest verity attainable upon personal authority. They will be of value to those who wish to study the subject thoroughly.

The total cost of intoxicating liquors to the United Kingdom from 1830 to 1881, inclusive, was £4,926,865,122, or $24,634,325,610, which, if saved and invested at moderate interest, would purchase the entire kingdom. This makes no account of the indirect losses which are as much more. It is not an exaggeration to say that strong drink has cost the United Kingdom during the last fifty years an amount of wealth which her people, but for it, would have produced and saved, sufficient to buy the British Islands and the United States.

Is it any wonder that the people mourn? Mr. Hoyle himself, by a careful computation, fixes the waste of wealth which would have accrued, if the money spent for liquor from the year 1830 to the year 1882, inclusive—fifty-two years—had been invested at five per cent. interest, at £14,274,218,810, or $71,371,094,050. This is twenty times the national debt of Great Britain, forty-seven times more than our own, nine times the cost of our civil war, four times the amount of all the national debts of Europe and America, and if properly invested would, according to Mr. Mulhall, produce an annual income of almost $9,000,000,000, which is thirty times the ordinary annual expenses of the government of the United States, including interest on the public debt.

And all this paid out for a curse! "What fools we mortals be!" Compared with us, the man who paid forty shillings to be hung was a Solomon in wisdom and a Rothschild among financiers.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE CONSUMPTION OF DISTILLED SPIRITS, WINE AND BEER IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE ESTIMATED COST, FROM 1876 TO 1882.

[Prepared by William Hoyle, Esq., London, England.]

YEARS.	SPIRITS, DISTILLED.						WINE.						BEER.		Total estimat'd cost.
	British.		Foreign.		Total.		British.a		Foreign.		Total.				
	Gallons.	*Dollars.*	*Gallons.*	*Dollars.*	*Gallons.*	*Dollars.*	*Gallons.*	*Dollars*	*Gallons.*	*Dollars.*	*Gallons.*	*Dollars.*	*Gallons.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*
1876	29,950,288	145,753,077	11,487,795	67,086,425	41,438,083	212,839,502	17,500,000	8,516,375	18,660,846	81 731.704	36,160,846	90.248,079	1,133,444,754	413,603,164	716,780,745
1877	29,888,176	145,450,869	10,618,564	62,010,291	40,506,740	207,461,100	17,500,000	8,516,375	17,671,273	77,397,527	34,897,527	85,913,902	1,089,635,094	397,703,189	691,078,191
1878	29,358,715	142,874,187	10,438,037	61,494,865	39,797,352	204,369,052	17,500,000	8,516,375	16,272,295	71,270,209	33,772,295	79,786,584	1,117,316,754	407,806,646	691,962,282
1879	29,396,651	135,953,712	9,540,851	55,716,661	37,477,502	191,670,373	17,500,000	8,516,375	14,945,033	65,457,267	32,445,033	73,973,642	980,768,124	357,968,104	623 612,119
1880	28,457,486	138,488,356	8,477,512	49 506,973	36,934,998	187,995,329	15,000.000	7,299,750	15,852,335	69,430,852	30,852,335	76,730,602	905,088,978	330,346,162	595,072,093
1881	28,730,719	139,818,044	8,295,265	48,442,689	39,025,984	188,260,733	15,000,000	7,299,750	15,644,757	68,521,687	30,644,757	75,821,437	970,788,564	354,325,630	618,407,860
1882	28,554,254	138,959,326	8,292,125	48,423,743	36,846,389	187,383,069	15,000,000	7,299,750	14,431,282	63,206,851	29,431,282	70,506,601	976,780,224	356,512,568	614,402,238

a Includes British wines, cider, etc.

(1) The values given in this table have been uniformly estimated by Mr. Hoyle as follows: Beer at 36.5 cents per gallon; British spirits at $4.86; foreign spirits at $5.83; British wines at 48.67 cents, and foreign wines at $4 38 per gallon.

(2) It will be observed that differences in quantities occur between this table and the preceding tables Nos. 38, 39 and 40. The latter are compiled from official data exclusively; table No. 39 includes no domestic wine, while this table returns wine, cider, etc., under wine; the gallons in table No. 40 are United States gallons, of which 1.22 equals one British ale gallon.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE POPULATION, TOTAL ESTIMATED COST, AND AVERAGE COST PER CAPITA OF POPULATION OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS CONSUMED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM FOR VARIOUS YEARS FROM 1820 TO 1865 AND FOR EACH YEAR FROM 1820 TO 1882.

[Prepared by William Hoyle, Esq., London, England.]

YEAR.	Population.	Total estimated cost of intoxicating liquors consumed.	Average cost of liquors per head.	YEAR.	Population.	Total estimated cost of intoxicating liquors consumed.	Average cost of liquors per head.
		Dollars.	*Dollars.*			*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*
1820.....	20,807,000	245,469,448	11 80	1872.....	31,835,000	640,438,651	20 12
182	22,571,000	326,188,175	14 45	1873.....	32,124,000	681,381,596	21 33
1830.....	23,820,000	327,302,204	13 73	1874.....	32,426,000	687,845,695	21 21
1835.....	25 443,000	391,888,631	15 33	1875.....	32,749,000	695,309,310	21 23
1840.....	26,500,000	377,688,491	14 81	1876.....	33,093,000	716,780,746	21 66
1845.....	27,072,000	348,798,267	12 87	1877.....	33,446,000	692,051,490	20 64
1850.....	27.320,000	392,814,551	14 31	1878.....	33,799,000	691,962,282	20 46
1855.....	28,183,000	373,557,961	13 26	1879.....	34,155,000	623,612,119	18 25
1860.....	28,778,000	414,999,888	14 23	1880.....	34,468,000	595,072,092	17 25
1865.....	29,861,000	517,988,124	17 34	1881.....	34,929,000	618,407,860	17 58
1870.....	31,205,000	577,830,082	18 51	1882.....	35,278,000	614,402,239	17 52
1871.....	31,513,000	611,168,678	19 24				

TABLE SHOWING THE ESTIMATED COST OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS CONSUMED, THE NUMBER OF APPREHENSIONS FOR DRUNKENNESS, AND THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS FOR CRIME, WITH THE NUMBER OF LUNATICS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM FOR EACH YEAR FROM 1860 to 1882, INCLUSIVE.

[Prepared by William Hoyle, Esq., London, England.]

	UNITED KINGDOM.					UNITED KINGDOM.			
YEAR.	Estimated total cost of intoxicating liquors.	Apprehensions for drunkenness.	Total number of convictions for crime from all causes.	Number of lunatics.	YEAR.	Estimated total cost of intoxicating liquors.	Apprehensions for drunkenness.	Total number of convictions for crime from all causes.	Number of lunatics.
	Dollars.					*Dollars.*			
1860....	414,999,888	88,361	255,803	38,058	1872....	640,438,651	151,034	423,591	58,640
1861....	413,370,763	83,196	263,510	39,647	1873....	681,381,596	182,941	456,705	60,296
1862....	432,473,994	94,908	272,969	41,129	1874....	687,845,695	185,730	486,786	62,027
1863....	448,147,152	94,745	283,641	43,118	1875....	695,309,310	203,9 9	512,425	63,793
1864....	504,753,438	100,067	300,731	44,795	1876....	716,780,746	205,567	526,915	64,916
1865....	517,988,123	105,310	312,882	45,950	1877....	691,078,190	200,184	519,839	66,636
1866....	554,418,241	104,365	339,091	47,648	1878....	691,962,282	194,540	538,232	68,538
1867....	535,910,207	100,357	335,359	49,086	1879....	623,612,119	178,429	506,281	69,885
1868....	552,176,809	111,465	347,458	51,000	1880....	595,072,092	172,859	517,373	71,191
1869....	549,357,787	122,310	372,707	53,177	1881....	618,407,860	174,481	530,966	73,113
1870....	577,830,102	131,870	389,712	54,713	1882....	614,402,239	189,697	575,593	.....
1871....	611,168,659	142,343	407,859	56,755					

Now let us turn to France—our ally in the Revolution and the second Great Republic of the world.

It will be observed that in France, the land of vines, the home of song and wine, where the fermented liquors with their mild poetic and etherializing influences exclude the baser and destructive products of distillation from the ambrosialized stomachs of the people, exactly the same amount per capita

was consumed in the form of distilled drinks in the year 1885 as in the United States in the year 1886, to wit.: 1.24 gallons. (See p. 198.) This is indeed a "striking" corroboration of the arguments of the advocates of the use of fermented liquors as a temperance beverage, and shows up the "continental lie" of those who cannot find any drunkenness in countries where they consume the milder intoxicants. These are the men who have milder intoxicants to sell—or who desire them to drink—hence their facts.

FRANCE.

ANNUAL PRODUCTION, IMPORTATION, EXPORTATION AND CONSUMPTION OF DISTILLED SPIRITS IN FRANCE DURING EACH YEAR FROM 1879 to 1885, INCLUSIVE.

[From "Annuaire de la Statistique de la France," and "Journal de la Société de Statistique de la Paris," 1886.]

YEAR.	Production.	Importation.	Total production and importation.	Exportation.	Consumption.	
					Total.	Per capita.
	Gallons.	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*
1879	39,305,300	5,287,230	44,592,530	9,001,932	35,590,598	.94
1880	41,767,073	6,938,768	48,705,841	7,972,914	40,732,927	1.08
1881	48,112,965	6,491,053	54,604,018	7,970,537	46,633,481	1.24
1882	46,666,347	7,568,497	54,235,844	7,091,168	47,144,676	1.25
1883	53,123,160	4,427,595	57,550,755	7,847,989	49,702,766	1.32
1884	51,102,735	5,077,215	56,179,950	7,775,104	48,404,846	1.28
1885	49,214,871	5,445,177	54,660,048	7,801,970	46,858,078	1.24

NOTE.—The liter has been computed at .26417 United States gallon. For want of later information, the population of France in 1881 was made the basis for the consumption per capita in each of the above years.

ANNUAL PRODUCTION, IMPORTATION, EXPORTATION, AND CONSUMPTION OF WINE IN FRANCE DURING EACH YEAR FROM 1879 TO 1885, INCLUSIVE.

[From "Annuaire de la Statistique de la France," and "Journal de la Société de la Statistique de Paris," 1886.

YEAR.	Production.	Importation.	Total production and importation.	Exportation.	Consumption.	
					Total.	Per capita.
	Gallons.	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*
1879	700,658,302	77,616,078	778,274,380	80,485,651	697,788,729	18.52
1880	895,950,492	190,745,903	1,086,696,395	65,714,427	1,020,981,968	27.10
1881	1,119,106,810	207,076,444	1,226,183,254	67,949,702	1,158,233,552	30.75
1882	1,025,648,611	199,098,034	1,224,746,645	69,166,997	1,155,579,648	30.67
1883	1,219,540,964	237,245,608	1,456,786,576	67,130,141	1,389,656,431	36.88
1884	918,809,677	214,766,881	1,133,576,558	64,296,614	1,068,279,942	28.36
1885	753,835,512	216,186,293	970,021,961	68,757,533	961,264,428	23.92

NOTE.—The liter has been computed at .26417 United States gallon. For want of later information, the population of France in 1881 was made the basis of the consumption per capita for each of the above years.

If we reduce the gallons of wine consumed to distilled liquor of five times the strength of the wine we have—

The per capita consumption of gallons . .	1.24
23.92÷5 =spirit gallons . . .	4.78
	6.02

or six gallons consumed in France by the same rule which gives us a per capita consumption in the United States of 3.63, almost twice as much. I have no official data of the consumption of malt liquors in France; but there must be some, however small (Dr. Eddy and Rev. F. F. Parker fix the amount at 51,000,000 gallons), which would increase the disproportion. The per capita consumption is probably greater in France than in England. Again I call attention to the theory of those who would reform the world with fermented drinks! Does not this prove that wherever, if anywhere, the consumption of distilled drinks is curtailed it is to be attributed to efforts by education and law to destroy the whole traffic, rather than to the substitution of one drink for another when both are consumed *to get the same thing*, to wit: the alcohol, and nothing but the alcohol which they contain?

I take the following from the *Medical Press* of July 21, 1887:

"At the last meeting of the Academie de Médecine, M. Rochard read the report of the committee which that body, at the instigation of the government, had elected to examine the question of alcoholism in France. M. Rochard stated that the consumption of alcohol had doubled in forty years, and that alcoholism had increased enormously; he considered that it was a regular wholesale poisoning due to the inferior quality of the alcohol employed in the fabrication of wines. The spirits of beet root, potatoes and grains, so much employed to-day, contain deleterious principles in very strong proportions, which an imperfect distillation has been unable to extract. The Spanish and Italian wines which now fill the market are artificially charged with alcohol of very inferior quality."

No wonder that the vitality of the French people is threatened; that the population is stationary; that the army is made up of round-shouldered boys, and that their Legislature,

in alarm, has ordered a national inquiry, with a view to the removal of the national curse. Give France twenty years of sobriety and, if surrounding nations continue in their cups, she will, if she be foolish enough to fight so near the millennium, overthrow all her enemies and float the tricolor above every capitol in Europe.

That I may not be thought to draw unwarranted inferences as to the effects of intoxicating drinks in France, I quote from the *Paris Constitutionel* of 1872, as cited in "Alcohol in History," a new and valuable work by Richard Eddy, D. D. "The habit of drunkenness has increased in France year by year since the beginning of this century. The French race is deteriorating daily. In forty years the consumption of alcohol has tripled in France." And a French magazine says: "Drunkenness is the beginning and end of life in the great French industrial centers among women as well as men. Twenty-five out of every one hundred men and twelve out of every one hundred women in Lisle are confirmed drunkards."

France has her national commission of inquiry into the liquor traffic. She needs it and she knows it. We need one in the United States, and we know it. But our government is in the hands of the liquor traffic, and we cannot get it, lo! after these twelve years, during which "we have petitioned, we have remonstrated, we have supplicated, we have prostrated ourselves at the foot of the throne" of King Alcohol—but in vain. "Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have been met with additional violence and insult, and we have been spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne." There will be another Declaration of Independence—a day of vengeance and a Yorktown further up the Potomac. The worst tyranny on earth is inflicted by the abuse of the forms of popular government, and our own is already well nigh revolutionized. The seat of tyranny in our government is not in the executive chair nor in the chamber of the senate. Our popular assembly is the home of the American despot; and unless the existing order of things be changed, government by an acknowledged king will be better than the one man or the ring power, which conceals its irresponsible supremacy under the forms of freedom.

GERMANY.

Let us turn to Germany, the home of the profoundest thinkers of the world.

ANNUAL PRODUCTION, IMPORTATION, EXPORTATION, AND CONSUMPTION OF DISTILLED SPIRITS IN GERMANY DURING EACH YEAR FROM 1870 TO 1881, INCLUSIVE.

[From "Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich," 1882.]

FISCAL YEAR.	Production.	Importation.	Total production and importation.	Exportation.	Consumption.	
					Total.	Per capita.
	Proof gallons.	*Gallons*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons*
1870	45,939,163	766,093	46,705,256	16,220,038	30,485,218	1.00
1871	43,059,710	924,595	43,984,305	12,653,743	31,330,562	1.03
1872	45,465,657	818,927	46,282,584	7,079,756	39,202,828	1.27
1873	50,165,883	951,012	51,116,895	13,868,925	37,247,970	1.16
1874	54,973,777	1,188,765	56,162,542	13,763,257	42,399,285	1.27
1875	57,354,367	1,320,850	58,672,157	10,566,800	48,105,357	1.43
1876	53,864,263	1,347,267	55,211,530	10,434,715	44,776,815	1.32
1877-'78	52,966,085	1,135,931	54,102,016	14,714,269	39,387,747	1.14
1878-'79	55,079,445	1,131,931	56,215,376	14,529,350	41,686,026	1.19
1879-'80	53,837,846	1,268,016	55,105,862	16,008,702	39,097,160	1.11
1880-'81	57,747,562	977,429	58,724,991	18,042,811	40,682,180	1.14
Average for 11 years	51,856,571	1,083,097	52,939,668	13,446,253	39,493,415	1.19

NOTE.—The liter has been computed at .26417 United States gallon.

This is the great beer-drinking nation as we generally suppose, but note that she consumes per capita nearly as much of ardent spirits as ourselves.

ANNUAL PRODUCTION, IMPORTATION, EXPORTATION AND CONSUMPTION OF BEER IN GERMANY DURING EACH YEAR FROM 1872 TO 1885, INCLUSIVE.

[From "Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich," 1886.]

FISCAL YEAR.	Production.	Importation.	Total production and importation.	Exportation.	Consumption.	
					Total.	Per capita.
	Gallons.	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*
1872	886,158,265	1,400,101	887,558,366	7,819,432	879,738,934	21.50
1873	905,498,228	1,875,607	997,373,835	7,660,930	989,712,905	23.93
1874	1,027,304,296	2,614,283	1,029,919,579	8,506,274	1,021,413,305	24.46
1875	1,046,245,285	3,143,623	1,049,388,908	10,249,796	1,039,139,112	24.65
1876	1,043,682,836	3,487,044	1,047,169,880	15,136,941	1,032,032,939	24.22
1877-'78	1,028,179,057	3,037,955	1,031,214,012	17,435,220	1,013,778,792	23.46
1878-'79	1,025,272,187	2,720,951	1,027,991,138	17,857,892	1,010,133,246	23.11
1879-'80	983,848,331	2,298,279	986,146,610	17,963,560	968,183,050	21.90
1880-'81	1,018,956,524	2,483,198	1,021,439,722	22,586,535	998,853,187	22.35
1881-'82	1,033,142,453	2,536,032	1,035,678,485	25,994,328	1,009,684,157	22.45
1882-'83	1,038,822,108	2,641,700	1,041,463,808	26,284,915	1,015,178,893	22.45
1883-'84	1,079,742,041	2,853,036	1,082,595,077	28,530,360	1,054,064,717	23.19
1884-'85	1,119,393,958	2,773,785	1,122,167,743	30,485,218	1,091,682,525	23.78
Average for 13 years	1,025,085,268	2,615,283	1,027,700,551	18,201,313	1,009,499,238	23.19

NOTE.—The liter has been computed at .26417 United States gallon—little more than one quart.

It will be observed that the consumption of beer, per capita, is less in Germany than in the United Kingdom, where it is 32.79 gallons. Reducing the 23.78 gallons of beer per capita, consumed by the German people in the year 1884-5, to a distilled liquor of five times its strength, we have 23.78 ÷ 5 = 4.75 gallons + 1.19 gallons, shown as the average of distilled liquors consumed during 11 years prior to 1882, and we have 5.94 gallons to 3.63 gallons, the per capita consumption of our own people found by the same process.

Once more I call attention to the fact that all the evidence goes to contradict absolutely the interested assertion of the dealers in fermented drinks that their use tends to diminish the consumption of alcohol. The "continent" emphatically disproves the assertion as well as the lamentable experience of our own country. Instead of a single lion we have now to contend not alone with the king of beasts, but also with the swarms of jackals who hunt out the prey and really eat up more children than his majesty himself.

LIQUOR CONSUMPTION OF THE WORLD.

Col. Switzler gives us from official data the following, bearing upon the consumption of liquors in the four great nations whose statistics are most available.

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF THE CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA OF POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, THE UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE AND GERMANY OF DISTILLED SPIRITS, WINES AND MALT LIQUORS DURING EACH YEAR FROM 1881 TO 1885, INCLUSIVE.

[From original official data.]

YEARS.	DISTILLED SPIRITS.				WINES.				MALT LIQUORS.			
	United States.	United Kingdom.	France.	Germany.	United States.	United Kingdom.	France.	Germany.	United States.	United Kingdom.	France.	Germany.
	Galls.	*Galls.*	*Galls.*	*Galls.*	*Galls.*	*Galls.*	*Galls.*	*Galls.*	*Galls.*	*Galls.*	*Galls.*	*Galls.*
1881.....	1.39	1.00	.94	1.32	.48	.43	18.52	(*a*)	9.97	33.90	(*a*)	22.35
1882.....	1.45	1.07	1.08	1.14	.48	.41	27.10	(*a*)	10.18	33.65	(*a*)	22.45
1883.....	1.46	1.03	1.24	1.19	.37	.40	30.75	(*a*)	10.62	33.13	(*a*)	22.45
1884.....	1.24	1.05	1.25	1.11	.38	.39	30.67	(*a*)	10.44	33.72	(*a*)	23.19
1854.....	1.24	1.01	1.33	1.14	.38	.37	36.88	(*a*)	11.18	32.79	(*a*)	23.78

a No date.

NOTE—The years referred to are, for France and Great Britain calendar years; for the United States the five years ending June 30, 1886; for Germany in the case of beer, the five years ending March 31, 1885, and in the case of spirits the five years ending March 31, 1881, these being the latest years for which data were obtainable.

WINE PRODUCTION OF THE WORLD.

AVERAGE PRODUCTION OF WINE IN THE PRINCIPAL WINE-GROWING COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD.

[Estimated by M. Tisserand in 1884, taken from "Journal of the Statistical Society," London, 1885.]

Countries.	Production.	Countries.	Production.
	Imperial gallons.		*Imperial gallons.*
France	765,075,972	Greece	28,600,000
Algeria	22,000,000	United States	18,000,000
Italy	605,000,000	Turkey	22,000,000,
Spain	484,000,000	Cape of Good Hope	15,400,000
Austria-Hungary	187,000,000	Roumania	15,400,000
Portugal	88,000,000	Servia	11,000,000
Germany	81,200,000	Australia	1,933,800
Russia	77,000,000		
Cyprus	35,200,000	Total	2,485,599,772
Switzerland	28,600,000		

Prof. Thausing, cited in the *Western Brewer* for October, 1880, makes the entire beer production of the European countries and the United States for the year 1879, 2,660,000,000 imperial gallons, supplying a population of 320,000,000. It is well known that the consumption of liquors is very great in the Scandinavian countries. At one time in Sweden it was 30,000,000 gallons of ardent spirits annually, or more than ten gallons for each inhabitant. The tax on brandy is the most important item of Russian revenue, and the people are encouraged to consume it in order that the government may get the tax. The result may be imagined. Here is the most numerous if not the most powerful nation in Europe, with 80,000,000 of people. In 1847, the revenues were $100,000,000 in round numbers, of which $40,000,000 were derived from brandy. William Hewett is authority for this, and observes that "the temperance societies have never been able to take root in Russia."

In December, 1882, a correspondent of the London *Times* wrote that "the vice of intemperance is growing so fast as to occasion grave anxiety among public men of all classes. . . . "The evil affects all classes and is even rife among the other sex."

Speaking of wine drinking in Persia, Rev. I. S. Cochran, long a resident missionary in that country, says: "In the wine-making season the whole village of male adults will be habitually intoxicated for a month or six weeks. . . . . Wine drinking is the greatest bane and curse of the people of the

wine-making districts." Mr. Labaree, also a missionary in Persia, writes: "If I had any sentiments favorable to the use of wine when I left America, my observations during the seven years I have resided in this paradise of vineyards have convinced me that the principle of total abstinence is the only safeguard against the great social and religious evils that flow from the practice of wine drinking. . . . . There is scarcely a community to be found where the blighting influences of intemperance are not seen in families distressed and ruined, property squandered, character destroyed, and lives lost."

COST OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC OF THE WORLD.

The United Kingdom, France, Germany and the United States have a population in round numbers of 175,000,000 souls. The remainder of Europe has a population of 190,000,000—all of them large consumers of alcoholic drinks.

Asia has a population of 800,000,000, and intemperance in the use of various alcoholic intoxicants prevails among these nations to some extent; but fortunately the heathen are not yet as badly drunken as their more "civilized" fellow beings. Africa has 200,000,000, and we shall see elsewhere something of the ravages of intemperance and the crimes of civilization being perpetrated there. Then there are Canada, Mexico, and the Central and South American States, Australia and the isles of the sea, and everywhere alcohol is at work. It is impossible to obtain definite statistics of the whole world, but it is obviously below the truth to double the consumption of these 175,000,000 living in the British Isles, France, Germany, and our own country (less than one eighth), in order to find that of the whole 1,500,000,000 of the race.

A careful estimate and calculation based upon that assumption has been made by Rev. T. F. Parker, indorsed by Dr. Richard Eddy and incorporated by him in his "Alcohol in History," already referred to, which was again substantially indorsed by A. M. Powell, Esq., Rev. Dr. Miner and Hon. James Black, who, after much care in reading and examination, gave their unanimous and favorable judgment upon the work of Dr. Eddy. I feel great confidence in its being a statement below and not in exaggeration of the truth. In fact it should be increased by at least one half.

Mrs. Armenia S. White.

The exact cost of intoxicating drinks in the United States and in other parts of the world through a series of years, it is not possible to arrive at, but an approximation can be made. Rev. T. F. Parker has carefully compiled statistics from the best authorities, and presents these results, which are as nearly correct as figures setting forth this matter can be:

LIQUORS CONSUMED IN THE UNITED STATES.

Spirituous liquors	69,572,062	gallons annually.
Beer	279,746,044	" "
Imported wines	10,700,000	" "

LIQUORS CONSUMED IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Spirituous liquors	33,090,377	gallons annually.
Beer and ale	906,340,399	" "
Foreign and British wines	17,144,539	" "

LIQUORS CONSUMED IN GERMANY.

Beer	146,000,000	gallons annually.
Wine	121,000,000	" "

LIQUORS CONSUMED IN FRANCE.

Spirituous liquors	27,000,000	gallons annually.
Beer	51,800,000	" "
Wine	600,000,000	" "

We estimate that the world consumes twice as much as these four nations:

Spirituous liquors	314,031,882	gallons annually.
Beer,	2,797,291,632	" "
Wine,	1,482,239,914	" "

Cost of liquors in the world in ten years, $64,405,042,234, or twice the value of the United States of America. Allowing the average value of the world per square mile, to equal the United States, and every one hundred and twenty years the actual cash value of the world is consumed in these drinks. The materials used in the manufacture are annually as follows:

	Bushels of Grain.	Bushels of Grapes.	Value.
United States,	39,349,520	2,364,312	$ 42,895,984
Great Britain and Ireland,	63,929,550	3,784,246	69,605,920
Germany,	9,125,000	34,714,285	61,196,428
France,	9,237,500	171,428,571	366,380,357
The World,	242,971,145	432,641,261	891,922,536

The cost in France and Germany would be modified by the cost of grapes which are much cheaper there.

The land, buildings, machinery, labor, etc., invested in the traffic is about as follows:

	Acres.	Building and Machinery.	Labor.
United States,	903,414	$ 74,041,044	$ 9,405,104
Great Britain and Ireland,	1,629,773	92,116,883	15,271,432
Germany,	517,410	46,120,535	6,304,892
France,	1,576,017	190,967,633	27,929,283
The World,	9,253,228	746,488,070	117,821,020

	Value of Land.	Total Investment.
United States,	$ 45,170,500	$ 128,616,848
Great Britain and Ireland,	81,487,650	188,876,965
Germany,	25,870,000	78,395,427
France,	78,800,850	297,697,766
The World,	462,660,400	1,326,964,492

COST OF ALCOHOLIC DRINKS IN THE UNITED STATES ANNUALLY.

Direct outlay for drinks,	$726,407,028
Seven per cent. on the $10,000,000,000 which the nation should possess, but has been destroyed by the traffic	700,000,000
Direct loss of wages,	7,903,844
Ten per cent. on capital employed in the manufacture,	25,848,081
Ten per cent. on capital employed in saloons,	36,254,700
Charity bestowed on the poor,	14,000,000
Loss by sea and land,	50,000,000
Court, police, hospital expenses, charity, litigation, insurance,	207,266,550
Total,	$1,866,642,203

"In return for this," says Mr. Parker, "the nation receives 500 murders, 500 suicides, 100,000 criminals, 200,000 paupers, 60,000 deaths from drunkenness, 600,000 besotted drunkards, 600,000 moderate drinkers, who will be sots ten years hence, 500,000 homes destroyed, 1,000,000 children worse than orphaned. And if the country should be searched from center to circumference, it would be impossible to find *any* good resulting from the traffic, or a single reason why it should exist longer."

We have seen that a reasonable estimate of the yearly per capita consumption of absolute alcohol is in

	Gallons.
United States	3.43
United Kingdom	7.80
France, 6.2, not including malt liquors, but including them the same	7.80
Germany	5.94
Total	24.97

which, divided by four, gives 6.16 gallons as the average throughout these four countries containing 175,000,000 of people—the aggregate is 1,078,000,000 gallons, which is nearly correct, as a careful calculation based upon the actual population of each country will show, although the rule adopted may not be absolutely correct. Double this for the whole world, 2,156,000,000 gallons. I cannot see how the consumption by the whole fifteen hundred millions can be less than three times as much as that of the 175,000,000, or 3,234,000,000 gallons of pure alcohol. If we should assume the average proportion of alcohol in the various forms of distilled liquors, brandies, whiskies, rums and gins, and of fermented liquors, ales, beers, wines and highly fortified adulterations, and the various mongrel intoxicants which are drank and paid for, at twenty-five per cent. of the entire bulk which is paid for by the consumer, we then have a *quantity* for the world, consumed by it annually, of 12,936,000,000 gallons, sold at retail to the consumer. It will be difficult to conceive that there will be less than ten drinks, costing five cents each, to the gallon, of this average compound made up of the admixture of all the various alcoholic intoxicants of the world consumed yearly.

We have then 129,360,000,000 (one hundred and twenty-nine billion three hundred and sixty million) separate and distinct drinks costing at five cents $6,468,000,000 (six billion four hundred and sixty-eight million dollars), the direct cost of intoxicating beverages yearly to the world. Double this, so as to include the indirect cost and losses, and we have as the cash cost of these beverages yearly $12,936,000,000 (twelve billion, nine hundred and thirty-six million of dol-

lars). I am "fanatic" enough to believe that the actual consumption and cost directly and indirectly to the world are more rather than less than these estimates.

We should remember that at least ten billions of this consumption and burden fall upon the four hundred millions of the civilized inhabitants of Europe and America—that as among them, the selected victims, in and through whom the most of the terrible devastation is wrought, do not exceed one fourth, or one hundred millions. Other hundreds of millions are on the road, but these I now refer to are on the home stretch and will be in at the finish.

Here I drop this subject. Let reason and imagination work.

CHAPTER XIII.

ALCOHOL AGAINST THE NATIVE RACES OF ASIA, AFRICA AND OCEANICA.

The Trade with Africa, Asia and the Islands of the Sea—How it has Followed the March of Discovery—The Situation in the Valley of the Congo—The Vice of Intemperance almost Unknown where the Mohammedan Religion Prevails—Advent of the European Slave and Gin Trade—Testimony of the Missionaries—Government Influences at Work in Southern Africa—A Heathen Gough—How a Heathen Tribe Vigorously Suppressed the Habit and the Trade—Oceanica.

THE alcoholic evil of the world is a unit, and no general plan of action which does not contemplate its complete extirpation is worth consideration. As each individual's first duty is to rid himself of it, and his second to aid others, so each nation should destroy the evil first in its own special jurisdiction. But alcoholism is international in its extent, and our influence and responsibility are co-existent with our race relations, and the work should go on contemporaneously everywhere. Alcohol has a special affinity for the brain, and its ravages upon the mental and moral powers are in proportion to their development.

Thus in the very nature of things alcohol is the great foe of civilized men. Europeans and Americans are its victims more than other people, because these advanced nations have more brain and nerve upon which the poison works. If savage and barbarous people possessed the power of self-control which belong to civilized men, they would reject the drink evil with comparative ease when they discovered its destructive influence. But the savage is weak to resist his appetite and passions; he yields to a temptation of far less actual power than is required to overcome the self-control resulting from that increase of moral and intellectual force which constitutes the very process of civilization. Whether the brain be the mind or only its organ—whether the material or spiritual theory of our highest nature be the correct one—all concede

that the brain is the point in our organization where the connection is made between soul and body; and that, so far as our earthly existence is concerned, whatever seizes upon the brain and the nervous forces controls the human being.

Hence the civilized man, if he be addicted to the use of liquor, and makes no effort to escape from its influence, is naturally the worst drunkard of the race. I do not know that the theory is correct. It is at all events the most consoling explanation which occurs to me of the apparent fact that civilized nations are the drunken nations, and that they universally spread the evil to others.

When these stronger peoples set about their own reformation they have the inherent power to accomplish it. What they often do as individuals they can do if they please as nations; but the savage has no such innate reformatory forces, and so long as it is possible he gratifies his appetite until he disappears.

Thus of the three hundred thousand natives who inhabited the Sandwich Islands when they were discovered, civilization has destroyed all but forty thousand, a deteriorated remnant which even the redemptory influences of Christianity have hardly saved. British rum has not reduced, but has actually obliterated, the Hottentot, and there is nothing left of him but his picture in the primary geography, which people now elderly studied when at school.

The relation of the more civilized races to weaker nations in the spread of the alcoholic evil is the most important aspect of the whole problem. There has never been a race of men which has not demonstrated its power to rise to a higher and happier level if it had the opportunity. The principles of the Christian religion never yet failed to convert an ordinary man into a better one when they have had a fair chance to produce their natural effect. In thousands and millions of instances the weak have been developed into giants of moral power; the most vicious and criminal into models of loveliness and holy life. This force which we call the Christian religion has unquestionably power to redeem and save to the uttermost—if it be given the opportunity. Its apostles and witnesses have ennobled human nature in every kindred and tongue under the whole heaven, and the blood of martyrs has

everywhere attested the sincerity of their professions, and their sublime devotion to the heavenly truth by which they were inspired. There is a force in the world which would save the world.

But what is the process now in plain operation before our eyes? We find a population living upon our planet of fifteen hundred millions of human beings. Europe has three hundred millions, America one hundred millions, Asia eight hundred, and Africa two hundred millions, and one hundred millions more are inhabitants of the isles of the sea. Of this vast number of souls about four hundred millions may be classed as civilized people, among whom the Christian religion is nominally prevailing and controlling individuals and institutions, but really with only feeble application of its peculiarly unselfish principles in personal and national life. The remaining eleven hundred millions are many of them embraced in the provinces, colonies and dependencies of the Christian powers, and all are really subject to that supremacy which results from the spirit of political and commercial aggrandizement. Everywhere the heathen nations and barbarous tribes are giving way before the demands of the western powers, which, with gunpowder and opium and rum, proceed at once to "develop" their destruction. The costs of war are largely dispensed with because unnecessary; for commerce has discovered a way to convert the work of destruction into a profitable pecuniary speculation, in which the dealer makes his fortune and the government its revenue, and both blasphemously avail themselves of the self-sacrificing labors and the pious reputation of the ministers of our sacred religion to recommend the murderous commodity to the confidence of unsuspecting peoples, until the use has developed the appetite, after which there is no longer occasion for hypocrisy on the part of alleged Christianity turned Rumseller.

The process by which "Christian" nations are to-day killing off the remainder of the human race is a demonstration that there are no *Christian* nations.

Measured by what they do to others, Christian nations are the vilest criminals, the very murderers of mankind. Instead of civilizing and elevating the heathen we destroy them. It may be that this is the "order of Providence"; at all events

they disappear. By a combined process of rum-selling and psalm-singing we "improve" these weaker brethren from the face of the earth—we promote their emigration out of it. And now we are well on our way in this great crime of assassinating the race by poison administered in the robes of Christianity at the victim's expense of body, soul and estate.

This thing will be set right sometime as surely as there is a God. Take for example the people of India. There are two hundred and fifty millions of them. With more or less of success, missionaries of both Catholic and Protestant Christianity have long been teaching a holy religion and the advantages of a higher life to the people of India. During many years France and England contended for the political mastery, but for a century past Hindostan has been a British province and her accumulated wealth has been worked like one vast mine for gold. Many blessings have been conferred upon India by English statesmanship, and especially by the upright administration of private law.

But in these latter days the traffic in alcohol and in vile combinations, of which it is a part, has increased, and is increasing to such extent as to threaten the extinction of one sixth of the population of the globe within a few generations, unless its ravages be arrested. Such an assertion seems to be madness—but what are the facts? Here are all these multitudes—perhaps eighty millions of them Mohammedans; the rest Buddhists, and all forbidden the use of intoxicating beverages by their religion. Whatever else may be said of their former condition or of their present inclination, until forced or tempted by their conquerors and the greed of a criminal commerce, they were a sober people. Whatever of evil there may have been inflicted upon them by their superstitions and by war, they were at least free, comparatively, from the worse horrors of general intoxication.

Professor Parkes states:

A great evil is growing up in India which now could be checked, but which we shall be powerless to meet in a few years. The Hindoos, formerly the most temperate of races, are rapidly becoming addicted to drink. This is said to be partly owing to the regulations of government permitting, and even encouraging, the sale of spirits, although alcoholic liquors form no part of the ordinary

Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith,

American Secretary, World's W. C. T. U.

food of the people and therefore their prohibition is not difficult; and partly from the bad example of the Europeans in India, who, as the dominant race, are impressing more and more the nations which they control. It seems a matter which our statesmen may well look into, for it involves the happiness of many nations.

One would certainly think that in his last observation the Professor is right.

The Rev. J. Gilson Gregson, long an English missionary in India, whose writings upon the subject are of unquestioned authority in treating of the "Drinking habits among the natives of India" in a formal paper prepared for the British and Colonial Temperance Congress held in London in the month of July, 1886, says:

Thus we have reliable evidence to prove that drinking is rapidly becoming a national custom amongst a people who were abstainers by personal habits and religious principles until we corrupted them with our Anglican intoxicants and social usages; unless some effort is made for the prohibition of the manufacture of drink and its exportation from England, the demoralizing influence of drinking customs will be a curse to the empire more destructive in its consequences than the heathen customs of their forefathers. . . . In estimating the consequences of drinking customs imported into the country by Europeans, and forced upon them for the requirements of social intercourse and exacting revenues, we believe them to be crimes of equal magnitude with those caused by suttecism, infanticide and fanaticism, and therefore require the same prohibitory legislation to remove the curse of drink which is settling upon the empire like a black thunder cloud, dooming and destroying its inhabitants with relentless cruelty and without mercy either to rich or poor, educated or uneducated, Hindoo, Mohammedan or European. The ravages of the drink fiend are to be found among all classes without any regard to position or respect of persons.

Keshub Chunder Sen, "the eminent leader of educated natives," again and again has denounced the terrible evils of drink, says they are increasing year by year, whole families having been swept away by it. He plaintively remarked to the missionary, "My countrymen have not the same constitution as yours and therefore die sooner when they take to drink."

Mr. Gregson says that to such an extent has drunkenness

prevailed among the native Christian community, induced by their contact with the Europeans, that the heathen regard the use of intoxicating liquor as a sign of a Christian, and believe that "eating pork and drinking liquor form the principal features of native Christian life. . . . . The condition of educated gentlemen is becoming more and more deplorable." A leader of native thought writes as follows: "The educated classes betake themselves chiefly to imported liquors. We consider the government to be entirely responsible for this state of things." Mr. Gregson quotes as follows from another authority: "The statistics of native gentlemen who drink are simply terrible. I asked a first rate native doctor some time ago what he thought was the proportion of men who drank among the educated classes and he at once said about 90 per cent. . . . . and native doctors have told me that deaths from delirium tremens are very common. . . . . and we have reason to believe that drink is being introduced into the zenana, for the women to indulge in the liquor their husbands are so exceedingly fond of."

The Bengal Commission lately reported that the revenue from native liquor has increased 23,000,000 of rupees within six years. According to the present system of taxation nearly every village has a liquor shop, known among the simple-minded natives as the government liquor shop, and they consider that they are conferring a favor upon the government by purchasing this taxed liquor. There are those in America who take the same view of the subject at home.

Mr. Gregson states his opinion to be that "so long as liquor is regarded as a legitimate source of revenue, it is impossible to prevent the spread of drunkenness throughout the length and breadth of the Empire," and that it is sad beyond expression that the "civilizing and educational, and even religious, surroundings, of educated natives have been ruined and corrupted by the drinking habits of their teachers."

Mr. Stephen H. Kearsey, of Mankapar Gouda, Oudh, in a very carefully prepared paper, confirms the general statements above cited in regard to India and Burmah. He says, speaking of the Burmese, that the religion is Buddhism, one of the five commandments being, "Thou shalt not drink nor touch any strong drink," that the British occupation of lower

Burmah carried with it many blessings, but that there is a sad reverse to the picture, that in the wake of the British came the grog shop, opium dens and prostitution. "We have now annexed upper Burmah, and a friend writing to the press from Bhamo states that it is now a fearful place for cheap drink and heavy crime. A liquor manufactured from rice lime," he says, "will dissolve a Martini bullet in thirty minutes and burns the inside of those who drink it." But it seems that the natives reduce this before drinking it; "they invariably make a tablespoonful go as far as European drinkers do a quart." The writer does not state which kills furthest, the liquor or the bullet, but the liquor must be the surer death, for it goes straight to the citadel of life.

A native of Calcutta says: "The vice of drunkenness has been making very considerable progress within the last five-and-twenty years. Among my office mates of those days (a quarter of a century since), only about ten per cent. drank at all, and only two were drunkards. A similar reckoning now would give fifty per cent. of drinkers and at least eight or ten per cent. of drunkards." He adds that the doctors are among those who help to spread the vice. A resident English merchant gives similar testimony in regard to the important and populous island of Ceylon.

Surgeon-major R. Pringle, M. D., of Her Majesty's Bengal army, who has had thirty years experience in India, furnished an invaluable paper to the Congress. He notes an improvement in the drinking habits of Europeans within the last thirty years, but grieves "to say a very different account must be given of the effects of western civilization and rule on the drinking habits of the natives of India. With the exception of the Presidency towns and among the camp followers attached to or resident in the old military cantonments, drinking habits among the natives were practically unknown. The Mohammedan shunned spirits as *shrâb* (shame water), and the respectable or high-cast Hindu as to him the mark of degradation; . . . . . now, alas, all is changed; . . . . . as regards the lower and laboring classes among the natives of India, there is serious reason to believe that intemperance is making fearful strides, or rather bounds, among them. If we take the instance of Assam, in ten years the receipts from excise duty

in this province have risen from $37,675 to $114,145. Now there can be little doubt that these receipts are derived from liquor drunk by the Coolies on the tea estates. I have known the northwest provinces for three years longer than the period given in the table under notice, and can speak from a personal knowledge of one third of the population of those provinces, and I can unhesitatingly state that this liquor revenue for all practical purposes is gathered from the poorest of the poor; that it is gathered in a way which is a disgrace to a country guided in its actions by the Christian religion; that the good done by, and in the name of, the Empress of India is worse than undone by the measures adopted to raise the revenue; that to spread the blessings of hospitals, dispensaries and vaccination over the country is little better than a mockery in the face of this demoralizing traffic. . . . . I can speak for 10,000,000 in the northwest provinces when I state that if local self-government were granted not a grog shop would remain in twelve months; the Mohammedans would not soil their fingers with rupees gathered by "shame water"; and the Hindu would gladly avail himself of the opportunity of showing his contempt for and disgust with the co-religionist whose thirst for silver was so great that he bought at auction the privilege to sell the government "shame water." "Twenty years personal observation of the Dedhra Dhoon in the northwestern provinces has demonstrated to me the appalling fact that the entire race of hereditary owners of the soil have all been swept off by drink."

What must be thought of a government which makes it and forces it upon these hundreds of millions who are total abstainers by natural inclination and by the precepts of their ancient faith! Here is religious liberty with a vengeance!

The revenue from liquor is raised by what is called the out-still system—stills that are outside of government control. Any man who buys the excise contract of a province can open stills all over it, and so instead of one central still you have them everywhere. The privilege is often turned into joint stock companies. Every shareholder is constituted a brewer or maker, and the consequence is that he pushes the trade in every way so that the dividend may be larger. By the out-still system these contracts have become exceedingly

valuable. . . . . "I very much prefer that government should control one central still rather than spread out stills right through the province." This explanation of the "system" is by Mr. Gregson.

The evidence is overwhelming and uncontradicted that India is being rapidly converted into a garden of death, where alcohol more than fills the place of pestilence, famine and sword. These are facts recently coming to the attention of the English people, and it cannot be that this brave and aggressive people, although they may continue to poison themselves, as we do in America also, will continue the tacit and cowardly assassination of the unwilling millions in their grasp. Still there is the precedent of opium forced upon the Chinese.

There was in attendance upon the session of the Temperance Congress in London, 1886, Mr. Nanda Lal Ghosh, a native of India and barrister-at-law, who, as one of the few of his countrymen who "have been privileged to receive an English education," requested to be allowed to say that he had been an abstainer up to date and hoped to remain so to the last. He then proceeded: "I agree with the papers" (those presented to the Congress) "as regards the natives of all classes of Indians and the drink traffic. The temperance question is not only a question of morality, but also an economical question. About 40,000,000 of people in India do not have enough food from year's end to year's end, and when this poison of drink is spread among them what will be the economical condition of India? We have statistics and we know well that the people are in abject poverty, and yet there comes the demon of drink to intensify their misery—introduced by a Christian government. I appeal to you to abolish the poison of drink."

But I have not space to more than note the introduction and rapid increase of the traffic with China, already so afflicted by the opium habit forced upon her by the imperious demands of a Christian commerce. Says an observer cited by Rev. Canon Ellison, M. A., Chairman of the Church of England Temperance Society, in an address read at the Oxford Diocesan Temperance Anniversary, Oct. 25, 1886: "In China thirteen years ago you could hardly see a drunken man anywhere, more especially in Shanghai; but that now if you go down

the principal streets you will see hundreds of Chinamen intoxicated, not with native drinks, but with those imported from this country" (England).

I take the following from the *Missionary Herald* of January, 1884, kindly furnished me with other valuable matter by Dr. Clark, Corresponding Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M.:

The pastor of a Methodist church in the north of Japan has contributed to the *Christian Weekly*, of Tokio, a notable article on *saké* drinking. Besides ably discussing the question in the sanitary and religious aspects, he gives some very striking and interesting facts.

It seems that the Chinese Emperor Buo, three thousand years ago, was a radical temperance reformer. His laws on the subject were very strict, and their violation was punished by death. This system, somewhat modified, was afterwards introduced into Japan, where it remained in force nearly a thousand years. But its influence has long since been lost. To-day intemperance is one of the growing and desperate evils of Japan. The Japanese spend yearly 80,000,000 *yen*, or more than 60,000,000 dollars for *saké*, in the manufacture of which 26,000,000 bushels of rice are consumed, or almost one fifth of the total yield of the country, leaving a short allowance for food, and none for export. This one drink costs the people as much as does their entire government. The temperance question is, then, for Japan, as for many another more Christian land, a very serious and pressing one, which we hope the present large outpouring of the Spirit will do much to solve.

Everything indicates that the control of Asia will be divided between European powers and that the far larger portion of the people of that great continent will receive their destiny from England and Russia. By both political and commercial power England has given direction already to the fate of India and has practically injected the blood of China with opium and rum. Russia, "where temperance societies never have taken root," and where the policy of the government is to encourage the consumption of strong drink for the sake of revenue—so that the people die of drink and patriotism—is spreading the wings of her power over nearly the whole width of the continent in her tireless flight to the Oriental seas—and with her go the drinking habits of her people and her system of taxation for revenue. Wherever France, Germany, Holland, Portugal and Spain hold possession, the Demon of Drink

holds joint occupation with them, and thus it is that Asia and her eight hundred millions are threatened by this Christian curse.

AFRICA AND THE CONGO FREE STATE.

Africa is the home of two hundred millions of the race whose hopeless fate has been the theme of lament and commiseration for ages. But notwithstanding internal wars and the horrors of the slave trade, which have prevailed there from the earliest times, numerous and powerful nations have developed within her unknown recesses, and have attained to such enjoyment of life as is possible in a land of unsurpassed fertility, immense and spontaneous production, and high forms of barbaric art. Although there have been attempts at settlement along her whole western, southern and eastern coasts, ever since the discovery of the route to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and something of legitimate commerce, as well as the sordid atrocities of the traffic in slaves, was established with the interior regions, still the European had never penetrated the mysteries of the dark continent until Livingstone and Stanley, and other great discoverers associated with them, revealed the route and sources of the Congo, and laid bare the secrets of the Nile. Suddenly a new world with its tremendous possibilities rose upon the vision of commercial nations, and aroused the anxiety of the philanthropist at the same time that it excited both enterprise and cupidity to the highest exertions.

The Congo valley contains 900,000 square miles and 50,000,000 of people; or one third as much territory as that of the United States, which is capable of improvement, with the same population of our own country according to the census of 1880. By some, however, the population is fixed at 40,000,000. It is at once apparent that no such density of population is consistent with the idea of the savage state. There must be a very considerable advance in the arts of life or no such population could exist even in this region of tropical abundance. The Congo is navigable for 1000 miles in the very center of Africa. The great stream is like the aorta to the heart, and in coming centuries should bear on its majestic bosom the interchange of all nations with at least two hundred millions of civilized and enlightened descendants from the

vigorous barbarians who now inhabit its basin and the regions drained by its tributaries. Anticipating what must yet be, the nations of Europe and the United States recognized the "International African Trading Association" as the "Free Congo State," guaranteeing its existence with a national flag, and power to make treaties with the various tribes of whom titles could be acquired to lands and other property and the permanent freedom of commerce in and along the river secured. The motives actuating the thirteen powers which gave international recognition of the Free State of the Congo were, on paper at least, highly honorable to them all, and in their action the United States bore a conspicuous part. We must therefore assume a corresponding responsibility in securing the ends proposed by the Congress at Berlin.

The Mohammedan religion prevails in the north of Africa, including Egypt, and wherever that religion flourishes, unless its precepts are set aside by other and more powerful influences, the vice of intemperance is almost unknown. But in the rest of the continent this vice has flourished with little restraint. The African has always provided for himself some juice or acid with which to become intoxicated, and thus kindle his rage for war or enliven his daily dance and the songs of his musical nature.

But until the advent of the European slave trader and gin trader, no increase of the drinking habit is supposed to have taken place for ages. These heathen have seemed to be free from the intensity of appetite which is developed by the strong drinks of civilization.

The exigencies of these two "trades," (in slaves and gin), which should never be sanctified with any such designation—they are simply infinite crimes of which the former in its effects is far the more innocent of the two—have led to the introduction of the alcohol of civilization, which destroys like the pestilence of the Middle Ages, where the drink of the native was comparatively harmless.

Horace Waller, F. R. G. S., has prepared a pamphlet which embodies the information collected by delegates appointed by the various Missionary societies working in Africa to consider the question of the liquor traffic in that continent, which was published the present year. From this pamphlet many im-

portant facts in this chapter are derived. Referring to the early period of the slave trade, Mr. Waller says:

So far he (the African) was, perhaps, neither better nor worse by flux of time when the Bristol merchant found him out and when plantations yearned for his presence. Here then we come to the indictment against the white merchant which extends back over many generations. He is accused of having found the African very much given to carouse and drink, and he has engrafted upon this desire an intensified one which will be satisfied with nothing short of gin and rum. "If Pombi" has slain its thousands, alcohol has, in its turn, destroyed its millions, and every drop of it has been taken by the tribes. . . . . For hundreds of miles in the interior the square-shouldered bottles are as well known as the beads and brass wire which are the usual currency, and along their path sorrow follows. . . . . The drinking idea is inseparable from the notion of European life . . . . whatever milk of human kindness the traders may have possessed at one time seems to have passed into a milk punch stage. . . . . The degradation of the wretched tribes of West Africa has reached a depth which is appalling.

Mr. Waller then gives a statement showing the quantities and values of spirits of all kinds exported from the following countries during recent years. Other shipments probably were made from Germany, but no reliable statistics could be obtained.

		Gallons.	Value.
Great Britain sent in	1884	602,328	£117,143
Germany " "	1884	7,136,263	713,634
Portugal " "	1882	91,524	6,166
America " "	1884-5	921,412	56,889
		8,751,527	£893,832

All accounts agree that the trade has immensely increased since these years. It will be observed that the export of each nation is given but for a single year, and that by adulterations and cheating in various ways for this amount of alcohol great values of native commodities will be received in exchange.

Mr. James Irvine, of Liverpool, who is vouched for by Mr. Waller as specially fitted to testify, says:

The extent of the trade is so prodigious that I think the following estimate of the quantity annually poured into "the rivers" or the delta of the Niger is sufficiently eloquent and relieves me from the necessity of further remark regarding the evil. Such a flood of

rum cannot be consumed without causing an awful amount of demoralization. It is not possible to get at actual shipments, but I am sure I do not over estimate the quantity when I put down sixty thousand hogsheads of fifty gallons each (three million gallons) as the annual consumption in the rivers of Niger, Benin, Brass, New Calabar, Bonny, Opobo, Old Calabar, Cameroons, etc. In other words, this compressed space lying between four degrees and eight minutes east longitude, or say two hundred and fifty miles of coast, consumes twenty thousand tons, or say twenty ships full, of one thousand tons each, every year. The amazing thing is that all this traffic is conducted in the main by not over a dozen firms, the members of which are most excellent men, many of them, I believe, sincere Christians.

That is the trouble about this whole business. If "excellent men" and "sincere Christians" would let it alone, the devil would be beaten out of it by his own sense of shame and disgrace. But as long as he can conceal his tail and sit at the communion table, why shouldn't these poor wretches in Africa and America continue to be turned into hell? Flowers from Eden to garland the neck of the Snake! Mr. Irvine proceeds: "Convince them they are wrong and induce them to withdraw, and what is accomplished? Simply worse men take their place." Doubted—denied—there are no worse men than Christians who sell rum. But not to interrupt Mr. Irvine again. "When for fifteen years I conducted my business without it, I was constantly asked what was accomplished, and told that, if I continued to decline, as much rum as ever would go in. I felt between me and Africa that was true, but between me and my conscience it was another matter, and ultimately I withdrew, as success was impossible without it. Notwithstanding I cordially join with you in believing that no effort should be spared to stop or reduce the evil—it is the Lord's work and he can succeed in ways unthought of by us at present."

Now I am going to stop the book right here to say a word for Mr. James Irvine of Liverpool—the man who gave up his profitable business because he had a conscience. Such men save nations as Lot saved Sodom. If in England and America there were ten such men, they might save the world. The liquor trade is full of the other kind of excellent men and Christians. They

Mary Allen West,

Editor of "The Union Signal."

are not all hypocrites. Many of them suffer untold pangs of conscience as they ply their deadly vocation for sustenance and accumulation. Circumstances have made them the managers of these social, state, national and international crimes, but society—that is you and I, and they and all of us—which has the power to destroy, is responsible for the wickedness of its agents, and what the state permits, it does.

Mr. Waller further observes that we cannot get at the full extent of the disease; . . . . . we are in the dark as to the extent of the evil with which France is mixed up, and her trade and energy is just now conspicuous on the African seaboard. Neither can we go into the quality of the stuff dealt out to the native tribes. In some instances, spirit of great strength, which is diluted many times before even the throat of a Brass River negro can tolerate it, is used, and this traffic is also forcing its way into east Africa. In 1883, Archdeacon Hamilton wrote from Brass River that one of the National African Co.'s steamers recently carried 25,000 cases of gin and demijohns of rum, and this was a supply for two factories only, and observing its effects upon the people of the town of Bonny, March 5, 1885, he thus concludes his narrative: "It appears to be the common practice to drink gin in the morning and tumbo (palm wine) in the evening, so that there are other evils to contend with beside heathenism and cannibalism.

Rev. Hugh Goldie, missionary at Old Calabar nearly forty years, in the *United Presbyterian Magazine*—I condense all that I can—says: . . . . . "Thus brutalized by the slave trade they give themselves to the indulgence of their lusts and appetites to the utmost extent of their means." . . . . . He speaks of "the utter degradation into which that traffic sunk them by the fire water found among them, ... which neutralizes the efforts of the church more than the heathenism of the country. . . . . the people are generally in a state of semi-intoxication, disinclined to listen, caring for nothing but strong drink. As far into the interior as we have penetrated the gin bottle had preceded us. Even commercial benefits are lost by the destruction of the very people with whom the commerce is attempted." He expresses great regret that the Berlin conference on the formation of the "Free Congo State" did not exclude the drink traffic. A great part of the fire

water is from Germany—indeed that empire seems to be utterly reckless in its greed for commercial returns. A Glasgow firm formerly employed a large number of looms weaving cloth for the African market—now they have not one. A trader wrote from Calabar river to his principals to send no more cloth—drink was the article in demand, and Mr. Joseph Thompson, F. R. G. S., says that the drink traffic will render the anticipated demand for calico in the Niger regions, where he had journeyed, hopeless. "The Christian community in past times aroused the nation to abolish the slave trade and slavery in British territory. A like task is now before it—the awakening of the nation to abolish this drink traffic." Mr. Thompson, whose experience with the African tribes is considerable, says, further: "The trade in this baleful article (spirits) is enormous. The appetite for it increases out of all proportion to the desire for better things, and to our shame, be it said, we are ever ready to supply the victims to the utmost, driving them deeper and deeper into the slough of depravity, ruining them body and soul, while at home we talk sanctimoniously as if the introduction of our trade and the elevation of the negro went hand in hand."

The Africans demonstrate the possession of a higher and better nature, and the consciousness of impending destruction, by their pathetic and heart-rending appeals to the nations, which for money are holding by force the accursed poison to their lips.

The following is a translation of a letter written by King Maliké, of Nupé, to Bishop Crowther, himself an African. King Maliké is a Mohammedan.

Salute Crowther, the great Christian minister. After salutation, please tell him he is a father to us in this land. . . . . It is not a long matter, it is about *barasá* (rum origin). *Barasá, barasá, barasá,* by God! it has ruined our country; it has made our people become mad. I have given a law that no one dares to buy or sell it; and any one who is found selling it his house is to be eaten up (plundered); any one found drunk will be killed.

I have told all the Christian traders that I agree to everything for trade except *barasá.* I have told Mr. McIntosh's people to say the *barasá* remaining with them must be returned down the river. Tell Crowther, the great Christian minister, he his our father. I

beg you, Milam Kipo (Mr. Paul), don't forget this writing, because we all beg that he (Crowther) should beg the great priests (the committee of the church missionary society) that they should beg the English Queen to prevent bringing *barasá* into this land. "For God and the Prophet's sake; for God and the Prophet his messenger's sake, he must help us in this matter—that of *barasá*. We have all confidence in him. He must not leave our country to become spoiled by *barasá*. Tell him may God bless him in his work. This is the word-mouth from Maliké, the Emir of Nupé."

Maliké is one of the most powerful of the Mohammedan rulers, and his appeal shows how even the restraints of the religion of the Prophet joined to the "civil power" were insufficient to prevent the progress of this commerce in death. It is pleasant to record that his appeal secured co-operation from the National African Company, and the consumption in his kingdom had lessened 25 per cent. last year.

The Berlin Conference, in founding the "Free State of Congo," however, was captured by the liquor power, notwithstanding the efforts of the British envoy and our own Hon. John A. Kasson, who made strenuous and most honorable exertions to secure the exclusion of the drink traffic from the jurisdiction of the "state." The German, Portuguese and some other members of the conference obtained for the traffic "freedom of trade" and now it is said that at least four fifths of all that is bought by civilization of Africa through the Congo valley is paid for with strong drink.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. Waller says that the Dutch and English governments in South Africa have witnessed the extirpation of some tribes entirely, as, for instance, the Hottentot, and we do not hesitate to name "brandy" as the agent here. The Dutch influence is now dominant in the Cape Parliament, which is always for the distillers. It is even said that the natives are becoming too prosperous in some regions, and the brandy cask is thrust in for their destruction—in other words—deliberate murder by poisoning, a government engaged in assassination. The only other historical instance like this which occurs to me is that of the Old Man of the Mountain.

Three years ago the government commission on the liquor traffic, comprising many eminent names, reported that:

The commission has been deeply impressed with the emphatic and urgent representation contained in nearly all the evidence taken, and especially from the natives themselves, on the evils arising from the sale and consumption of strong drinks. All this evidence points in the clearest way to the use of spirituous liquors (chiefly ardent spirits the produce of the distilleries) as an unmitigated evil to the native races, and that no other cause or influence so directly increases idleness and crime and is so completely destructive, not only of all progress and improvement, but even of the reasonable hope of any progress or improvement. Those members of the commission who, for the purpose of taking evidence, had occasion to visit the Border districts were eye witnesses of the mischief, wretchedness and misery which multiplied facilities for the sale of spirits, by licensed canteens in the neighborhood of native locations, are producing; if unchecked it can only have one result, and that is the entire destruction of that portion of the natives who acquire the taste for brandy. All the better class of natives, *and even the heathen and uneducated portion*, appear to be conscious of this, and have implored the commission to suppress the evil which is bringing ruin on themselves and on their country.

The evidence before the commission was from "Ex-governors, like Sir Theo. Shepstone, K. C. M. G.; Ex-king Cetewayo; Great Chiefs, like Kama; English Bishops, Local Magistrates, District Inspectors, Doctors and men of all conditions, running together from different parts of South Africa, and making common cause against this desolating brandy drinking."

Rev. Alan G. S. Gibson, M. A., a missionary working in the Transkei, in a memorandum transmitted to the delegates sitting on the inquiry at the church missionary rooms, on the 17th of June, 1886, discusses the question at length. I quote a few sentences: "The bulk of our people are heathen and uncivilized; they have naturally strong passions, and no moral, social or religious checks to restrain them; they must be restrained by the law from the beginning. It is a case where there can be no medium, and of this the natives are fully aware themselves."

Speaking of a liquor proclamation promulgated by the government, the natives held meetings all through the country and protested against the increased facilities for the purchase of liquor, which they themselves would derive from this procla-

mation, and so strong a public opinion was brought to bear upon government that the proclamation was amended.

Think of it! A Christian government reformed by the public opinion of savages. What a tribute to the common people! He says: "My people, whether Christian or heathen, were unanimous in condemning the proclamation, stating that drink had ruined other tribes, and that if it got amongst themselves it would ruin them also. The natives, as a whole, have sufficient common sense to see this; they have not sufficient to abstain from drinking when it is in their power." Mr. Gibson says it looks "ominous for the future, as the liquor proclamation has now been followed up by a measure, carried in Parliament, abolishing the tax on brandy."

He thinks that whatever makes liquor more expensive is a restraint upon its use. Mr. Waller observes: "Again as in case of the Nupé people we see in this instance that the unfortunate natives beg to be delivered from themselves . . . . . we can trace no disposition on the part of the colonial government, swamped as it is by the Dutch element, to respond to the appeal; in fact, the recent removal of the brandy tax fairly unmasks all remaining mystery."

A most singular narrative is that of a temperance crusade, (I can hardly call it anything else), by which "Drunken Basoutoland" has been converted into "Sober Basoutoland." I can give only the merest sketch, and this I do for our encouragement in our own country. "What was the state of affairs in Basoutoland six months ago is well known. 'Drunken Basoutoland! Riotous Basoutoland!' has been the common talk of all who take any interest in its future. From Caledon to the heart of the Blue mountains, brandy had become a curse under which individuals, families and the whole tribe were crushed without any visible hope of rescue. And yet, incredible as it may look, matters have suddenly taken a new turn. Our chiefs have all become abstainers and use now their great influence to oblige their subordinates to renounce strong drinks. It is a fact that for the last six months . . . . . all the principal chiefs in Basoutoland have not even tasted liquor, and the bulk of their people have done the same. Strict watch is kept on the border to prevent either the Basutos going into the Free State and buying brandy

there, or the white smugglers entering Basoutoland with their accursed merchandise. . . . . The death of an important head man . . . . . was a solemn warning given to our drunken chiefs. *Delirium tremens* at last got the better of the iron constitution of the deceased chief. Everybody knew that drunkenness, and nothing else, had brought him to an untimely and dreadful end. And, all the other chiefs being more or less affected with that horrible malady, every one of them had good reason to think of the fate which awaited him if he did not speedily renounce drinking." Then follows an account of the way they did it, and after a few paragraphs which read somewhat like the proceedings in Ohio we are told "that last but not least we had a visit from the chief, Paulus Mopeli, ... who was formerly a member of our church, but who long ago became a heathen again."

This man seems to have been a heathen Gough or Father Mathew. He utilized hymns and prayers, and moral and political orations, and made a great impression on all who heard his clever appeals for temperance and unity. He held out hope even to the Christians, and "to him I believe is Basoutoland indebted to a large extent for the happy change which has been already recorded." But famine and scarcity of money helped them some, as the Basutos were not able to buy rum so freely as formerly. "Temptations are plentiful, and the people are weak. With trembling hearts and much prayer we are looking at the course of events, every day of temperance being one more security against the overthrow of our hopes. What is to happen in coming days no one knows. But this we know, that six months of temperance is a wonderful achievement; that to the present time no sign of an impending relapse of the Basutos into drunkenness is to be discerned, and that with God's help what seems now to be a temporary lull may become the normal and definitive state of the tribe."

Courage, Europe and America! How full of hope for us poor Christian nations is this bright and beautiful example of Basoutoland! Note how they did it. The big chief died of delirium tremens and the rest had the good sense to be frightened. Let ours do the same—several big chiefs have died already. They stopped the importation and the sale.

They utilized famine and poverty which we shall be able to do presently if we continue in our present course. They tried moral suasion, and prohibitory law, which they enforced in earnest. Both heathen and Christian lent a hand. And they did it. Let us do likewise. Here are our superiors. Let us learn wisdom from them.

> Seize hold of truth where'er 'tis found
> On Christian or on heathen ground.

All hail, Basoutoland! Hope of the world! To thee we dip every flag of civilization. God grant that thy bad old white companions may not seduce thee again to thy cups, for, if savages cannot reform, what hope have we!

How the whole business cheapens civilization and shames the cheek of even our hypocrisy with red-hot blush!

But we must not linger on this oasis in the desert. "Somehow or other things always go wrong in Africa," and we find the Portuguese a few miles up the coast admitting spirits of all kinds at three pence per gallon. The Transvaal is soon to be cursed with a railroad, and then the tribes which at present are "cut off" from intoxicants will come under the scathing influence of a state of things mainly confined to the west coast hitherto," and the scenes of Dr. Livingstone's "heroic explorations" are threatened. God is thought to be helping these. "In one instance the trafficker was drinking from a demijohn in the chief's hut. By some means the spirit caught fire and he died in a few hours horribly burned." Mr. John Moir, the representative of the African Lakes Trading Company, tells us that, in the flat country lying near the sea between the mouths of the Zambesi river and the Quilimane estuary, many distilleries exist. "The profits on the sale of spirits is 700 per cent., as conducted by the European houses. . . . . I have seen boys and girls of about fourteen or fifteen years of age getting their wages in this poison." "At the Opium Company's place nearly the whole wages are paid in spirits."

The Portuguese are doing that. In fact these Portuguese seem to be the "primal, eldest curse" to Africa, and no continental nation is willing to stay its hand in the least. No conscience seems to be touched at all save that of England, and hers appears to be as yet like the embryotic evolution of

moral nature in the crocodile. I would say more, if I was not obliged to admit that New England and New York are little better than Old England, and I have some respect for our own nest. The naked truth is that we are a set of murderers all together, and the best of us only endeavor to console our victim with psalms while we cut his throat and pick his pocket. The work of these blessed missionaries alone proves to the African that the Christian has any God.

The following data is kindly furnished to me by the officials of the custom house:

The exportation from the port of Boston to British Possessions in Africa, from July 1, 1882, to July 1, 1887, of spirits made from molasses alone was 3,147,918 gallons, while in addition to this there have been large exportations of spirits made from grain, amounting to 116,792 gallons in the single year of 1882, also wines, malt liquors in bottles and casks, and alcohol, etc., etc.

The total custom house valuation of all domestic exportations from the United States to the British Possessions in Africa, from July 1, 1882, to July 1, 1886, four years, is $6,648,123; of intoxicating liquors during the same period, $5,690,909, leaving the value of all other exportation $957,214. The year 1886-7 is not included, as the returns were not available at the custom house when I applied for them.

These returns include only the exportation, first, of quantity from the single port of Boston, and, second, of value from the United States, for the periods above stated, to the British Possessions in Africa—*i. e.*, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, on the west coast; Cape Colony and Natal on the south coast, etc., etc. When we further consider that this does not include the principal inlets of alcohol to Africa, and that Great Britain, France, Germany, Portugal and other European countries are far more active in this accursed commerce than ourselves, and that the manufacture is already rooted in Africa itself, and that the trade does not probably reveal to official inspection one fourth of its actual proportions, we can begin to imagine something of the extent of these fires from hell with which we are illuminating and burning up the "Dark Continent," whose historic misfortunes seem to culminate in our love.

Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt,

World's Missionary, National W. C. T. U.

Rev. James Johnson said in a speech before a meeting of members of the House of Commons, April 1, 1887: "The slave trade has been to Africa a great evil, but the evils of the rum trade are far greater." Mr. W. S. Caine, M. P., says: "The native races of Egypt are being demoralized. . . . . Who buys the liquor now? Why, the natives, whom I am sorry to say the British soldier has largely taught to drink. Wherever the Englishman comes in contact with the natives he drags them down through intoxicating liquors. . . . . I went to a temperance meeting in Cairo . . . . . all natives, three or four hundred present, every speaker native of Egypt and speeches in Arabic. Nearly every speech was in denunciation of Englishmen, Levantines and Europeans, and Christians in particular for bringing this accursed drink to them. They were urging Mohammedans, whose religion forbids them to drink, to sign the pledge as we do here." In fact Mohammedanism would appear to be the chief hope of Africa, and, if Christianity does not rid itself of alcohol, may yet be of the world.

Professor the Rev. N. J. Hofmeyer, of the Dutch Reformed Church, says: ". . . . . The drink traffic in South Africa means ruin and death to the natives. In 1883 it was officially reported that in two months 106 natives had been killed by brandy. How many pine away and die under this curse all over South Africa of which no human record is kept? What a day of retribution is awaiting the white man! . . . . . except he repent and seek the good of the race he is now destroying for lucre's sake." Dr. Clarke says that "he had seen thousands of girls lying drunk around the traders' wagons."

The Rev. H. W. Little read a paper before the British Colonial Temperance Congress upon the liquor traffic on the east coast of Africa, from which I take the following extract, making no apology for its length, because of the completeness with which it portrays the methods by which stronger nations in these modern times are despoiling and destroying weaker ones under the pretense of civilizing and improving their condition. It is a false pretense and it would be less cowardly and more honorable to avow the real purpose and use some other method than poisoning. Pirates carry the black flag—

which makes their business comparatively respectable. Mr. Little says, page 232 of the proceedings of the Congress which was held July, 1886: "My work as a missionary of the Church of England for several years was carried on on the east coast of the beautiful but afflicted island of Madagascar. The history of that land is without parallel for pathos and consuming interest in the history of the world. A century ago it was unknown. Fifty years ago it passed through a national crisis from which it emerged, guided by the strong hand of England, into a new life. You are all aware of the rapid progress of the Malagasy in their religious and social life. A nation of idolaters in 1800, to-day they are a nation of Christians. And for this change they have solely to thank English non-conformists. The London Missionary Society sent them missionaries, artisans, printers, and useful men of all trades and professions. The results were abundant to overflowing. So mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed." A splendid commerce began to move the land. Its dormant resources were brought forth and found a ready market in foreign ports. The vessels of Europe crowded its magnificent harbors and the people rejoiced in the new era which had dawned upon them. Their reverence and adoration of anything English was everywhere manifest. They gave us the highest honor they could bestow. They called us brethren and fathers and sons.

But they soon began to distrust us, and I fear in the end to dislike us. We had not been true to them. We professed to love them for their own sake, and then, alas! we discover ourselves to them only as seeking to enrich ourselves at their expense. Mauritius, the chief colony of the southern Indian Ocean and the East African seaboard, had gradually developed immense capabilities as a sugar-producing island. The white capital of the island soon drifted into this industry and of course an outlet had to be found for the produce of these ever-increasing sugar estates. A ready market was found for the sugar, but what was to be done with the rum which was made from the refuse of the sugar mills? It was not good enough for European markets. It was too good to waste. Madagascar was opening its gates with its millions of population in all good faith to the merchandise of its more civilized

neighbors. The idea was conceived of making Madagascar receptacle for the damaged spirit of the Christian English colony of Mauritius. The stuff was taken down to Tamotave to be bartered for Malagasy native produce. I need not prolong the story. The native villages soon became scenes of frightful havoc and misery. The crime of the island arose in one short year by leaps and bounds to a height too fearful to record. Like a pestilence, the rum of Mauritius flowed along the public way and up the country, till it invaded the capital, Antananarivo, 200 miles from the coast. The native government was seized with consternation. Was this a plot of the English to destroy them? The king, Radama I., a prince of great sagacity and courage, at once saw that something must be done to save his people. The custom dues of the port were paid then as now in kind. Every tenth barrel of the cursed spirit imported was sent to the government stores. But Radama would not allow it to be placed with the cottons of Manchester or the hardware of Birmingham. He ordered it to be left on the sands, and then to be taken to the water's edge and poured out, every drop, into the sea. The merchants of Mauritius were amused; but they speedily became indignant, as they saw that the aggressive action of the king was leading the natives to look upon the rum with fear and distaste. A grave representation was therefore made to Radama by the officials of the English government on the subject. He was publicly depreciating the value of a British article of trade. He was violating a clause of the treaty between himself and the imperial government. Poor Radama had to allow the cursed stuff free course or quarrel with his best friends and strongest ally.

From that time to this the flood has flowed uninterruptedly over the land. And the Malagasy are suffering to-day and will suffer till public opinion at home proves too strong for the thing to be done in the name of England any longer. Radama's son, Radama II., a youth of great promise, fell under the influence of the cursed habit of intoxication taught him by men of a Christian nation, and he perished after a brief reign of nine months, crowded with acts of folly and sin, in his own palace, assassinated by order of his own Privy Council.

A terrible fact is that the natives are now growing sugar

cane in their own country in order to make this rum, and the passion for intoxicants is spreading with fearful rapidity amongst the young men of the higher classes, who somehow think it fashionable and a mark of high civilization to be seen in a condition of almost helpless intoxication in public places. The native authorities deplore this condition of things. They wish to close their ports to the thing altogether, but Mauritius is too strong for them, and this crying injury to a perishing people remains unredressed and unheeded by the most humane and Christian nation in the world. The same story may be told with very slight variations in detail of all the native tribes on the East African sea board. From Natal, from the Cape, and from all the older colonies of the south, a flood of spirit is poured into the territories of the native chiefs. Whole villages are found in a state of intoxication, kings, chiefs, people, women, children, all in a state of hideous frenzy born of the fire water of the white man."

I can go no further with this description of hell. Oh, Christianity, what crimes are done in thy name!

The Archbishop of Canterbury, in a sermon delivered May 2, 1887, in Westminster Abbey, holds out a ray of hope.

> It is a dread commerce. But it is rather anti-commerce. The fear of it and the dread of it will soon be upon commerce itself. . . . . What shall we say of a system which, in the name of freedom, threatens with extinction all trades but one? What of bales of goods reshipped because in the drunken population there was no demand but for drink—because they would receive nothing else in barter—would take no other wages for the early morning's work and were incapable when the early morning was past?"

Just so, and thus we again reach the conscience through the pocket, and but for this there would be scant hope indeed. As Mr. Joseph Thompson says, in the *Contemporary Review* of December, 1886, "for any African who is influenced for good by Christianity, a thousand are driven into deeper degradation by the gin trade, and Mohammedan missionaries are throwing down the gauge to Christianity and declaring war upon our chief contribution to western Africa—the gin trade."

AUSTRALIAN COLONIES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

As everywhere else on the face of the earth that superior

civilization are in aggressive contact with inferior conditions of men, alcohol is one of the most active and deadly agencies operating against the native inhabitants in the vast regions of Oceanica, as well as among the civilized pioneers of the great nations which are now emerging upon the horizon of history.

But I am warned by the diminishing space of this work that I must be brief in the further consideration of the ravages of intemperance in foreign lands. Our chief concern is first to put out the fire at home.

New South Wales is the oldest of the Australian colonies; it contains 310,938 square miles, and is three times the size of Great Britain and Ireland—five times larger than New England. Its population is one million and rapidly increasing. N. T. Collins, G. W. V. T., of the Grand Lodge I. O. G. T. of New South Wales, Tasmania and Fiji says: "Unfortunately drink has been the great curse of the people in this as well as in other lands. Alcohol was one of the earliest mediums of exchange, and many valuable properties were bartered away for a gallon or two of rum. One of the first hospitals in the colony was built by rum, the government giving the contractors a monopoly in the drink traffic, and it was long known as the 'Rum Hospital.' This seems to have been a sure way to furnish patients so long as there were people to drink the rum." Mr. Collins adds: "As in the early days of the colony a considerable proportion of the population belonged to the convict and lawless classes, it may be easily imagined that the drink fiend obtained a firm footing, and that the most horrible crimes were perpetrated under its influence." But he speaks hopefully of the future. The Good Templars, and other great and good organizations, are at work with beneficial results. Restrictive legislation helps them also, and now the people pay only twenty-three dollars per head annually for strong drink.

Mr. John Vale, Secretary of the Victorian Alliance, Melbourne, says that "speaking generally Victoria is neither better nor worse than most of her neighbors and friends." She has a million of people, and the amount annually expended in support of the drink traffic is $25,000,000—or twenty-five dollars for each man, woman and child. Temperance societies are active, and the law helps some.

Mr. John W. Jago, of Dunedin, New Zealand, says: "There is no fairer land than this, none richer in resource, with more genial clime, or richer soils, or finer forests, or more varied mineral deposits; no country where the scenery is more grand, more beautiful or more wonderful. Yet, fair, beautifully grand as is this new land of ours, 'the trail of the serpent is over it all' . . . . . while man asserted his dominion over the earth, drink accursed drink, and the devil in solution, asserted his dominion over man."

During the past ten years the population of the colony has not averaged over 500,000, and the expenditure for rum has been £20,000,000, or $100,000,000. Drink causes drunkenness, drunkenness produces poverty, disease and crime, and Mr. Jago estimates the cost of the traffic, direct and indirect, at $22,500,000 annually, an amount equal to the entire revenue of the colony. The Good Templars are the chief hope of all these vast possessions, and the condition of the colonies already described applies to Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania and elsewhere in those far-off, but important, lands. The native races seem to cut no figure in the recent accounts. The same will be true of Africa in fifty years. Like causes produce like effects.

THE CONGO VALLEY.

In closing the chapter I offer a few observations, lest they be omitted later, upon the case of Africa, which demands the immediate attention of the American people. We first recognized the Congo Free State. We were a part of the Berlin Conference which chained the liquor trade to her lips by international agreement. It would have been better to have revived the slave trade, if therewith we had enacted international prohibition of the liquor traffic for the Congo valley. This government daily commits, by its acquiescence in the existing treaty-guaranteed wickedness, a far greater wrong than it would be to re-enslave our own colored fellow-citizens.

The Executive Department of the government should at once open correspondence with every foreign power concerned, with a view to changing the status established by the Conference of Berlin and by subsequent events. The Legislative Department should take still more radical action by prohibit-

ing exportation of spirits of any kind to Africa; by declaring the trade to be a crime, like piracy on the high seas, and to be extirpated by force. Build a navy for this purpose, if necessary, and scour the seas. Let us see what Christian nation will go to war to protect this plague of the world. International agreement can be obtained for the suppression of this trade, if a real effort be made by the United States to secure it. If no such agreement can be had, then Great Britain and the United States can form a convention for its effectual suppression. If Great Britain will not join us, we can do it alone. We face perpetually inward, and like the ostrich, with his head in the sand, or a bashful boy, stand with our back to the world. If we leave the Congo Free State—and so all Africa—where we have helped to place her by the Berlin Conference, it would have been better never to have recognized her flag at all. Let the Christian Philanthropy of the country organize, and move on Washington. The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union has already entered upon the work. It is time it were done.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE REMEDIES — TOTAL ABSTINENCE.

Alcohol the Tyrant of all Ages and Races — Are the Chains of the Liquor Habit to be Perpetual? Shall there be a "New Emancipation"? — The Forces of the Temperance Reform until lately a God-inspired Mob — A Great War before us — The Emancipation of Fifteen Hundred Millions — Agencies to be Employed by the Organized Army of Reform Considered: Individual, Associated and Political — Personal Total Abstinence a Recent Evolution of Christian Civilization — The Dictum of Science and Duty.

WE have now surveyed this monster evil which afflicted nations, long since personified as the Tyrant Alcohol. The tyrant indeed he is of all ages, and of every race and clime. America, Europe, the world, are now in his chains. There has never been a system of slavery like this which King Alcohol has imposed upon mankind — so full of horrors, so abject and hopeless, in this life, and so portentous only of wailing and despair in the next.

The slavery which for hundreds of years was imposed by civilized (?) nations upon the children of ravished Africa was so dreadful in its origin, and so wicked in its robbery of the rights of man, that humanity and conscience at last have overthrown it, even in those regions where it existed in its mildest and most profitable form. It was, at the worst, subjection of the body only.

"Still, in thought as free as ever," the black victim asserted his own manhood, denied the right of those who bought and sold him, and, appealing to the innate sentiments of love and of justice which unite the whole family of man, to the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of the race, demanded liberty and equality before the law. Such an appeal must be heard. It was heard — in every form of protest and indignant expression in time of peace, and finally on a thousand bloody battlefields and on the slippery decks of naval

strife, until the high judgment of Earth and Heaven has reversed the foul decree which enchained our fellow-man, and now the body, like the soul, is free.

But the fierce tyrant whose dominion we are now contemplating, worse than the kidnapper of Africa, has lassooed our immortal natures and enslaved the soul. Under the slavery which our century has abolished, it was only necessary to release the body and the whole man went free. But here is a thraldom which, while it is destructive of the body, yet interpenetrates the whole nature, and, by a horrible process of mental and moral, as well as physical, dissolution and degradation, eliminates every quality of nobility in man, and even of the respectable brute. There seems hardly anything whatever of being, of personal entity left; nothing but the essence, the purest quality of debased, besotted, and grovelling servility.

The man is at last absorbed in his own chains; there is no man — all shames and crimes, and nothing more. Both body and soul are destroyed in hell; yet the hell is upon earth, and millions upon millions of us are now in it, where hundreds and hundreds of millions of our ancestors and of our kith and kin have already died of the worm which so far dieth not, "the worm of the still." And is there no escape? are these chains perpetual?

Shall there be no "New Emancipation"? With me the millennium is a fact as fixed in the future as the rising of the morrow's sun. To that more than hope, that faith which is the substance of things hoped for, I cling as the fundamental premise in the logic of life. Without this, there is, to my mind, no syllogism, no conclusion at all. If we may not believe — yes, know, as we know that the everlasting courses of universal nature are sure — that there is a higher and better destiny for the race than this mortal existence, a time when "all crimes shall cease, and ancient fraud shall fail," and once more "returning Justice lift aloft her scale," what is there to work for here? If the earthly millennium be impossible, a will-o'-the-wisp, or some miasmatic exhalation of the mind; if there be no certainty of a higher and better state in this world which we have seen, what sensible ground is there to predicate the realization of our hopes in

a world which we have not seen? It is hardly worth while to prolong society unless there is hope of its elevation and happiness here. The sooner we are all the other side of Jordan, and the tragedy of lost Greenland is repeated on the stage of the whole world, the better.

It is this faith in the redemption and elevation of our race to the enjoyment of untold ages of happiness, here in this world, which encourages me to believe in the overthrow of alcohol and in the "New Emancipation." And there is reason for the faith that is within us.

We do know that certain causes will produce certain effects; that, if certain causes result in slavery, certain other causes lead to freedom. We do know that freedom need never be lost, and that when lost it can be regained — not always, for manhood at last goes out and there is nothing left to be made free. But there are conditions which give freedom, hope and joy, and we possess them all when these conditions are complied with. There is a way of escape. It is long and difficult. By a thousand converging and ascending avenues, and through more than forty years of wandering in wastes and wildernesses, humanity must reach the promised land. But there is such a land, and it becomes us to be strong and to go up and possess it.

We are entering upon a great war. The battle is over the face of the whole earth. It is personal, social, national, international. It involves both hemispheres and all races — body and soul, time and eternity. It has already lasted more than one hundred years. We must not falter because we are to die on the battlefield; only let us fight a good fight. Another century may place alcoholism where slavery now is. That will, indeed, be a new emancipation. How shall we win this fight?

Much depends upon the organization of the army and the plan of battle. Until lately, the forces of the Temperance Reform have been a God-inspired mob. Many a Bastile has been taken, but hardly one has been destroyed, and we almost invariably have lost them again to the inferior but regular troops of the enemy. It is all-important that we comprehend what we are to do. We are to capture the world, to accomplish New and Universal Emancipation, for

Mary T. Lathrap,

President W. C. T. U., of Michigan.

fifteen hundred millions who now are, and for billions who are yet to be.

How shall this be done?

I do not feel competent to answer this question as it should be answered; but the hope to throw a few rays of light (and I would also of heat) upon it, is the only purpose with which this book is written.

Human existence proceeds in two forms — the individual life and the life of society. Intemperance affects both, and hence all the agencies and influences which they can summon should be exerted for its extirpation.

These agencies and influences may be classified as (1) individual action, (2) voluntary associated action, and (3) action by the State. The first two constitute those influences and agencies which are generally known as moral suasion. The State enacts and enforces law. It is obvious that, since the evils of alcohol result from the voluntary introduction, by the individual, of the poison into his system, the fundamental condition of prevention and reform is total abstinence by every one from the accursed thing.

This is the first commandment, and the second is like unto it. Thou shalt assist thy neighbor to abstain like thyself.

The medicinal use, if there be any, is not included in the use as a beverage, although when administered as a medicine it may be in the form of a drink. The complete temperance reformation, for individuals and for society, implies total abstinence of the race from intoxicating beverages. That, and nothing less, should be the high ideal of our endeavor, although we may climb to the stars by many a weary, tortuous, but ever ascending step. It is clear that, as society is but the aggregate of individuals, personal abstinence and reform is the only possible way to general reform. True temperance reform, then, must begin with the individual, and it must be brought about by the exertion of his own will, or by the will of others influencing his conduct, either by advice or compulsion. The Temple of Reform is builded of living individual stones, which either take their proper places voluntarily, or, being placed by the aid of others, remain there by virtue of their own disposition or environment.

Wherever there is will-power there is responsibility; and if there be such a thing as sin, that man commits sin who knowingly and voluntarily partakes of poison as a mere beverage, a drink.

If there be any act fraught with more danger to himself and to all those who are about him, whether in relations near or remote, let it be named. What crime does man commit attended by such universally bad, wide-spreading, and far-reaching consequences as that of voluntary intoxication? Intoxication stimulates every bad impulse and passion of body and soul.

It embraces every crime in its probabilities — certainly in its possibilities — whenever it is committed; and we shall have gone far on the way to the removal of the great evil when we say of the drunken man that he has committed the *crime* of intoxication. If, while thus a criminal, he commits also a murder, I had almost said that he should still be arraigned at the bar of justice, charged with intoxication, and the killing should be shown in evidence not as the principal offense, but as an aggravation of the original crime committed and continued by the voluntary administration of strong drink, and punished to the extreme penalty of law. In law a man contemplates the probable consequences of his own act, and is, accordingly, held responsible whether he really thinks of them or not. When habitual intoxication has so far done its work that the will is gone and permanent imbecility or active insanity has usurped the moral nature, responsibility may cease. But if we punished the single act of intoxication as a crime, he would be a hardened wretch indeed who could contrive so frequently to offend as to develop the permanent loss of his reasoning powers.

If, then, the voluntary perpetration of acts which are hurtful to ourselves and to others is sin, the voluntary use of intoxicating liquors or poison is sin; and when it goes so far as to injure society, it should be prohibited by law. It will hardly be claimed that drunkenness to any extent does not injure society, since all men are embraced in its membership.

The law can not deal with trifles, and its practical application can not reach those acts of secluded vice which do not

openly touch the public welfare and the good order of society; but the act is still attended with personal responsibility in the forum of conscience, and is still a *sin*. As such, it must be distinctly held up to the eye of the mind, and dealt with in the account between the creature and his God.

In this secret fortress of the soul the primary battle must be fought; that battle is within the gate: it is the struggle of the garrison to be loyal and true to its primary instinct of duty to itself, humanity, and God. The creation of this sense of the commission of wickedness in the act of self-poisoning or intoxication is the radical work. Without it, all other means — whether of the press or church or State, or even of friendship and love — will fail. Appetite is stronger than them all. Conscience alone can conquer alcohol fighting for supremacy within the citadel of the human soul.

The first great necessity in the temperance reform is, then, to convince men that intoxication is *wrong*. This is the work of religion. It is the special mission of the church and of all those auxiliary agencies which are connected with organized piety or piety in action.

The conviction must penetrate further than to the act of personal intoxication. The man must realize that cursed is he that putteth the cup to his neighbor's lips. It must go deeper still, and stir that elemental force, — the profoundest and mightiest in the universe, — the sense of *duty*. Then we will have men aroused to action in all their relations — to themselves, to others, both personal and as members of society and of the State — contending with all their immortal powers for the extinction of a sin and a crime, and for the elevation and happiness of mankind.

It is not for me further to dwell upon these primary truths. The field is already occupied by the Christian church and by all who are laboring for educational and moral reform.

Total abstinence from the use of intoxicating drinks as beverages by the individual — not as a matter of choice or expediency, but of moral obligation — is, then, as I believe, the fundamental proposition of the temperance reform. I think this logically and inevitably results from the fact, which is demonstrated by the overwhelming evidence

already produced, that any alcohol whatever is poisonous except when used medicinally. If there be a case in which it is demonstrated to be useful, that demonstration proves the use to be medicinal. It is a contradiction of terms to say that poison is beneficial to a person in health.

If it must be granted that it is a sin for one to inflict needless evil upon himself, it must be still more a sin for him to inflict evil upon others. It must also be granted that no one can injure himself without thereby injuring society, of which he is a part — and to whose other members he will be rendered either positively hurtful or less useful than his duty requires him to be, by reason of the self-inflicted injury.

If total abstinence be a personal duty, it must follow that every member of society should exert himself to make it the rule for the community. If he owes that duty to his neighbor, it is still more a wrong and a crime for him to facilitate the use of intoxicating liquors by their manufacture or sale, or by aiding or abetting the traffic therein.

It becomes an affirmative wrong on his part to promote by act or by neglect, in his private, social or civil capacity, this most destructive agency with which the human race is afflicted. All these conclusions follow from the concession of the proposition that total abstinence from the use of intoxicating drinks is a personal duty.

If it be a personal duty to abstain, it follows that we must assist others to abstain also.

If personal abstinence be a duty, the inherent nature of society compels the concession of still another proposition. It is the duty of society to impose upon itself that rule which is binding upon each of its members. Whatever is the universal duty of society, society must require to be performed. Society acts by public law and by custom, which is the most powerful of all manifestations of the general will.

The duty of personal abstinence, then, requires the breaking-up of the drinking customs of society, by society, the establishment of their contrary, and the enactment of remedial and prohibitory laws for the overthrow of the traffic.

In view of the sweeping results which flow from the establishment of the proposition that personal abstinence is a duty, the fundamental importance of the doctrine that alcohol is a

poison, or hurtful when not used medicinally upon which that proposition depends is at once apparent.

Thus do the researches and discoveries of science become the foundation of morality, the enlightenment and sanction of religious and civil duty, and thus do they promote the general welfare of mankind.

The doctrine or duty of total personal abstinence is one of the latest evolutions of Christian civilization. It could not be until the poisonous nature of alcohol to sound health was established. This view was scarcely entertained until within the last sixty years, and even now, although clearly proven, is by no means universally admitted. Its necessity, in order that the evil of intemperance may be removed, is partly the demonstration of science and partly of experience in the failure of the prodigious efforts of society to half-way rescue itself by legislation, abstinence from ardent and indulgence in fermented drinks, Moderation Societies and like emulsions. I do not now refer to the totally abstinent teachings of ancient religions and Eastern lawgivers, which might be adopted as the basis of modern reform; but to our own religion, and to the history of our own civilization. In the sixteenth century the practice of using intoxicating beverages, distilled and fermented, seems to have been as fully established and almost as nearly universal among European nations as that of breathing; and the serious suggestion of its sinfulness would generally have been considered as absurd as that of the drinking of water. Even the minister of religion appears to have been as oblivious to the idea as the common recruiting sergeant, and each proceeded to the discharge of his duty in filling the ranks of their respective armies, stimulated by the same exhilarating agent. Even after society was staggering under the increasing burdens of intemperance in recent modern times, the idea of personal culpability in the use of liquors had not dawned upon men. It seems to have been conceded by all that moderation in the use was the utmost limit of rational abstinence, and neither by legislation nor voluntary association nor personal restraint was more to be thought of.

Moderation Societies appeared in the early part of the sixteenth century. The first, or one of the first, was estab-

lished in Germany, in the year 1517. See "Alcohol in History," p. 276. It was called the "Order of Temperance," and was designed to put an end to the custom of pledging health, and to reform the "higher classes." These "classes" were fast being ruined by intemperance. In 1600, Maurice, the Landgrave of Hesse, established a society the fundamental rule of which was that its members "never should become intoxicated."

No member "should be allowed more than seven goblets of wine at a meal, and that not more than twice (14 goblets) a day." Count Palatine Frederick V. established another, and the members of both pledged themselves to observe the rules two years. These rules permitted the use of 5110, goblets of wine by each member yearly; that was moderation — reformation. Dr. Eddy says that he finds no further trace of temperance societies for nearly two hundred years.

The Lansingburg (N. Y.) *Federal Herald* of July 13, 1789, has the following: "Upwards of two hundred of the most respectable farmers of the county of Litchfield, Ct., have formed an association to discourage the use of spirituous liquors, and have determined not to use any kind of distilled liquors during their farming work the ensuing season."

In 1785, Dr. Rush published his "Enquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits upon the Human Body and Mind," and the modern temperance reform was begun; but then, and for many years after, the attack was made upon the excessive use or the abuse of ardent spirits mainly; while Rush and Belknap and others even favored the use of fermented drinks. This seems more incredible when they had the lessons of history before them, which, until within a few centuries, recorded only the ravages of fermented intoxicants. But the explanation seems to me to be the fact that neither science nor experience had as yet demonstrated the vital truth — at least, it had not penetrated even the professional mind — that alcohol is purely a *poison*. When that truth is comprehended, the doctrine of total abstinence is the inevitable and spontaneous conviction of every sane mind. As late as 1833, the Massachusetts Temperance Society merely pledged its members not to use distilled spirit as a drink nor to provide it for others.

Mrs. William Sibley,

President W. C. T. U., of Georgia.

Dr. Marsh says that, "in the early stages of the temperance reform, some friends of the cause in Boston thought best to establish a brewery to furnish men, who would abstain from ardent spirits, with beer." It failed, sinking some $20,000 capital, because its managers were honest and furnished a good article, and hence could not compete with the cheap adulterations which drew away the patronage of these model abstainers.

Dr. Eddy says of alcohol in history, that the first instance in modern times, of which we have reliable information, where the principle of total abstinence has been maintained through the agency of pledges and organizations, is the case of Micajah Pendleton, of Virginia, who, witnessing the lamentable effects of drinking upon his neighbors, and desiring to fortify himself in all possible ways against becoming a victim to the evil, drew up and signed a total abstinence pledge in the early part of 1800. He induced many others to sign it, in different parts of the State, but his work was limited. As before stated, the opposition to the traffic was almost wholly directed against the abuse of ardent spirits only, and by the Moderation Societies, until 1833, when these "began to give way to Total Abstinence Organizations, which, in a few years, obtained entire control of the temperance work."

Many reasons contributed to this great change in the public mind. It had been observed that reformed men seldom returned to their old habits from resort to ardent spirits, but almost always fell by the use of fermented drinks, which aroused the serpent appetite within as surely as the distilled; and gradually, all through society, the evil of intoxication was found to be again spreading by the substitution of the milder forms of intoxicants. Thus, the reform itself was being swallowed up in the coming oceans of fermentation.

Prof. Hitchcock, of Amherst College, who had been opposed to total abstinence, changed his position in the light of experience, and declared, "without any fear of contradiction, that the greatest obstacle to the reformation of drunkenness is the habitual use of wine, beer, cider, and cordials by the respectable members of the community; as

in very many, I believe in most cases, intemperate habits are formed and the love of alcoholic drinks induced by the habitual use of these lighter beverages." Dr. Marsh said that alcohol was diffusing itself through all the veins of society in fermented drinks.

The general observation and study of the subject of alcohol in its relations to man, by all classes and especially by chemists and by the ablest members of the medical profession, with the aroused activities of conscience, quickened by increasing intelligence in and out of the church, the discussions of the pulpit, of the platform and the press, which have agitated our own and other countries, have resulted in the complete establishment, among the great mass of those who really are determined upon any substantial and permanent reform, and the rescue of the race from the curse of alcoholic poisoning, of the great doctrine, or principle, that total abstinence from all intoxicating beverages is a moral obligation binding upon the conscience of every member of society, and that the unnecessary use — and all use but the medicinal is unnecessary — by the individual is vice, if not crime. It is morally wrong for the individual to inflict injury upon himself as well as upon others; and the infliction of injury upon himself is always an injury to society. This great truth is the only sure basis of hope in the war of the ages against alcohol, now flagrant throughout the world. From it flow logically all remedial measures, whether of voluntary effort, of the church or of the state.

Build the church of Temperance upon this rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

CHAPTER XV.

EDUCATIONAL FORCES.

The Policy of Prevention — Education of the Child the Secret of Success — Rescue the Drunkard; but Educate the Child — Home the Primary Field of Action — The Church Work of Education — The Public Schools and Scientific Instruction — "Temperance Education Law" — The Bill for National Aid to Education — Its Principles Stated — Its Bearing on the Temperance Work — Testimony of Public Men to its Merits and Importance.

IN the last chapter the ground is taken that the temperance reform must be incomplete until total abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage is the rule of the individual and of society; that any use of a poison, save as a medicine, is necessarily hurtful, and therefore, when used with knowledge of its character, is morally as well as physically wrong; that nothing can be morally right the indulgence in which is known to be injurious either to the individual or to society, which is only the aggregation of individuals. The fact that the injury is in many cases slight, while it may raise the question of degree, does not affect the quality of the action. Questions of right and wrong cannot be determined by geometry, nor with the most improved style of Fairbanks' scales. They belong to the court of conscience, and that court, and no other, has ultimate jurisdiction of the temperance reform. Questions of expediency may arise as to the form and degree of interference by law, and by other methods, with the traffic; but they must all be decided by the test of conscience, with a view to the adoption of the means and the policy which shall soonest remove the evil and the sin from among men. In this chapter I wish to call attention to some of the means to be employed, and their application, to secure the extinction of the traffic in strong drink.

Since the community is made up of those who do, and of those who do not, use alcoholic liquors, it is obvious that effort must be applied to the cure of those who are sick, and

the preservation of the health of those who are well, — in other words, to prevention and cure. The most natural and effective and easily available of all means which can be employed, is the prevention of the manufacture and distribution, by wielding the strong right arm of society — the law. But a strange mental infatuation has for ages been upon the mind of civilized man, and, while he would put out a conflagration by instinct, he has not only permitted, but has even kindled, fed and protected the flames of alcohol, lighted from the infernal pit, by the forces of positive law. Of this, however, more hereafter.

All possible effort should be put forth to save the drunkard which does not divert attention from the child. Compared with the child, it is of little consequence what becomes of the sot or even of the moderate drinker. Cure is the object in his case; prevention of disease, the preservation of health, and the transmission of uncontaminated life to future ages, is the great purpose in our treatment of the child.

In all past time, attention and effort have been chiefly concentrated upon the habitual consumer of liquors. This is natural, for he is the victim whose wounds and bruises and putrifying sores are constantly on exhibition. He it is who riots, murders, starves and dies to illustrate the diabolical horrors of the trade. His performances are of a character to engross our attention. And it is indispensable that these results be heeded and studied, as only in that way are we enabled to discover their cause, and thus to apply the means of cure when cure is possible, and to prevent their spread among those who are not yet infected by the plague.

I would not prevent one heart-throb, far less one single effort, for the rescue of those already in the slavery of intemperate habits. And, besides them, there is an innumerable multitude of those tempted, and occasionally indulging, who can certainly be saved. It is the highest duty to save them, and to save them all, or at least to present and press upon them the opportunity of reformation. Society, when at all aroused, is not likely to neglect this duty.

Churches and pastors, lecturers and authors, societies, open and secret, and personal labor and persuasion, in every form, are all brought to bear, as they ought to be, upon the

actual consumer of intoxicating drink, that he may be saved — and he is saved, sometimes. There is no trophy like these brands plucked from the burning, although they be hot generally for a while after rescue, and are too often blackened and smutty even when the fire is gone out. Compared with one solitary sheep that was lost, what are the ninety and nine who never went astray? Whose testimony is like the grateful bleating of this one "poor old wedder" (as the camp-meeting hymn expresses it), as he rides triumphantly home on the Good Shepherd's back, with his eyes scratched blind, his tattered fleece full of burrs and thorns, and half his blood sucked out by the ravenous wolf? As a listener in temperance meetings, I have sometimes thought it a great thing to have been a lost sheep — provided he has also been found. But there is the rub: not one in thousands of the lost are ever brought back to the fold. No wonder that there is more joy in heaven over one such saved than over the ninety and nine who went not astray. But who can measure the good which that one rescued lost one sometimes can accomplish? Whose tale so moves and admonishes and alarms? No, it is impossible to do too much to seek and save the lost; but the highest and holiest consequence of such labor will fail unless it stimulates to the prevention of that in others which in the inebriate it is sought to cure.

The extinction of the alcoholic evil is an educational process. The temperance reform is to be successfully wrought out among the children of the rising and of coming generations. Save the children; all else is of little comparative consequence. Everything depends upon education — the training of the intellect and the heart. This fundamental process rightly accomplished, the rest follows.

Especially among a free people, whose institutions, customs and laws are fashioned by the popular will, is education the principal thing. While growth from the embryo to the perfect state is common to both, education alone creates the difference between the savage and the civilized man. In our day there is perhaps an increasing tendency to forget the preponderating importance of the moral nature, and to exalt relatively the intellectual powers; but conscience, even more than the knowing faculty, is, and always must remain, the

fundamental distinction between men and brutes. Any system of development and training which neglects the moral element in our natures, will work injury and produce dangerous wild beasts, instead of noble, wise and philanthropic citizens. And as the moral nature is the most important, so it should be earliest developed. True, that the soul and the body are a unit — a strange compound of immortality and matter — and the whole develops together, but not always in due proportion; and if the moral nature be half-dormant or perverted, the mind and body are worse than lost. The first impressions of childhood are the last which disappear with age and death; and all through life those impressions, consciously or unconsciously, fashion character and control action. Hence it is that

HOME OR THE FAMILY

is the primary educational institution of the human race.

The importance of fortunate parentage and of right surroundings in the home is beyond exaggeration, and whatever assails its integrity, or impairs its harmony and efficiency as a formative and educational institution, is like the serpent in the nest of the bird.

The cruel curse of alcohol is nowhere so great as in the human home. It does in fact strike the human element out of home, and substitutes not even the instinct of beasts of prey — that would be a comparative blessing — but all the malignant activities of hell. The drunkard's home is hell upon earth. As I reflect upon this sentence, and hesitate to write so harshly, I deliberately leave it as it is; for it is moderate, and seems to be complete — rough but true.

Recognizing the necessity of well ordered and temperate homes, all the great agencies of the temperance reform have endeavored to permeate them with restraining and elevating influences, and so upon the home have been concentrated the strongest and wisest efforts of the Church and of all reformatory organizations. But it is impossible fully to control its creation, and consequently the subsequent character of the home. The family relation is formed with so much freedom, and often with so little prudence, on the part of those who enter into it, and especially with such indifference to the

alcoholic habit, that multitudes of the homes and nurseries of the nation seem to have been founded only for the patronage of existing, and to propagate supporters of future saloons.

It is generally impossible to get inside the drunkard's home with good influences until it has been opened by explosions from within, and its waifs and fragments fall outcast upon society. Like everything else, the home must be made right in the first place; and so it follows that the father and mother, the original factors of the home, must themselves have been moulded by the sweet influences which in their turn they are expected to exert.

And here looms up the greater family still — society itself — the community — the State. This organization exists from the very nature of things, and is no more an artificial arrangement than the primary relation of individuals for the perpetuation of the race. The "social compact" is simply a responsible but unavoidable social relation. And in this larger relation, which constitutes the highest sphere of action, the mightiest and godliest personalities engage in high endeavor, and the most benignant and efficacious labors are put forth. Here is the field of those who consecrate themselves wholly to the rescue and redemption of mankind, and, wielding institutions and inspiring all instrumentalities, endeavor to concentrate the forces of the State, of the individual and of voluntary association, upon the right education of every child, that the home of the future may be constantly and forever happy and secure. The motto of the Women's Christian Temperance Union recognizes, in fact builds itself upon, the idea of the perfect home — of a home rescued if need be, but still more of a home which never has been and which never shall be lost.

"For God, for Home, and Native Land."

Home is the great primary field of action, and other fields of effort are sought with the ultimate purpose of reaching the home — if not the home of to-day and of this generation, then the home of the millions yet to be. "Native Land" will be just what Home makes it; and so, with God as their inspiration, these sacred workers strike home for Home, and by every form of educative and uplifting influence, they seek to save the child of to-day, who is the parent of to-morrow.

So the work of the church is one of education; education, primarily, of the conscience and of the religious element in man. It must be conceded that, in the days which are fast passing away, through that ignorance which science, observation and experience have now dispelled, the various departments of organized Christianity have not turned their full power against the most formidable personification of evil and sin which has ever reared its audacious front against God and man. But now all is changed, and it is more and more perceived, as light destroys darkness, that a system of religion, which, in the fullness of its purity and love, not only prohibits all sin, but demands the affirmative activity of every power of the soul to promote individual and universal good, is against the traffic in alcohol from the law of its own being. And so the church concentrates its holiest and most comprehensive influences upon home for the education of the child.

But the home is imperfect, is often broken, and frequently fails in the objects for which it is established; hence, from imperative necessity, society, in every free country, has established the school as an institution of the State. The common school is the nursery of personal liberty and of free institutions. As conscience follows faith and faith depends largely upon intelligence, the public school, while designed especially to give the opportunity for intellectual training and the acquisition of the useful branches of common knowledge, is an efficient promoter of moral culture, by developing the intelligence and mental discipline required for accurate discrimination between right and wrong. When properly conducted, one of the great and direct objects of the institution is also to instill the great principles of virtue and religion. Not indeed the technology of sects, but the larger precepts which are common to all who, within the limits of Christian faith, believe in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. It is a mistake, in my belief, to depart from the general religious character of the common school as our fathers established it, so far as to omit from its forms the simple exercises which are a recognition of the Christian's God, and the teaching of the great outlines of Christian faith. No great people ever did, and probably no great people ever will exist, with-

out some affirmative and general religious faith. The altar began with the beginning and will survive until the foundations of the world crumble away.

Ours is the Christian religion, and that religion is founded upon the Bible. While I am no zealot, I yet believe that the common schools of America should teach the common principles of the Christian faith, and its morality, in such largeness of outline as would enable the child of the Protestant and of the Catholic to sit side by side studying and reciting from the same text-book of a common faith. The child of the Free-thinker, of the Jew, and of the Pagan should certainly receive instruction in the rudiments of the general belief of the country in which he lives. If that faith be erroneous, it is still better than none, and, in any view, knowledge of it is all-important, as one of the great facts with which, like a scientific theory or business custom, that child will constantly collide in the experiences of after life. That faith does now constitute, and I believe forever will constitute, the very spirit of the constitutions, laws and customs under which he must live. There is no danger that the doctrines of Christianity, as taught by the Master himself, freed from the secondary and unimportant dogmas of particular sects, will harm any child; and the general good demands that the great formative institution of the State — the common school — should at least teach the few essential doctrines of a positive morality enforced by the sanctions of a positive religion.

The homes of those children whose parents are averse to this can be depended upon to combat, so far as they should be controverted, doctrines which in the opinions of the parents are likely to exert a pernicious effect, while the very large proportion of children who otherwise will receive no affirmative instruction in moral precepts at all, seems to compel the adoption of some degree of unsectarian moral and religious training, in the perfect common school. I believe that the dangerous warfare between the public and the denominational, or parochial, system of schools now waging, and which is so portentous of coming calamities, could easily be averted if the wise and good men who lead the great divisions of Christian thought would bring to the solution of

this difficulty a mere fraction of the skill and ability which have been exercised in the creation of prejudice and estrangement in the past.

That this has not already been done indicates that our Christian Alexanders have worlds yet left to conquer; and I believe that all Christendom would hail with enthusiasm some demonstration that Christian leadership fully comprehends its great opportunity; and also this further certainty that the Spirit of the Age will destroy any power which seeks to restrain the blessings of universal knowledge, or to hedge in the aspirations of the humblest human soul. There are things to be done which have never been attempted. It is a long way yet to the promised land. Why will not the religious leaders of Christendom enter upon the great work of these latter days? Why should the bosom of the church be more exclusive than the bosom of God?

Assume the millennium as a fixed fact. These difficulties, then, must be solved. When? Why not now? The Spirit of the Age, which is the spirit of the Almighty, will accomplish its work, and those who do not choose to fight in harmony with the stars in their courses can take the other alternative, and perish with Sisera.

The common school is the one institution for which every intelligent American patriot will, if need be, die. There is no earthly power which can make successful war upon it, and there is no heavenly power which will not be put forth to uphold and defend it. Let religion imbue this institution with the very spirit of her most vital inspiration! Let her mould, fashion, elevate, beautify and perfect it. But the free school lives whatsoever else among our institutions dies. The free school is the republic. Esto perpetua!

TEMPERANCE IN THE SCHOOLS.

Until within a few years, about one generation, there has been no attempt to spread a knowledge of the human body through the agency of the public school. This most useful of all information was locked up in the books of a learned profession, and was as sacredly guarded as the heathen mysteries. But the medical profession is now, I had almost said, the great benefactor of the race.

Mrs. M. H. Hunt,

Superintendent Scientific Temperance Instruction in Schools and Colleges, National W. C. T. U.

The knowledge of anatomy, physiology, and hygiene, of the structure of the body, of the functions of its various parts, and of the laws of health, has been simplified, put into intelligible forms of expression, and laid upon the desk of every child in the common schools of the republic. It is impossible to conceive the full importance of this addition to the course of common school education. Every intelligent American child has now the opportunity, and most of them improve it, to acquire a better medical education than was possessed by Hippocrates or Aristotle, and the time is now at hand when we may hope that the common people will possess, and will transmit the sound body and the sound mind which knowledge of the structure and laws of their organization alone will bestow.

The experience of a century of effort in combating the evils of alcohol has demonstrated that nothing can be depended upon for their removal but a general knowledge of their nature and extent among those not already victims of the appetite. There is, in fact, no hope of permanent success save in childhood educated, and therefore warned that alcohol in all its forms, however beautiful and seductive, is simply a POISON, which at last bites like the serpent and stings like the adder. When that impression is the earliest and most powerful one upon the mind, it will be impossible to tempt the uncontaminated appetite, and the child, informed of the real nature of the bowl which sparkles for his destruction in the gilded saloon, will no more enter there than he would seek happiness in the home of some pestiferous disease. The overmastering and instantaneous impulse when tempted will be the same as if a bowl of any other liquid poison, whether of aconite, or prussic acid, or of strychnine, were proffered to him; and there being as yet no appetite to conquer this natural dread, the child, thus fortified by knowledge, is almost sure never to contract the habit, into which past generations, misled by their ignorance, have fallen almost as readily and universally as they have taken their natural food.

More and more have philanthropists come to comprehend that in the education of the child lies the whole secret of success, and hence during the last ten years the most strenuous efforts have been put forth in our own country to uti-

lize the common school as the nursery of the great reform. The Women's Christian Temperance Union has been the most important agency in this, as in fact it has come to be in all strictly temperance work and social reform. Its department of scientific instruction, under the charge of Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, has been devoted with great assiduity and corresponding success, during the last eight years, to securing such legislation, local, state and national, "as shall make the study and teaching of the laws of health, with special reference to the effects of stimulants and narcotics upon the human body, obligatory throughout the entire system of public education." Already in half the States of the Union has the study of the nature and effects of alcohol and other stimulants been introduced by law into the common schools, and in all the remaining States the agitation is favorably progressing, while the nation itself has already enacted probably the most efficient "Temperance Education Law" that ever was devised; and that national law is in actual operation in the District of Columbia, the Territories, and in all military and naval schools of the United States. Nor is the educational effort of the Union, under its various able and zealous superintendents, confined to common schools; it extends to higher institutions of learning — to Sunday-schools, temperance kindergarten, kitchen garden, temperance literature, press department, the suppression of impure literature, the relation of temperance to labor, a department of narcotics, and a national temperance hospital and training-schools for nurses. Thus does this great organization proceed in its work of moral enlightenment with a systematic grandeur of action almost like the motions of the stars.

But the utilization of the common school in the temperance reform is perhaps the most important of all their work. Already it may be accounted as done, for it has acquired such momentum that it will be impossible to delay its full accomplishment much longer. The inquiry then arises, To what extent is the common school itself sufficient for the work; and in what ways, if in any, should it be strengthened and promoted, both for the purposes of general education, and as the chief means of spreading permanent temperance reform?

THE EDUCATION BILL.

For some years past I have had occasion to study the condition of popular education in this country, and have endeavored to place the truth in regard to it before the people. The census of 1880 revealed much that was mortifying to our national pride, but that feeling might well disappear in genuine patriotic alarm at the immense and increasing illiteracy of many sections of the Union. Especially dangerous is the condition of the great northern cities, and of the rural white and the general colored population of the South. In some of the southern cities the white children have fair school privileges, and in a few those privileges are excellent. Since the taking of the last census, in some instances there has been an improvement; but, on the whole, although popular anxiety has increased in those sections where the necessity is greatest, yet, by reason of the unequal diffusion of taxable property, and in fact the general poverty of the people, who have, as the statistics of education show, cheerfully submitted to heavy burdens to establish and develop their school systems, the opportunities for common school education have not increased. In some few places, where the investment of capital has developed a business center, schools have improved; but vast masses of the rural population are now worse off, if possible, than they were ten years ago. This commentary is not true simply of the colored race but of the white race also; and I think the problem should be considered quite as much with reference to the latter as to the former. It is true that in a certain sense the nation may be specially responsible for the condition of the negro, because the nation as such set him free.

But, on the other hand, every national question should be dealt with for the general good, and for the prosperity and happiness of the whole people in all time to come, regardless of race and previous condition. In this view it is far more important to educate the children of fourteen millions of the white, rather than the children of six millions of the colored race; at the same time it is of infinite consequence to educate both.

But the man who now, after the lapse of nearly one-fourth of a century, can cherish the resentments of war against

the proud, gallant and patriotic people who are nationally bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, with common memories of a high and sacred history, more precious than ever united any other nation in the whole course of time, and a destiny of anticipated glory which outshines the sun in heaven, is hardly worthy to be called an American citizen. I am profoundly desirous that the colored American be fully educated, that he realize every right and privilege guaranteed him by the constitution and the laws — and too often, alas, he is deprived of them; but his complete emancipation depends upon the education and improvement of the still more numerous and more powerful white population by whom he is surrounded, and upon whom the burden of his education is all too heavily cast. The white man of to-day is no more to be blamed for the existence of slavery, or for its consequences, than the negro himself. It is utterly impossible to lift the negro above the white people around him, and it is not desirable to do so if it could be done.

It is unnatural and abhorrent to a healthy nature to neglect its own race in sympathy for another. It is stupendous folly to do so when thereby we degrade ourselves, without benefit to the colored man. No, equal and exact justice to all. There is room enough in this broad land for both. There is always room for all when there is justice for all. But even one little wrong will have justice, or it will overthrow the universe.

THE ILLITERACY OF THE COUNTRY.

The table on pages 308 and 309 exhibits a condensed statement of the educational condition of our country, as compiled in the year 1882, from the returns of the last census. It is the best that exists, and is substantially correct to-day. Population has increased from fifty million to sixty million, and will be sixty-five million by the next census; but expenditure for schools, and their general status, are no higher now than when this table was prepared, and it should always be remembered that any substantial change in the condition of a people requires persistent effort and the lapse of many years. The lessons of the census must still be substantially true. Causes have not been in existence since it was taken which could have effected any great and favorable transformation.

The work of Hon. John Eaton, late Commissioner of Education, and now President of Marietta College, in depicting, statistically and otherwise, the educational condition of the country, has been most laborious and of inestimable value. I am proud of an opportunity to pay this slight tribute to one of the great benefactors of his country.

With a view to assist temporarily in the equalization of school advantages throughout the country, and to prevent the prolongation of the alarming illiteracy of the present by substituting for it general intelligence as fast as the coming generation can be educated, what is known as the "Bill to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools" has been pressed in the national Legislature since 1881. This bill has been twice passed by the Senate, the first time, April 7, 1884, by a vote of 33 to 11, the second, March 5, 1886, by a vote of 36 to 11. Although strongly pressed, and in the last Congress having more than a two-thirds vote in favor of its passage, as shown by the ayes and noes taken on filibustering motions made to prevent, and which did prevent its consideration, it has never yet been acted upon by the House.

In support of this bill, I had the honor to submit remarks to the Senate, a portion of which I here transcribe because they give a more condensed statement of the condition of the country, and of the absolute necessity of action for the safety of the republic, than I can well otherwise present:

"Mr. President, I now come to certain propositions which I think are fairly deducible from the premises already laid down. These propositions are, I think, true:

"First. That intelligence and virtue generally diffused among the masses of the people are necessary conditions to the existence of republican governments in the nation and in the States.

"Second. That in so far as ignorance and vice exist republican governments fail, and that although the forms of freedom may continue, yet the substance will be eaten out and ultimately the fabric itself will fall.

"Third. That there is now in all parts of the country a dangerous degree of ignorance among the people, and that those invested with the sovereignty, which is the suffrage,

ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES (CENSUS OF 1880).

States and Territories.	Total population.	Total population who can not read, ten years of age and over.	Percentage of total population who can not read.	Total population who can not write, ten years of age and over.	Percentage of total population who can not write.	Total white population.	Total white population who can not write, ten years of age and over.	Percentage of total white population who can not write.	Total colored population.	Total colored population who can not write, ten years of age and over.	Percentage of total colored population who can not write.
Alabama,	1,262,505	370,279	29.33	433,447	34.33	662,185	111,767	16.88	600,320	321,680	53.58
Arizona,	40,440	5,496	13.59	5,842	14.45	35,160	4,824	13.72	5,280	1,018	19.28
Arkansas,	802,525	153,229	19.09	202,015	25.17	591,531	98,542	16.66	210,994	103,473	49.04
California,	864,694	48,583	5.62	53,430	6.18	767,181	26,090	3.40	97,513	27,340	28.04
Colorado,	194,327	9,321	4.80	10,474	5.39	191,126	9,906	5.18	3,201	568	17.74
Connecticut,	622,700	20,986	3.37	28,424	4.56	610,769	26,763	4.38	11,931	1,661	13.92
Dakota,	135,177	3,094	2.29	4,821	3.57	133,147	4,157	3.13	2,030	664	32.71
Delaware,	146,608	16,912	11.54	19,414	13.24	120,160	8,346	6.95	26,448	11,068	41.85
District of Columbia,	177,624	21,541	12.13	25,778	14.51	118,006	3,988	3.38	59,618	21,790	36.55
Florida,	269,493	70,219	26.06	80,183	29.75	142,605	19,763	13.86	126,888	60,420	47.62
Georgia,	1,542,180	446,683	28.96	520,416	33.75	816,906	128,934	15.78	725,274	391,482	53.98
Idaho,	32,610	1,384	4.24	1,778	5.45	29,013	784	2.70	3,597	994	27.63
Illinois,	3,077,871	96,809	3.15	145,397	4.72	3,031,151	133,426	4.37	46,720	12,971	27.76
Indiana,	1,978,301	70,008	3.54	110,761	5.60	1,938,798	100,398	5.18	39,503	10,363	26.23
Iowa,	1,624,615	28,117	1.73	46,609	2.87	1,614,600	44,337	2.75	10,015	2,272	22.69
Kansas,	996,096	25,503	2.56	39,476	3.96	952,155	24,888	2.61	43,941	14,588	33.20
Kentucky,	1,648,690	258,186	15.66	348,302	21.13	1,377,179	214,497	15.58	271,511	133,895	49.31
Louisiana,	939,946	297,312	31.63	318,380	33.87	454,954	58,951	12.96	484,992	259,429	53.49
Maine,	648,936	18,181	2.80	22,170	3.42	646,852	21,758	3.36	2,084	412	19.77
Maryland,	934,943	111,387	11.91	134,488	14.28	724,693	44,316	6.12	210,250	90,172	42.89
Massachusetts,	1,783,085	75,635	4.24	92,980	5.21	1,763,782	90,658	5.14	19,303	2,322	12.03
Michigan,	1,636,937	47,112	2.88	63,723	3.89	1,614,560	58,932	3.65	22,377	4,791	21.41
Minnesota,	780,773	20,551	2.63	34,546	4.42	776,884	33,506	4.31	3,889	1,040	26.74
Mississippi,	1,131,597	315,612	27.89	373,201	32.98	479,398	53,448	11.15	652,199	319,753	49.03
Missouri,	2,168,380	138,818	6.40	208,754	9.63	2,022,826	152,510	7.54	145,554	56,244	38.64
Montana,	39,159	1,530	3.91	1,707	4.36	35,385	631	1.78	3,774	1,076	28.51
Nebraska,	452,402	7,830	1.73	11,528	2.55	449,764	10,926	2.43	2,638	602	22.82
Nevada,	62,266	3,703	5.95	4,069	6.53	53,556	1,915	3.58	8,710	2,154	24.73
New Hampshire,	346,991	11,982	3.45	14,302	4.12	340,229	14,208	4.10	762	94	12.34

New Jersey,	1,131,116	39,136	3.46	53,219	4.71	1,092,017	44,049	4.03	39,099	9,200	23.53
New Mexico,	119,565	52,994	44.32	57,156	47.80	108,721	49,597	45.62	10,844	7,559	69.71
New York,	5,082,871	166,625	3.28	219,600	4.32	5,016,022	208,175	4.15	66,849	11,425	17.09
North Carolina,	1,399,750	367,890	26.28	463,075	33.15	867,242	192,032	22.14	522,508	271,943	51.07
Ohio,	3,198,062	86,754	2.71	131,847	4.12	3,117,930	115,491	3.70	80,142	16,356	20.41
Oregon,	174,768	5,376	3.08	7,423	4.25	163,075	4,343	2.66	11,693	3,080	26.34
Pennsylvania,	4,282,891	146,138	3.41	228,044	5.32	4,197,016	209,981	5.00	85,875	18,033	21.00
Rhode Island,	276,531	17,456	6.31	24,793	8.97	269,939	23,544	8.72	6,592	1,249	18.95
South Carolina,	995,577	321,780	32.32	369,848	37.15	391,105	59,777	15.28	604,472	310,071	51.30
Tennessee,	1,542,359	394,385	19.09	410,722	26.63	1,138,831	216,227	18.99	403,528	194,495	48.20
Texas,	1,591,749	250,223	16.10	316,132	19.88	1,197,237	123,912	10.35	394,512	192,520	48.80
Utah,	143,963	4,851	3.37	8,826	6.13	142,423	8,137	5.71	1,540	689	44.74
Vermont,	332,286	12,993	3.91	15,837	4.77	331,218	15,681	4.73	1,068	156	14.61
Virginia,	1,512,565	360,495	23.83	430,352	28.45	880,858	114,692	13.02	631,707	315,660	49.97
Washington,	75,116	3,191	4.25	3,889	5.18	67,199	1,429	2 13	7,917	2,460	31.07
West Virginia,	618,457	52,041	8.41	85,376	13.80	592,537	75,237	12.70	25,920	10,139	39.12
Wisconsin,	1,315,497	38,693	2.94	55,558	4.22	1,309,618	54,233	4.14	5,879	1,325	22.54
Wyoming,	20,789	427	2.05	566	2.67	19,437	374	1.92	1,352	182	13.46
Total	50,155,783	4,923,451	9.82	6,239,958	12.44	43,402,970	3,019,080	6.96	*6,752,813	3,220,878	47.70

* Including Indians, Chinese, Japanese, etc.

The above table, prepared at the request of Hon. H. W. Blair, chairman of the Senate Committee on Education, is respectfully submitted to the Superintendent of the Census, with the statement that while its figures are believed to be in most instances correct, they are entirely preliminary, and therefore subject to such changes as may result from the final revision.

HENRY RANDALL WAITE,

Special Agent Statistics of Education, Illiteracy, Libraries, Museums and Religious Organizations.

The preceding table was prepared in the month of June, 1882. We use it now because of its greater convenience for comparison in some respects than the later tables in the Compendium of the Census.

are, by reason of ignorance to a dangerous degree, unfitted to exercise the functions of government.

"Fourth. That this mass of ignorance is increasing and not diminishing, although there has been a slightly greater increase of population than of illiteracy, relatively, during the decade from 1870 to 1880 in the country as a whole.

"Fifth. That in many parts of the country conditions are growing rapidly worse rather than better, and that the evil is of that peculiar nature that the local power and disposition to apply the remedy grows less as the necessity for it increases.

"Sixth. That the danger to the country is everywhere, although the disease may be largely local; that ignorance anywhere circulates everywhere, and poisons the political and social life of each State and of the whole people.

"Seventh. That the remedy must be applied by those who perceive the danger; that if there is anywhere indifference to the remedy, it proves that there is the more occasion for its use, and that the insensibility of the patient requires at once such measures on the part of those still in relatively sound health as will prevent the spreading of the plague; and that the cry of physicians and nurses for help should control our action rather than the convulsions or the stolidity of the patient.

"Eighth. But in this case there is neither indifference nor stolidity; there is simply an inability to combat the plague unaided, and a cry of distress. Ignorance is worse in a republic than the pestilence.

"Ninth. That the exceptional degree of illiteracy prevailing in some parts of the country, as it constitutes a common danger, so it is the result, historically, of causes for which the whole country is responsible, and that those portions of the land which have been free from the immediate presence of the institution to which we trace the evil, are not without participation in the guilt as well as the lucre which appertained to it.

"That everywhere the pharisee business is played out, and the prayer of the publican is in order.

"Tenth. Those parts of the country where there is least illiteracy have, as a rule, received already very largely pecu-

Mrs. E. T. Merrick,

Pres. W. C. T. U., of Louisiana.

niary assistance from sources which originated in fortunate location and the wise providence of those who lived before them, and that there is justice in the request for help made by those whose ancestors acquired and defended the soil whereon these happy millions and glorious institutions now repose in prosperity and strength.

"Eleventh. That there is no State or Territory in the Union where the facilities for common-school education should not be greatly increased, and none where twice the amount of expenditure and effort now going on might not profitably be made.

"Twelfth. That local taxation is very heavy, falling chiefly upon homesteads and visible personal property and the estates of those least able to bear taxation, which should come from the surplus of society and not from its primary means of existence, while the national income is derived mainly from things either better not consumed at all, and therefore the more heavily taxed the better still, because there will be the less of that harm which comes from consumption, or from articles paid for by those who have the surplus earnings and accumulated wealth of society.

"Thirteenth. That since, at the present time, the national taxation is far less burdensome to the masses of the people, upon whom falls much more heavily the weight of the support of State and local institutions, and also, since the existence of the nation is as much imperiled by ignorance as the perpetuity of the States, therefore the common good requires the appropriation of national aid to the support and maintenance of common schools.

"Fourteenth. That this aid should be distributed in such way and should continue so long as is necessary, in order to equalize the facilities for common-school education, and to once elevate the status of the masses of the community to a high standard of intelligence, at which point and after which the community would, in self-defense and from the instinct which inclines men to keep a good when they possess it, be sure to educate itself sufficiently without national help. This is proved: that systems of education are best supported and most firmly fixed in the most intelligent States. Those

States would as soon surrender their liberties as their schools. They are synonymous.

"I now pass to consider the ability of the different sections to bear taxation. The ability of communities to bear taxation is not in proportion to their relative total wealth or property. But there must first be deducted as properly exempt from any imposition so much property and producing power as is necessary to subsistence, and taxation cannot be sustained except upon the surplus remaining, if any. The valuation per capita of the New England States is $661; of the Middle States, $473; of the Western States, $334; of the Territories, $211; of the Southern States, $155; of the colored population, not over $5; average of the whole country, $337.

"But the ability to bear taxation depends upon producing power at the time the levy is made as much as upon accumulated property, for property will not sell, and consequently cannot pay, unless producing forces are active.

"The census shows that from 1870 to 1880, in the States of Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee, thirteen States, there was a net loss in valuation of $202,868,844. In Texas there was a gain of $170,631,586; in Georgia, $12,253,080; North Carolina, $25,721,580; total, $208,606,246. Consequently the total loss of valuation in the other ten States enumerated was the enormous sum of $411,475,090 in ten years.

"Bear in mind these are not the ten years during which the slaves were liberated. These were the ten years between 1870 and 1880.

"Mr. Miller, of New York.— If it will not interrupt the Senator, I should like to ask him if it is not possible that that difference or shrinkage of value in some of the Southern States is accounted for by the difference in the value of money in the census reports, being currency in 1870 and gold in 1880?

"Mr. Blair. — I cannot say in regard to that. That is an open question, upon which everybody can draw his own inference. But during the same time, in the country at large, as

the Senator knows, the aggregate valuation, which undoubtedly was made upon the same substantial basis in all parts of the country, very nearly doubled. It went from sixteen billion to thirty billion dollars or more, if I recollect aright. I will not vouch for figures, but I think it was from sixteen to thirty billion dollars, the actual values. The Senator will observe, too, that in three of the States enumerated there was an actual increase: in North Carolina of $25,000,000, in Texas of $170,000,000, and in Georgia of $12,000,000. I apprehend that the valuation is substantially on the same basis.

"Mr. Edmunds. — How do you account for it?

"Mr. Blair. — I account for it in the actual diminution in the cash value of the property in those States, if the figures are worth anything.

"Mr. Edmunds. — But how do you account for it?

"Mr. Blair. — From the general influences that operated in that section of the country. I think the data before the country very plainly show in most of these same States a quickening and revival in the business tendencies and in the business activity of the people, and a general inclination to the investment of capital from abroad. The people are turning their attention to industrial questions, and very rapidly. The face of the South is being transformed, and the old poetic quotation will come in one of these days; the South will really bud and blossom as the rose, and that before a great while. But between the years 1870 and 1880 we all know the condition of the Southern country, and I do not think I could elucidate the subject in such a way that it would be better understood than the honorable Senator from Vermont and others already understand it.

"The lack of education among the masses of the people is undoubtedly one more reason why property depreciated; perhaps the greatest reason was the absence of schools, and that was one cause why northern immigration failed to find its home in the South rather than in the West. If there is anything that a Northern man or a Northern family wants, it is a chance to educate the children. They will not go where there are no schools. It is only by the establishment of schools that that portion of the country can avail

itself of the natural tendency to immigration in that direction, either of individuals or of capital.

"The decrease in the losing States varied from 45 to 78 per cent. I call attention to the thread of what I was saying, showing a decrease in the valuation in ten of those States of $411,000,000. During the same ten years the increase of population was 4,006,982, which is, I suppose, at least 30 per cent. of the population of the same thirteen States in 1870.

"Ignorance and poverty procreate faster than intelligence and wealth.

"Again, ability to bear taxation for a certain purpose will depend upon the other existing demands for the application of revenue. In a great section of our country the fixed capital, the houses, structures of all kinds for residence and business of every description, highways, and other means of transportation, etc., were lately destroyed by fire and sword, and when for that reason they have to be replaced, or must be produced as a primary condition to existence and advancement for any reason, the taxation, such as poor and struggling communities can bear, must be greatly absorbed in these uses. A community has certain primary physical necessities like an individual, and as he must eat before he learns to read, so the community must provide for some things even before it provides completely for the intellectual culture of its children; hence it would be expected for all these causes that the people in the Southern States would be able to pay far less for the support of common schools than other portions of the American people. Yet, as a fact, they pay in proportion to their valuation, in proportion to their capacity to be taxed, a great deal more for the education of their children. It is not a question of effort, but of strength.

"The rate per cent. of school to total taxation is, in New England, 20.2 per cent.; Middle States, 19.5 per cent.; Western States, 26.6 per cent.; Territories, 22.4 per cent.; Southern States, 20.1 per cent.; average, whole country, 22.6 per cent.

"Mr. Edmunds. — Do you mean on the total valuation?

"Mr. Blair. — No; the percentage of school taxation to the entire amount of taxation.

"MR. EDMUNDS. — To a fixed ratio.

"MR. BLAIR. — Taking the entire taxation of the country and dividing that taxation into groups, the New England States, the Middle States, the Western States, the Territories, and the Southern States. In New England 20.2 per cent. of all taxation is given to education, to schools.

"MR. EDMUNDS. — That percentage of the total for all purposes?

"MR. BLAIR. — Of the amount of all taxes raised and collected. For instance, where there is $100,000 raised in any given community in New England, $20,200 of that $100,000 is applied to schools; in the Middle States, $19,500 of the $100,000 is applied to schools; in the Western States, $26,600 is applied to schools; in the Territories, $22,400 is applied to schools: in the Southern States, $20,100 is applied to schools; and the average for the whole country of every $100,000 of taxation is $22,600. It has a very important bearing on the merits of the proposition that this table be understood.

"I now proceed to consider the increase of educational expenditures required. I have not dared to make these calculations up to what I think they really should be; they are the minimum. The education of children is a business just as much as the running of a government, or a line of transportation, or the raising of crops. A plant is first required. The child, ignorant of his letters, is the raw material; and, in theory at least, the young man or woman, instructed in the rudiments of knowledge and skilled in the primary arts for its acquisition, is the manufactured article.

"Falling back upon the returns of the Bureau of Education of 1881, the latest and most reliable we have, and bearing in mind all that I have said in the early part of my remarks of the increase since that time, and the enlarged proportions of the problem we are dealing with, I ask attention to the following facts:

"In 1881 there were children of the school ages in the United States not enrolled, that is, not attending at all anywhere in public or private schools, 6,030,936.

"I will here state that educators complain everywhere that they lack accommodations for those who are actually

enrolled. There are no school-houses for their accommodation. In fact, there are not sittings for more than are enrolled anywhere. A school-house for fifty pupils cannot cost less than $300. We have, then, a necessity for increase of school-houses 120,567, and of teachers at least the same number. The houses would cost $36,170,100; if you fit the teachers with one year of instruction, at $250, $30,141,850; teachers' wages for three-month school, at $30, boarding themselves, about 50 cents per day — one-third pay of diggers of ditches and drains — $10,854,930; cost of books, which must be paid for by some one, $180,782; total, $77,347,662, to provide the plant and run it three months for the instruction of the children *not now attending school at all in this country.*

"Take now the seventeen Southern States, including the District of Columbia. There were not-enrolled children of school ages returned to the bureau in the year 1881, 2,873,-399; school-houses and teachers required, 57,465; cost of houses at $300 each, $17,239,500; cost of fitting teachers at $250 one year, $14,366,250; pay for three months, wages at $30 per month, teacher paying board, $5,172,750; school-books, $86,148 — a total cost to provide for and instruct for three months the children not now enrolled in public or private schools, $36,864,648, of which $31,692,898 is necessary before the schools could begin.

"Now, all this done, in addition to what already exists North and South, the country would be only tolerably supplied with a school plant, the repair and reproduction of which, with constant increase of investment to perform properly the increasing educational work, must be provided for.

"But it should be borne in mind that a school of three months leaves nine months in the year in which to forget what has been learned in the three. Many schools are far less in duration, and consist of but a single term during the year, some not more than three or four weeks, in fact. These averages are pernicious, inasmuch as it is like an effort to divide the crime or misery of the country according to population, and say that each person suffers 25 per cent. from cancer, or is three-fourths a lunatic, or 50 per cent. a

murderer. But it is the best we can do, and in no event are we likely fully to grasp the tremendous significance of the solid facts. The schools, in my opinion, should be six months yearly, and be divided in two terms. That is enough; and the rest of the time of youth should be given to industrial improvement and recreation.

"The actual yearly expenditures of all moneys for public schools in the whole country is at this time just about $80,000,000. I believe that to be a liberal estimate. Of this, in the sixteen Southern States, with the District of Columbia, there may be $14,000,000. In the year 1881 it was $13,359,784, as returned to the Commissioner of Education. The schools average about three months yearly.

"If we deduct the $14,000,000 from $80,000,000, we have remaining, as the expenditure in the rest of the country, $66,000,000. As these Southern States have one-third the total population, in order to place that section upon an equality of privilege with the rest, there should be, instead of $14,000,000, a yearly expenditure of $33,000,000 for her enrolled children, and none of these calculations make any provision for children not enrolled at all.

"It is too low an estimate to say that in the North there should be an expenditure of $100,000,000 at once to increase school facilities, provide and qualify teachers for their work, and at least as much more in the South, or in the whole country $200,000,000. Upon the present basis of expenditure in the North, there would be $100,000,000 annually paid for the support of public schools in the whole country. If one-third of the children are now unenrolled and unprovided for there should be an increase in yearly expenditure of $50,000,000 on their account. This would make the annual cost of our public schools only $150,000,000, and would give to all the children of the whole country but six months' training each year, and to teachers only the pay of common laborers or less.

"The proposition of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Logan] — setting aside the source of supply from which he proposed to get the money, which would have a tendency to identify the support of the public schools with the prosperity of a business which I hope will yet disappear from the earth,

which proposition was to appropriate about $80,000,000 yearly to schools — is really moderate when the necessities of the problem are fairly stated, and I take this occasion to say that the proposition of the Senator from Illinois, divested of the objectionable feature referred to, is worthy of a great statesman and far-seeing patriot. There is nothing the matter but our own failure to fully appreciate the stern requirements of the situation.

"If fifty, eighty, or one hundred millions could be substituted for the fifteen millions proposed in this bill, and the whole distributed upon the basis of population, or of illiteracy, temporarily, it would be far better. But I have no hope of the adoption of such a measure, and the committee felt under the necessity of confining the amount to the comparative pittance of fifteen millions, which must, necessarily, if not very largely increased, be confined to the dense clouds of ignorance where explosions are threatened; that is to say, it must be applied locally to the evil itself. In States which receive but little, comparatively little is wanted.

"Even after $15,000,000 are divided upon the basis of illiteracy, the individual child will receive for his education in California, $15.12; in Colorado, $14.34; in Connecticut, $10.71; in Nevada, $14.40; in New Hampshire, $10.07; in Rhode Island, $11.36; in District of Columbia, $13.61; and in Massachusetts, $19.21.

"While in Alabama he will receive $3.64; in Arkansas, $3.13; in Florida, $3.75; in Georgia, $4.03; in Kentucky, $3.67; in Louisiana, $4.96; in Mississippi, $4.09; in Virginia, $3.94; in West Virginia, $4.31; in North Carolina, $3.26; in South Carolina, $5.05.

"While the immediate need in these last States is, at least, for double the education called for in the first group.

"This bill appropriates $15,000,000 the first year, and will give to every State and Territory $3 for each person over ten years of age who cannot read, and $2.41 for each person who cannot write, lessening in amount, that is according to the basis of distribution, $1,000,000 yearly for ten years, when all payments are to cease.

"The State will apply the funds and render a yearly

account of the manner in which the work is done. The Executive, if dissatisfied, can withhold further expenditures, subject to the action of Congress.

"Each State and Territory must expend for school purposes at least one-third the amount received during the first five years, and an equal amount the second five years of the operation of the bill if it should become a law.

"States receiving small amounts can expend the same for normal instruction, teachers' institutes, or otherwise, as they prefer. The amount that New Hampshire receives, for instance, would increase her normal-school facilities more than threefold beyond the present expenditure of the State, or give 59 cents yearly to persons of school age.

"The funds must be applied to schools and not to structures, not exceeding one-tenth to the qualification of teachers, which is the first necessity. The States are required to so use the fund as to bring about an actual equalization of school advantages to all children alike. Industrial education is provided for when practicable, which will be but seldom, although something may be done in suitable localities and in the way of beginning.

"We are a great way deeper in the mire than we realize when we talk of doing much in the way of teaching trades and occupations before our children can half of them find a chance to learn to read. But it will come in time, and a beginning can now be made in the way of setting out a few young trees.

"The Territories are of the utmost importance, and the bill undertakes to provide for them indispensable legislation, both in appropriations and administration.

"The method of expenditure in the States is the same, substantially, which has already been adopted by the Senate in the passage of the bill establishing a national school fund from the proceeds of the sale of public lands, etc. As both parties have already indorsed that method of expenditure on more than one occasion, the committee, or at least a majority of its members, have thought best to avoid all chance for controversy on that subject by adopting that which, having been repeatedly sanctioned, can not now be repudiated with consistency.

"I also embrace this fitting opportunity to say that I fully believe that the States will everywhere disburse the moneys received under this bill, if it becomes a law, in good faith, and with as sacred regard to the demands of prudence and honor in one section of the country as in the other. For a year or two there may be some possible confusion in setting up and testing machinery, but, in the existing condition of the public mind, the better way is to give outright to the States and hold them, as they desire to be held, to an undivided responsibility, to be redeemed upon their honor. We shall not trust to that honor in vain.

"Mr. President, the absolute necessities of this nation, of these States, of their darkened present and of the portentous future, demand the appropriation of public money from a full Treasury to aid in the establishment and support of common schools throughout the country.

"Sir, I appeal to the facts, and entreat the Senate to pass this bill."

Notwithstanding the needy, or, at least, neglected condition of many of the large Northern cities, where ignorance holds the balance of power and really controls States, some disposition to misconstrue the purpose, deny the need, and to misrepresent the provisions of the measure, has been manifested, in the North as well as in the South, generally by those, however, who at heart are opposed to universal education, because it distributes the sovereignity among the masses of the people, where it belongs.

To the Northern people the following views may be specially important; and one thing is true: this country will grow rich and powerful or poor and contemptible *together*. We are one people for better or for worse.

The absolute necessity of a homogeneous civilization throughout the country, which can only exist as the result of like educational facilities extended to all the people, is an irresistible argument for national assistance until adequate school privileges are universal; in this view the Northern people are intensely interested in the education and elevation of all parts of the country alike. Cain was his brother's keeper in spite of himself, and was held responsible for him with more than his own life; and if one part of the country,

Mrs. Sallie F. Chapin,

Superintendent of Southern Work, National W. C. T. U.

by reason of more favorable conditions in the past, has now less of illiteracy and more of wealth, it by no means follows that those who can meanly boast of such advantages have more of virtue, patriotism, or of desirable brains.

I submit the following views as worthy of the profound consideration of my countrymen everywhere, and especially of our Northern people, whose industries and institutions have been erected upon a more fortunate model than that after which society was fashioned where slavery once prevailed. And we ought to know that old things have now passed away. It is time that all things were new.

The war between the nation and the Southern States was a conflict between systems of industrial production. One system secured to the wage-laborer high returns for his toil and to the individual producer high prices for his commodity. The other system paid the common laborer the scant necessaries of life, just enough to create and preserve him as a profitable animal or an efficient machine, while the entire product as well as the plant of fixed, circulating, and living capital was owned by the employer.

These two systems collided in Kansas, and the war which followed abolished the forms of slavery, retaining much of its power, because the ignorance which made slavery possible, with the prejudice against work which grew out of its degradation, was neither removed nor seriously diminished.

More than twenty years have now elapsed since peace was restored, during which long period considerable progress has been made in the South in the diversification of industries and of production and in the increase of general intelligence. A corresponding increase of compensation has resulted to all laboring men, whether wage-workers or producers with small capital of their own, and some advancement has been made.

The wonderful natural resources of the South are now being constantly bought up by the capital of the North and of other countries. Already, the Southern market for many forms of goods once furnished from the North or from Europe, as well as for agricultural productions and raw materials, is being supplied, as it should be, at home. More than this, the South is already invading the Northern and Northwestern markets, and is competing for trade with production

of which the highly paid labor and capital of the North is the chief element.

Foreseeing the inevitable, Northern capital and investments are seeking the South where, with labor of all kinds, agricultural, mechanical, and operative, skilled and unskilled, upon an average not more than one-half or two-thirds as high, when paid in actual money or in commodities at cash prices, as in the North, the profits of their new location will replace the depreciation and losses which are impending to their investments at home.

It is safe to predict that within ten years, unless new and important factors are combined with existing conditions, the productions of the South, after fully supplying their own, will compete in Northern markets, with most of the commodities which now are the chief production of the old free States, at prices so low as to make it a matter of indifference to Northern labor whether the protective tariff against the products of "foreign pauper labor" be removed or continued, or even whether Chinese or foreign contract labor be longer excluded from our shores.

The farm laborers and operatives of both races in the South are rapidly acquiring the skill required to equal that of corresponding classes at the North, while the facts that women and children are more generally employed, and that all work more hours than at the North, enables a given population, if of equal intelligence and skill, to produce more for a time at least, than the same number could under the more liberal treatment of manual workers in the old free-labor States.

The South contains very nearly, perhaps fully, one-half the natural resources of the whole country, and is certainly capable of greater rapidity of development during the next quarter of a century than the North and West. Already she has more than one-third the entire population of the Union. Her rate of natural increase is equal to that of the North with our advantage by reason of emigration, while even this advantage is passing away as the capabilities of the South are becoming better known.

The two principal facts to be noted are these: That the average cash compensation for labor at the South is not more than one-half or two-thirds the amount paid for the same

at the North; and that capital, cognizant of this fact, and of the superior resources, facilities and capabilities of the South, is already rushing there from all directions as the most promising field for permanent investment in active production.

Another fact should be comprehended also by the Northern people, and that is the wonderful uprising of the spirit of thrift, energy and industry observable all over the South.

The traditional Northern conception of the Southern people is not true. A new generation controls that land of surpassing resources and natural advantages. The war destroyed the old form of patrician and semi-military supremacy which appealed to arms to prolong its power. But informed as well as chastened by defeat, the survivors of the struggle and the generation now upon the stage are full of life and hope and enterprise, and are eagerly at work to rebuild their fortunes and restore the power and prestige of their section of our common country, by imitating and, if possible, surpassing all the conditions which enabled the North to triumph in the mighty conflict. No one can witness this display of fortitude in adversity and of aggressive courage, when there was room for despair, without admiration. But all the more do these facts demand the attention of the North.

Their contemplation can occasion regret only in the breast of a common enemy of both sections of the country. But they point with unerring certainty to a coming competition between the producers of both sections for the home market in all the common articles of consumption, in comparison with which that between American labor and the cheap production of the Old World is mere fun. The protective tariff, or absolute prohibition, is the omnipresent and complete defense of American labor and capital whenever threatened with destruction by the commodities of lower civilizations planted on foreign soils. But here we find a cheaper production by a laborer with fewer wants than our own, upon which no tariff can be levied and against which no prohibition can be raised. On the contrary, every power of the government, both State and national, is or may be invoked for its development and defense.

In this emergency what shall be done by Northern labor and by Northern capital? The question has already been

answered, and is being answered by the owners of a great mass of the surplus which those hitherto engaged in the diversified industries of the North, as we have already seen, are planting in the South, where future profits may replace the inevitable losses upon like investments in the North, resulting from the coming competition.

But how about that capital fixed in plants already in operation in the North, and which cannot be transferred to the more favorable conditions of the South, and whose owners have no capital to invest elsewhere? More serious still is this problem to Northern labor, which must, as a whole, live or die where it is. Capital can endure delay, may be transferred elsewhere, or suffer absolute destruction even before its owner is reduced to the level of necessity which is all the while occupied by the toiler for his daily bread. The laborer must have his work every day, for he is hungry three times every day. So are his wife and their little ones, and clothing and shelter are a constant want.

Nothing but dense stupidity can fail to see that the manufacturing capital and cities of New England, and the North generally, are doomed if they are to compete with the cheap labor of the South, which is already becoming skillful with the hand, although, unfortunately, not fully intelligent in the discharge of the duties and in the exercise of the powers of citizenship. This condition comes only with education in the art of reading and writing, and in the other common branches of knowledge, thus giving capacity to receive the benefits of that great instructor and preserver of the life of republics — the press.

To one who reflects upon the fact that political unity in a genuine republic depends upon the universal diffusion of intelligence among the people, the converse is also apparent, that so far as unity of political jurisdiction extends, if it is to be permanent, there must be established throughout that jurisdiction a high and homogeneous standard of intelligent thought and of moral action. Resulting from these conditions will be a uniformity of individual power, which will enable the producer in every path of industry to secure fair pay for the supply of his wants.

With wise reference to the establishment of this general

condition of intelligence, and consequently of industrial independence and equality throughout the country, the national education bill has been earnestly advocated by those who have long foreseen what is now so patent, that politicians and statesmen and patriots are sounding the alarm, and pressing home upon our people the importance of universal intelligence and industrial training as the only remedy.

What does this national education bill propose to do? Not to lessen the development of the South by any means, but, on the contrary, to increase it. It proposes to make Southern labor and the Southern masses more intelligent; to create among their rapidly multiplying millions of both races a vast increase of the wants of life, which must be supplied, so that Southern labor will consume, and therefore enjoy, as well as produce, and thus be obliged to receive in order that it may purchase as high wages as Northern labor, putting an end to the competition between the products of the North and South, and improving both sections by uplifting the masses of the people all over the country.

Consumption can only increase by increasing the capacity to enjoy; that is, by adding to the wants of life by higher civilization and providing higher wages or returns for labor wherewith to purchase the more diversified and costly supply of the necessaries and comforts of a higher life. Increased intelligence constitutes that better civilization, and gives the power which enables its possessor to command his rightful share in the production of his labor combined with the capital of the employer. This subject of the general diffusion of intelligence throughout the country is thus seen to be as important to the North as to the South. It is the only remedy for our threatened Northern industries, except a dissolution of the government and the establishment of new political relations which will enable the North to apply the principle of protection against Southern cheap production, the same as against that of any other foreign power — or a gradual sinking of the pay of Northern producers to the lower level of average Southern compensation for toil.

The schools — common and industrial — with a wise and conservative organization of labor, are the agencies upon which we must rely. I have abiding faith that these great

agencies, already in action, will carry on their beneficent work until the perfect day. But every philanthropist and patriot should contribute his utmost to stimulate every energy of the individual, the State, and the nation, to lift all portions of our common country to the level of the highest, that nowhere shall any recede or fall.

The measure under consideration is still one of the most important before the country. It must and will be pending in some form until every child in the country has the opportunity to obtain a good education in the common branches of knowledge, among which is that of the nature and effects of alcohol upon his body and mind. I therefore insert the following article, carefully prepared in the form of an interview by Prof. Alexander Hogg, of Fort Worth, Texas, and published in the *Boston Globe* of August 29, 1887. It is especially timely as a reply to those who misrepresent the terms and provisions of the bill itself, and who also deny the increased or even the continuing necessity of help to-day, as compared with the condition of the country in 1880.

PROF. ALEXANDER HOGG.

"Prof. Hogg is superintendent of schools at Fort Worth, and a recognized force in the public movements of the whole State. He is a Virginian born and a life-long member and worker in the Democratic party. 'In the cities of Texas,' said he, 'the schools are as good as they are anywhere. The branches usually taught in the public schools are as well taught in Texas as they are in Boston. Of course we have not the fine school-buildings nor the bricks and mortar that you have, but we have the same people with the same brains as your people, both as teachers and pupils. The trouble is in the country. Only some 17 per cent. of our pupils are in the city schools, while 83 per cent. are in the sparsely settled country. It is true, we have a large education fund, but most of it is in lands yet unsold. It will be, when converted into money, a very large fund, but what must the children of to-day do?

"'The cities tax themselves to educate the children. My city began in 1882 with a tax of five mills to the dollar, and continues it. Hence, the Fort Worth schools have grown from 600 pupils and 17 teachers to a daily average attendance of 1600 pupils and 43 teachers. I repeat, the city schools do well because they are well supplied by a very heavy tax. And one-fifth of the entire

fund of Fort Worth goes to the colored pupils. We have not in North Texas, however, so many colored people. The cotton belt, or south-east, is the portion of the State occupied by the blacks. But, whether in North or South Texas, the fund is distributed strictly according to the ratio of the colored to the white pupils. Fort Worth pays the same to the teachers of the colored pupils as she does to the teachers of the white. The principal and assistants of the colored schools are all colored. The principal is a native Texan and a well educated man. We also pay the women the same salary paid the men for the same service, whether as principals or assistants.

"'The nation must help us develop this fair and well founded system. I know our senators have voted against the proposition, but wherever our people understand the Blair Federal Aid Bill they are for it, and if it could be discussed before the people generally they would be unanimous in its support. Persons engaged in educational matters — those acquainted with the bill and the needs of the schools — favor it. The superintendents of the cities and the public-school teachers all over the State, with the fewest exceptions, favor it.

"'If universal suffrage is based upon universal education, upon intelligence, upon the ability of the voter to read the name of his choice upon the selected ballot, there is a great, crying necessity for national relief. It must be given at once. Illiteracy is increasing at a fearful rate, even among the white citizens of Texas. In 1870 there were only 17,505 illiterate white voters, but in 1880 there were 33,085. There you have the startling increase of illiteracy among the white voting Texans of 90 per cent. The colored illiterates numbered 47,235 voters in 1870 and 56,699 in 1880, an increase of 26 per cent.

"'But I am not willing to pass this large increase in illiterate voters in Texas without explaining how it is that my State should have gained in this downward movement so rapidly. Some of these voters are from old Virginia, some from the Carolinas, from Georgia, and not a few from Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. This increase in illiteracy in the voting population has not been confined alone to the States mentioned. The fact is that with the exception of little Delaware the increase in illiterate voters in the South from 1870 to 1880 amounted to 187,671. In this "downward" race it is a little singular that the white and colored have kept so close together, but it shows that the education needed is not wholly for "the brother in black."

"'It may be justly asked why should there be such an increase in the white illiteracy? It is simply because these voters are the

sons of the fathers who laid down their lives, sacrificed their all, in the unhappy struggle for what they believed to be right. Their children, daughters as well as sons, were without school facilities. They really had no time to go to school, but, with their mothers at home, were struggling for something to eat.

"'The census of 1880 shows that there are in Kentucky, above the age of 21, of white women who can not write 22.8 per cent., and in North Carolina there are 33.4 per cent. of white women who can not write. If in the death of these fathers and mothers illiteracy should cease, we should have hope for the republic; but upon investigation it will be found that illiteracy is not only increasing but that it is an inheritance that multiplies with each succeeding year.

"'Under the provisions of the Blair bill, were it to become a law, Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Vermont, with a population of 12,724,322, would receive $3,099,990, or 24 cents per capita. Texas, with a population by the same census of only 1,591,749, could receive $2.44 per capita, or ten times as much as these great States. That shows our disadvantage.

"'Little Alabama would receive 17 times as much as those States. California, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Wisconsin and Oregon, with a population of 18,462,723, would receive $4,486,860, or 24 cents per capita. Georgia, with a population of 1,542,180, would receive $6,042,150, or nearly $4 per capita, nearly seventeen times as much as all these great States.

"'Why is this? Simply because Georgia has seventeen times as much illiteracy as all this vast territory teeming with millions of happy people who received their Federal aid in grants of land from Virginia and the general government for school purposes. Need more be said upon the "necessity" of this aid?

"'Our Southern States are positively doing all they can, and are doing more proportionately than the favored States of the North, more according to their means than the foremost States in this Union.

"'For instance, North Carolina paid school taxes in 1880 upon $160,000,000 taxable property. She realized $400,000, $1 to every $400. Massachusetts paid the same year upon $1,600,000,000, and the school tax amounted to $4,000,000, or $1 to every $400 of taxable property. That is, North Carolina pays for school purposes as much *ad valorem* as Massachusetts, with this terrible drawback — her population being 300,000 more than that of Massachusetts, and is scattered over seven times the territory

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of Massachusetts. Hence, we find the schools in North Carolina are kept open only about three months each year, while in New England they are kept closed less than three months.

"'Now take two American cities: The assessed values of the city of Charleston in 1860 were $45,000,000; in 1880, $21,000,000, a reduction of more than half, with the obligation to educate double the number of children. Taxation in the city of Charleston in 1880 was 3½ mills, State, county and city, in all amounting to $61,000 only for school purposes. Boston gives a total of 2½ mills for all her school enterprises, Charleston solely for primary instruction. That is, Charleston gives for her schools of lowest grades nearly half as much again as Boston. Add to this burden the still greater, viz., Charleston pays a total tax of 2¼ cents, while that of Boston is only 1¼. Education is not a matter of sentiment.

"'The State of New York is worth in taxable property as much as all the Southern States. These expended on their schools in 1881 $13,359,784; in 1881 New York expended $9,936,662. The total taxable property in New York in 1880 was $2,651,940,000; the Southern States, omitting Missouri, $2,370,923,269, or New York is richer than the 13 Southern States grouped in the census tables of 1880.

"'Now, to the practical question: Can the Southern States, with less than half the resources of 1860, educate double the number of children then knocking at the door?

"'If they cannot, who should? I answer, the general government. And for this position I appeal to the highest ethical authority, the duty to do it. It is a well established principle in ethics that all rights are resolvable into duties. The right of citizenship carries with it the duty of citizenship. If the State exercises a right, she assumes a reciprocal duty. The right, therefore conferred by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution in enfranchising over 6,000,000 of negroes, the highest and most responsible political privilege, demands of the United States—the power conferring this right—the preparation of these people to exercise this franchise. Upon this law of ethical philosophy, and the effect of the franchise already conferred, is based the duty of the government to make, and at once, full and ample preparation for the education not only of the voter—the colored—but for all the enfranchised citizens of this free republic, regardless of color or previous condition.

"'The results of the war, enfranchising the colored man, destroyed at the same time the means of educating the now illiterate white voter.

"'After the terrible revolution of 1781, the country, the whole country, was without money, and Virginia ceded "the great Northwest" to the general government to raise revenues to relieve the country of the disasters of even a successful war. This territory, as then divided up, embraces the great States of Ohio, Illinois, and others rich in taxable values, and boasting of the finest school systems of our country, the direct results of which have been known as "the sixteen section" fund. That is for the common schools of these rich and powerful States, one thirty-sixth part of the domain was set apart for the education of all the children of these States. Should not Virginia, "the mother of States," demand from these daughters something in her old age to free her and hers from the dire scourge of illiteracy?

"'Again, of the proceeds of the public lands, $88,000,000, the Northern and Western States have received $80,000,000, or ten times as much as the South. In the distribution of land for the agricultural colleges, the State of New York received over five times as much as Texas did, and realized twice as much per acre. Texas received 87 cents only per acre, California $5, and Minnesota $5.62 per acre.

"'The Blair bill is constitutional. "To provide not only for the general welfare," but to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity." Can liberty be preserved when the ballot is in the hands of a constantly increasing illiterate majority? If universal suffrage must continue, can we expect "the blessings of liberty" to be preserved by universal ignorance? Universal suffrage must rest upon universal education, or Thomas Jefferson's republic is a failure.

"'For this distribution of money they tell us there is no precedent. But a precedent is not wanting. These expounders of our Constitution and readers of our country's history have forgotten the distribution of the surplus revenue in 1836.

"'All the States receiving their quota of this surplus of 1836 devoted it to educational purposes, and yet we hear there is no precedent for any such aid as the Blair bill proposes.

"'Still others talk about the "centralization" of the government extending so far as "to the selection of teachers and textbooks." "To aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools" is the caption of the Blair bill.

"'It is not to establish any new system at all, nor to control in any shape the existing systems.

"'Then, we hear a great deal about the violence this bill would do to Jeffersonian Democracy; but Jefferson was for it, as his published writings will clearly prove.

"'Thirty-six of our United States senators, the chief justice of the Supreme Court and the attorney-general all say that the powers which Congress already possesses are sufficient for this appropriation.

"'It is often said that the opposition comes from the South and the Democratic party. If your people do not know who of the South favor this measure, ask South Carolinians who Wade Hampton is; ask North Carolinians who Matt Ransom and Zebulon Vance are; ask Georgians who Alfred Colquitt and Joe Brown are; Mississippians who George and Walthall (and Lamar, who voted for its passage while a senator), are; ask Alabamians who James L. Pugh is; ask Louisiana and Florida and Arkansas of what politics their senators are.

"'This is a national question. It is an effort of patriotism to save our common country.

"'If universal suffrage must continue, universal education must be provided, and by a power able to do it — the general government.'"

I deem the Education Bill the most important temperance measure that can be proposed, not even excepting the National Prohibitory Amendment, because if it becomes a law the amendment will follow in due time with absolute certainty; and only increased intelligence among the masses of the people gives any hope of fundamental temperance reform.

For this reason, I will now quote briefly from the speeches of senators in its advocacy.

Senator Edmunds, *Vermont:* "We come, then, to the question as to what we ought to do. We do find, and all agree as a fact, that in a great many of the States of this Union there is an undue and excessive proportion of people who are ignorant, and of children who are ignorant, and that in those States it appears to be a fact that at this present time there are not sufficient resources available to provide from the taxable property of the inhabitants of those States for this emergency. It is therefore, as it seems to me, a case in which the common treasure of all the people may be fairly devoted in aid of this great and necessary object for the preservation of real republican government."

Senator Evarts, *New York:* "Now, then, in a word, Mr. President, I confront this immense, this dangerous, this growing, this threatening mass of ignorance. I find a deliberate, a concerted, a thoughtful, a valuable measure. I am heartily in favor of the passage of this bill."

Senator Sherman, *Ohio:* "I think the safety of the national government demands that we should remove this dark cloud of ignorance that rests upon a portion of the people of the States. Without reproaches to any section, I am willing, as one of the senators of Ohio, ... to vote from the national treasury a large sum of money this year, and from time to time, so long as the necessity exists, a liberal sum of money to aid in the education of the illiterate children of the Southern and Northern States."

Senator Lamar (*now Secretary of the Interior*), *Mississippi:* "I have watched it with deep interest and intense solicitude. In my opinion, it is the first step and the most important step this government has ever taken in the direction of the solution of what is called the race problem; and I believe it will tell more powerfully and decisively upon the future destinies of the colored race than any measure or ordinance that has yet been adopted in reference to it — more decisively than either the thirteenth, fourteenth or fifteenth amendments, unless it is to be considered, as I do consider it, the logical sequence and the practical continuance of those amendments. I think that this measure is fraught with almost unspeakable benefits to the entire population of the South, white and black. It will excite a new interest among our people; it will stimulate both State and local communities to more energetic exertions and greater sacrifices, because it will encourage them in their hopes in grappling and struggling with a task before whose vast proportions they have stood appalled in the consciousness of the inadequacy of their own resources to meet it."

Senator Garland, *Arkansas* (*now Attorney-General*): "This bill might very aptly be styled a bill to extirpate illiteracy in the United States. For one, I did not require any amendment to the old Constitution to enable me to find the power of Congress to do this. . . . . In conclusion, I implore both sides, and all sides, to come together and vote for this bill, and be a unit upon it, as we have been talking about it and promising it for years and years past."

Senator Voorhees, *Indiana:* "No discussion in this body, since the war, has been of greater importance, in my judgment, or will be more fruitful or far-reaching in beneficial results, than the one now drawing to a close. The measure itself now before the Senate has never been surpassed in the elevation and benevolence of its spirit, nor in the magnitude and value of its immediate and ultimate purposes."

Senator Hoar, *Massachusetts:* "I profess to be the friend of this bill. I undertake to say that the legislature of this nation has a right to save the life of this nation against whatever

danger. I think it is a better thing to try the experiment whether by educating a black man he can be made fit for American citizenship, than, without trying that experiment, to cheat him out of his vote."

Senator Pugh, *Alabama:* "I do not believe that any measure approaching this in importance has been before the Senate, or is likely to be before the Senate this session with as much popular approval of its passage. My service on the Committee on Education and Labor for five months during the last summer and fall enabled me to learn something of the public necessity. Every witness examined by the committee upon the condition and needs of the public schools in the Southern States urged federal aid to these States, to enable them to extend the benefits of a common-school education to their illiterate children."

Senator Vance, *North Carolina:* "I feel that it is my duty to vote for this bill, and I shall do so."

Senator Brown, *Georgia:* "As without education the voter, without giving him the knowledge which Gen. Washington speaks of as indispensable, ... he cannot be a citizen, at least a useful citizen. He cannot be a voter — a safe, intelligent voter. . . . . I am, therefore, very clearly of the opinion that there is no constitutional difficulty in the way of the passage of this bill."

Senator Jonas, *Louisiana:* "I accept this bill in behalf of the people whom I in part represent, as a great benefaction, as a great assistance to a people overburdened by a charge laid upon them which they are unable to meet, but which they have every disposition to carry out to the best of their ability."

Senator Cullom, *Illinois:* "There is no enemy of the republic who does not make the public-school system of this country the point of his attack, either open or insidious, as the case may be; and there is no friend of the republic who should not do all that may be in his power to defend and strengthen it."

Senator George, *Mississippi:* "Mr. President, I feel very deeply and very profoundly the gravity and importance of the measure now before the Senate. I know of no measure likely to engage the attention of Congress which has so much of benefit to the people whom I, in part, represent on this floor, and also to the people of the United States."

Senator Williams, *Kentucky:* "Mr. President, this is a proposition so manifestly humane and just that it is difficult for me to see how any one can withhold his support from it."

Senator Gibson, *Louisiana:* "In my opinion, reflecting men in all parts of the country . . . . . have formed the deliberate

judgment that the education of the people, the enlightenment of the suffrage, the elevation of the popular character and the popular conscience, the awakening of a loftier and healthier sentiment of national patriotism, is absolutely indispensable to the preservation of constitutional liberty."

SENATOR RANSOM, *North Carolina:* "I will presume to say that I do not think it possible that any member of the Senate can be more anxious for the passage of this bill than I am."

SENATOR HAMPTON, *South Carolina:* "Actuated by these motives, I feel bound, as a citizen, as a Senator, as a patriot, to support the bill under consideration."

SENATOR LOGAN, *Illinois:* "I have been in favor of education ever since I have been old enough to make the matter a study. I have always been in favor of common schools and schools of a high grade, and I am to-day."

SENATOR CALL, *Florida:* "Mr. President, the measure is far above all ideas having their origin in partisan bitterness and sectional prejudice. I undertake to say, Mr. President, that you can not appropriate too much money in this country to education."

SENATOR JONES, *Florida:* "I think there is ample authority in the Constitution for the passage of this bill."

SENATOR TELLER, *Colorado:* "Long ago, on this floor and elsewhere, I have committed myself unequivocally, unhesitatingly, unrestrictedly to the power of the general government to contribute out of its great abundance to the support of public schools anywhere within its jurisdiction."

SENATOR JACKSON, *Tennessee:* "Mr. President, this measure may fail, but I esteem it a great personal privilege, as well as a high patriotic duty, to give it my humble but cordial support."

SENATOR MAHONE, *Virginia:* "Mr. President, I could not be more earnestly in favor of the measure which this bill proposes to inaugurate than I have been and am."

SENATOR RIDDLEBERGER, *Virginia:* "I am not ashamed to say here, on behalf of as good a people as inhabit the State of Texas or of Kansas, that we do want it; we ask for it; and we think that it is due to us to have it."

SENATOR DOLPH, *Oregon:* "A large amount of illiteracy in any government is a menace to it. The remedy for such an evil is to educate."

SENATOR MILLER, *New York:* "I am willing to vote enough of the public money to make such a beginning in this matter that the Southern States shall be so lifted out of their darkness and illiteracy that when this $77,000,000 shall have been distributed,

such a public spirit will have been created in the South that from that time on they will be able to go on with their common-school system perfected, and carry it to complete perfection, as we have done at the North."

Senator Harrison, *Indiana:* "Holding these views, Mr. President, I am sincerely solicitous that federal aid should be extended to the States in such a way that the kindly impulses of that increasing body of Southern men who show a kindly disposition toward the elevation of the colored man shall be recognized and encouraged."

Senator Blair, *New Hampshire:* "I also embrace this fitting opportunity to say that I fully believe that the States will everywhere disburse the moneys received under this bill if it becomes a law in good faith and with as sacred regard to the demands of prudence and honor in one section of the country as in the other. For a year or two there may be some possible confusion in setting up and testing machinery, but in the existing condition of the public mind the better way is to give outright to the States and hold them, as they desire to be held, to an undivided responsibility, to be redeemed upon their honor. We shall not trust to that honor in vain. Mr. President, the absolute necessities of this nation and of these States, of their darkened present and of their portentous future, demand the appropriation of public money from a full treasury to aid in the establishment and support of common schools throughout the country. Sir, I appeal to the facts, and entreat the Senate to pass this bill."

The entire expenditure of the whole country for the support of common schools is now about eighty-five million dollars, possibly ninety million dollars, yearly; — less than one-tenth the direct cost of intoxicating beverages, while of this amount one-third of the school population residing in the Southern States received but one-sixth. One-third at least of these children of the South are never in any school, because there is none; and the average length of the schools which do exist is less than three months during the year. The Northern States do not expend more than one-half the money really required to give all their own children the needed education in the common branches of knowledge. I believe that school expenditure should be doubled at the North, and at least quadrupled in the South. The aid of the nation can be denied, as it has been hitherto; but it is

difficult to comprehend the blindness of those who can thus willfully wrong posterity, and endanger the foundations of the republic itself.

The necessity does not depend upon the surplus in the treasury. If there were no surplus, one should be created by direct taxation if need be to remove this great danger to our free institutions. The ostrich is just as good and even a better mark for the hunter as though he did not bury his head in the sand. To this it may be added that wounds in the head are generally considered more honorable than those most likely to be received by cowards and fools. The Women's Christian Temperance Union has repeatedly endorsed the measure and has adopted it as one of the great means of promoting the temperance reform. So also have all the great labor organizations of the country united in its support. Of what use are laws providing for temperance instruction in the common schools, if there be no common schools? As slavery was the common sin, so ignorance is the common curse of the whole country, and justice requires that what is for the common good shall be paid for from the common purse. Certainly this should be done until each locality is able to bear its share of the burden alone. I close the discussions of this chapter, omitting much that should be said, and even important topics, for the want of space. Education and law are the great remedies. Volumes exist upon each, and I feel how little of real value I can add to the common stock of knowledge already available.

CHAPTER XVI.

"PERSONAL LIBERTY" AND PUBLIC LAW.

The Right to Fight the Rum Traffic by Legislation — The Objection urged against Prohibition — The Manufacture and Sale of Liquors in the Light of "an Inalienable Right" — "Sumptuary Laws" Improperly Defined by Hon. Geo. G. Vest as "Prohibitory Legislation" — The Right to Oppose the Rum Traffic Argued — No "Personal Liberty" to Make or Sell Agencies to Produce Crime and Murder — The Liquor Traffic Considered as a "Business" — Fundamental Propositions as to Legislation on the Liquor Traffic.

WE have now, with some labor, endeavored to ascertain and illustrate the nature of alcohol, the effect which its use has upon the individual man, the family, the local community, the nation, all nations — society at large. It must be and it is admitted that alcohol, as a factor in human affairs, is a tremendous curse, and especially to civilized nations. It confronts us everywhere with its snaky eye and poison tooth, and everywhere it strikes. What strange fascination has this foul thing, over Christian and heathen alike, that it should be thus allowed the liberty of the world? Yet it is to-day an open question, even a great political issue, whether there should be laws enacted having for their specific object the destruction of the trade in drinks which intoxicate. We are told that such laws are violations of personal liberty; of the freedom for which our fathers fought and our flag now waves. That "sumptuary laws," as the term is used in the political nomenclature of the day, mean prohibitory legislation — or, as Hon. George G. Vest expressed the idea in an able speech delivered at Boonville, Mo., September 29, 1882, largely circulated as a political document:

"When the Cincinnati platform of the Democratic party, of which convention I was a member, declared against all sumptuary laws, that convention had reference to prohibitory legislation. . . . . What do you understand to be

the meaning of sumptuary? You understand and I understand that it means simply and solely prohibitory legislation, which has been an issue before the American people more or less since 1851, when the first law was enacted, in the State of Maine."

Before proceeding, I must call attention to the persistent error of those who confound laws prohibitory of the liquor traffic with what are known as "sumptuary laws." Sumptuary laws interfere with the personal conduct of the individual in some matter in which society is not really concerned; as for instance in regard to what he shall eat, drink or wear. But no law has ever yet been proposed, to my knowledge, and certainly none is now advocated by any one, which would prohibit the personal use of intoxicating liquor when that use or its consequences do not injure or endanger the rights of others. Laws in prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks are public in their nature and are enacted for the protection of society against the great evils of the traffic in strong drink, and are no more "sumptuary" than the laws against robbery or murder. I do not concede that society may not go further than it has yet gone, and prohibit the personal use of alcohol or any other poison, or of any substance which injures the bodies and souls of its members, and thus unfits the man for the performance of the duties which he owes to society at large. I only desire now to point out the injustice and absurdity of confounding the prohibitory laws of our time, which relate only to the manufacture and sale for use by others, with "sumptuary laws," which relate only to the consumer and to the manner in which he shall apply food, drink, or raiment, or shelter to his private use. There is no more ridiculous instance of confused thought and expression in the whole nomenclature of absurdity. The eagerness of the advocates of the liquor traffic to transfer to the temperance cause all the opprobrium possible, whether deserved or not, must be credited with this gross perversion of phraseology, since any other explanation is inconsistent with the possession of ordinary intelligence on their part.

But to proceed.

It must also be conceded by any logical mind that if no law

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which prohibits the traffic should be enacted, because it is an invasion of the inalienable right of personal liberty, then laws for the restraint or regulation of the traffic, so far as they do restrain and regulate, are invasions of the same right, and are subject to the same objection. There may be taxation for the purpose of revenue, for the object of taxation is the public good, which includes individual good, and therefore in promotion of the right of personal liberty; — and all occupations and property are subject to taxation upon this principle; — but when this end is obtained, the right to tax ceases and sumptuary or prohibitory legislation, being never for the *purpose* of raising money for the State but rather to restrain and destroy the traffic itself, which is destruction alike of the revenue and of the sources of revenue, whether it be absolute or only partial, is *pro tanto* a violation of constitutional personal right. The principle, then, is that there should be no law to prohibit or fetter the existence of the traffic in intoxicating beverages, because men have a personal right to make, sell and use them, just as they make, sell and use any beneficial commodity.

All political discussion is of the "moral suasion" character. Its object is to convince the judgment and persuade to action, for the enactment and enforcement, or for the repeal or modification, of some *law*. The law-making power is to decide and to act upon the right or the wrong of the thing in issue, for law is a "rule of action, prescribed by the supreme power of the State, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong." If, then, "sumptuary" or prohibitory or restrictive laws are all wrong in themselves, it can not be right to agitate, that is, to use the forces of the pulpit, the rostrum and the press, and of personal influence, to secure their enactment. It can not be right to agitate to secure that which is wrong. It will be admitted that the only justification of any law is its tendency to promote the public good, which includes that of individuals, the aggregation of whom constitutes the public. It is not right to endeavor to create a general public sentiment or public opinion, which is the strongest of all laws, whether put into statutory form or not, and which will of itself destroy this traffic, if it becomes strong enough, without any

formal legislation, unless it is also right to ask that the result of the agitation be made into law when that law would embody the public will. The unanimous State has no more a moral right to seize upon and destroy the inalienable right to make, sell and use intoxicating liquor than has a single member of the State. *Inalienable* rights — life, liberty unless forfeited — can not be taken away by any but tyrannical power. Neither can property, without compensation, and then only for the public good. But this really does not take away value — it only changes its form. It is, then, clear that the right to endeavor to create a public sentiment, as well as to enact public sentiment into law, is denied to those in all countries who endeavor to prohibit or restrain the traffic in alcoholic drinks. It becomes necessary, then, for us to decide whether this claim be well founded, for it goes to the full extent of denying the right to oppose the liquor traffic at all, just as it would be wrong to endeavor to restrain or prohibit men from engaging in agriculture or commerce, and in consuming the product of common human industries.

If there be a right of personal liberty to use alcoholic liquors as a beverage, against the will and to the injury of the public, there is the same liberty to manufacture and sell in order that it may be exercised without prohibition, either total or partial, and moral opposition is as much wrong as resistance by formal laws.

We are now, then, confronted with the broad and fundamental questions: Is the traffic in intoxicating liquors one to which individuals in their private capacity or in their social relations, or their civil and political relations, ought to make opposition, either moral or legal, or in both these ways? Have individuals, has society or the State, the right to oppose the traffic in intoxicating beverages by moral effort or by positive law? If that traffic may be opposed in either way, it may be opposed in both.

OUGHT IT TO BE OPPOSED IN EITHER?

It is a radical question; for if the answer be in the affirmative, then the extent of that opposition must be carried to the full length of the logic which justifies any interference at all.

If any opposition to the freedom of the trade is right, there are certain reasons why that opposition is right, and but for which that opposition would be wrong. If that opposition for those reasons and for the attainment of certain purposes be required at all, then, it should continue until those reasons cease longer to exist, by reason of the accomplishment of the desired ends.

What is the traffic, and whose interests are concerned in it? Obviously, those whose interests are concerned have the right to participate in its control. No man liveth to himself, no one nation more than any one man. Whose interests and what interests are concerned in this traffic, and in what way are those interests affected? Is there any traffic which more universally and vitally concerns every unit, and at the same time the mass of the human race? Is there any traffic which more seriously affects every interest of this world and of the world which is to come? What traffic so concerns the personal fate of him who partakes in it? What traffic so domimates the family — parental, filial, fraternal and conjugal relations? Does not the traffic concern the citizen in his personal fitness for the discharge of the duties which devolve upon him, and in the discharge of those duties by others who have equal powers and like duties with himself? What traffic so clutches at the vitality of the State and of nations, and thus controls the very sources of production, both of property and of population, of enterprise, happiness and power? What traffic so involves all the interests of the whole world? It is in fact a traffic which concerns everybody who exists or will exist on the face of the earth through the whole course of time, until it and its consequences shall cease, which will be either by the destruction of the traffic by the race or the destruction of the race by the traffic. It is hardly too grave a statement to say that the question of that result is likely to be determined by the struggle in which we are now engaged. That struggle can not successfully continue if it is not right to continue it.

Sooner or later mankind will determine the question of right, and then the struggle will cease by the assertion of that conviction with irresistible force, and if personal liberty implies freedom of the POISON trade, then personal liberty

is to be vindicated by the destruction of the race, for whose happiness personal liberty is supposed to exist.

If we consider the parties concerned in the traffic as a mere business, we have first the maker, and second the consumer.

Now, what has a man the natural right to *make?* Has he a right to make anything and everything which mortal ingenuity and skill and exertion can produce? Absolute personal liberty will give him that natural right. May he, then, dig a pit for his neighbor? May he build a fire, on his own land if you please, so as to destroy his own father and mother or great tenements crowded with the numerous and helpless families of the poor? Can he manufacture powder and dynamite in crowded cities? Can he store them under theatres and churches or even palaces? Can he manufacture these or many other things for any but useful purposes? Can he do so at all, notwithstanding his sacred right of "personal liberty," wherever the exercise of his vocation results in a product or an action wholly or even partially inimical to mankind? Can he produce things, serviceable and necessary in themselves when applied to beneficial uses, without, at the same time, submitting to the absolute prohibition of their production for hurtful ends? Is there an unlimited right to create facilities for destruction? Has any man personal liberty to poison the air? Has he any more the right to manufacture any poison, whether in one form or another, which, like the corrupted air and like the plagues of Pandora's box, once out, will go everywhere and destroy every green thing? Does personal liberty extend to the making or doing of all this? If not, why not? There can be no reason for the restraint, except that the exercise of personal liberty which inflicts evil upon others is morally wrong and therefore is legally prohibited. But if he can not thus make, how can he sell or distribute though freely, without price, that which will injure another or that which is, even when designed for a good use, liable or likely to be applied to the injury of another? Is there, or should there be, personal liberty, in this or any other country, to make or to sell (which is a part of the making) powder and dynamite and arsenic, strychnine, aconite and prussic

acid, for any but uses which are beneficial to society? Is there even the liberty by law to create these dangerous agencies without legal supervision and watchfulness, that they be applied only to the beneficial use? Can you sell them, or can you give them away, without responsibility, which is regulated by law? Are any of these intrinsically more dangerous to individuals or to society than alcohol? Nay, will not every man instinctively avoid them if he knows of their nature or apprehends their dangerous use? But who of its victims avoids alcohol? It charms like the adder, and holds its victim fast with its glittering eye. Now, what is alcohol, and how does it seize and hold its prey? Alcohol is a substance which has an affinity for the soul as well as for the body. It is an invisible spirit as well as a physical thing. Shakespeare has well called it "devil." It enters at the lip and is at once in the brain, burning, raging, destroying. By some horrible alchemy, some inscrutable, mysterious and awful demonism of affinity, it interpenetrates and possesses the whole threefold nature of man, and recreates him into the image of hell. While its kingdom lasts, it is of the infernal world. What there is in the strange compound called man which yields at once to the dictates of this spiritual and physical poison, we cannot tell. But alcohol can conquer every human organism. It mounts to the brain. It captures the citadel of thought. Reason hath no power over it. It delights while it destroys. It becomes a second nature. It creates a desire for continuous use which is as imperious and often as unconquerable as the appetite for food. The man becomes possessed. The brain, the stomach, the blood, the tissues, everything craves, with unutterable, unappeasable longings, more poison, more delirium, more death. Once fully formed, this appetite becomes permanent. It descends with the blood and murders in the third and fourth generation. The hereditary taint is developed and re-enforced in the child by continued use, deepening as it descends; and thus the evil, which might be eliminated by abstinence, is continually growing wider and deadlier from generation to generation, so long as the supply comes to the increasingly voracious demand. What acohol inflicts others

may tell, — of madness, idiocy, starvation, crime, death, — but we have the character of the agency in this summary of qualities. Alcohol enslaves the mind and the body so long as the fit of intoxication lasts. Its use creates an appetite, unnatural to be sure, but no less unappeasable than hunger for healthy food. It demands its supply as much as the natural wants of both body and mind. Thus, with use, intoxication becomes perpetual, and even in what appear to be the most sober and normal conditions of the man, he is in a state of chronic unsoundness, which unfits him for the graver tests and duties of life, while he steadily gravitates in a geometrical ratio to final destruction. As the process goes on, the will becomes extinct. Will is freedom; its absence, slavery. Reason in itself has no power to resist desire. Desire grows strong as the will grows weak, and another will is evolved, which wars for the supremacy of the soul. It finally subjects the whole man, and the new condition becomes the foundation of a great industry now protected by the laws of the land, the direct effect of which is the suicide of human nature.

The evil, then, of alcoholic intemperance is caused by the existence of a pernicious industry which is based upon the demand for the hurtful use of intoxicating spirits. What are the remedies for this state of things? Obviously, the evil could not continue if the creation of alcohol should cease; but alcohol would not be manufactured if there were no demand for it. There would be no hurtful use but for the appetite which the improper use has created. But the unfortunate practices of the past have produced the appetite, until it is as much a fact as any other fact in the conditions of civilized life.

Is it right that personal liberty be exercised to create an agency like this for the express purpose of being sold or given away, and thus destroying mankind? If so, there is "personal liberty" to commit every crime, and murder is a legitimate occupation.

Between the manufacturer and the consumer are the middlemen, who purchase in quantity, transport and accomplish the retail sale. Shall they exercise this same God-given "personal liberty" to traffic in the fatal commodity that it

may be applied to its fatal use? Certainly if the right exists to make, it exists to sell. We do but trifle when we haggle over the sale of that which we permit to be made, and which is worthless unless it be sold. It can not be right to permit the manufacture of that which it is a wrong to apply to the very use for which it was right that it should be made. Out upon all such sophistry! The maker is the great criminal, or there is none. Lay the ax at the root of the tree. Attack the maker as well as the seller, and with still sturdier blows hew to the conscience of society, and destroy the greatest criminal of all.

Now we come to the consumer. Has he personal liberty to consume? Has he the right to poison himself? Has he the moral right? The sane suicide is, by all the laws of God and man, a murderer. If successful, he escapes the penalty of human laws, but renders an account elsewhere. If he survives the attempt, he is, by the common law, subject to the penalties of those who unlawfully, but unsuccessfully assail the life of their fellow-men. If the liquor traffic be wrong, it is because it does hurt. That hurt is done by reason of the consumption, and but for the consumption the manufacture would cease. There is no escape from the conclusion, then. If the consumer, having still self-control to that extent which involves moral responsibility, consumes alcohol to his hurt, he is a wrong-doer. The sane suicide, if there be one, commits a wrong. He has duties and responsibilities to society and in his relations to his Creator; it is also a violation of his duty not to stay in the world all the days of his appointed time, until his change come, in the attempt to discharge the obligations of life, from which he can not escape. So the consumer of alcohol who does so to the injury of his power to perform those duties (and I believe that any indulgence which is not medicinal is injurious) does a moral wrong, a wrong to others, so far as he does a personal injury to himself; for such personal injury deprives both himself and others of that affirmative exercise of his powers for good which is demanded by his duty to God, society and himself.

CRIMES AND VICES.

I am aware of the distinction drawn between crimes and vices. Crimes are offenses against the rights, either of person or property, which belong to others, and society punishes crimes by law. A vice is a wrong personal practice, which is supposed not directly to injure the public, or which society has not yet by legislation placed in the category of crimes. But of any vice which injures society, society may at any time take jurisdiction as a crime, and there is no vice which injures only the individual. In the nature of things, as society is made up of individuals, whatever hurts one of its members injures the whole; and, if the evil be flagrant, the self-infliction, which, while responsibility lasts, is the only form in which a vicious practice exists at all, — for every man does his own drinking, — is no excuse, any more than attempted self-destruction is an excuse from the consequences of an attempt to kill. Hence it is the duty of society to prohibit and to punish vices which have become a serious evil. A serious evil can not be confined to him who commits it. A man has no right wantonly to burn his own house, to maim himself, to pursue a course which will surely destroy his person or his property, dethrone reason, deprive those of his active help who are entitled to it, or which will cast him a helpless burden upon others who are in personal relations to him, or a wreck upon society at large. The law, in most cases, does prohibit any such falsely so-called "personal liberty" as this, and I believe should prohibit and punish the otherwise than medicinal use of intoxicating liquors by the consumer himself. If there be no public sentiment now which will enact and enforce such a law, then, agitation should continue until the question be settled whether or not the practice of intoxication be right or wrong, even though it be concealed from the public gaze. When that question is settled, principles already determined upon and adopted in other cases will dispose of this, in regard to the prohibition of the use by the consumer. I always contend, however, for the logical result of the premises I lay down, or I abandon the premises. The present agitation seeks no prohibition by law of any consumption by the individual which does not

lead him to disturb the public peace. There will be a time when the consumer to his own serious injury will be punished by law.

If alcohol be a medicine, its use as such should be free, subject only to such regulations as will secure its safe administration, as in case of any poison; but any other use within the human system is wrong, and should be prohibited. This is no supervision of the mind, no interference with freedom of thought. It is only the assertion of the well settled principle of law, that a man shall not intelligently inflict upon himself a wrong which is from its very nature an injury to society, and which for that reason he may not inflict upon others.

But let us examine the nature of this traffic, *as a business transaction, more closely.*

What is the work of the manufacturer? He withdraws capital, which is the product of human toil, from investment in useful enterprises, and employs it in a business which destroys humanity. He seizes upon human food, fresh from the hand of beneficent Nature, and converts it into an active poison, which generates disease and invades the citadel of life. He applies the labor of man, which should be directed to the production of things of use and beauty, to that which deforms and destroys. He invokes, and he receives, the protection of the laws and institutions of society for himself and his family and his property. He produces in return that which eviscerates the very life of the body politic; fills the land with pests; the asylums, the hospitals and the penitentiaries with occupants, and builds nine out of every ten gibbets where murderers expiate their crimes. Society, which protects him and his business, thus inflicts upon itself more misery than it suffers from pestilence, famine and war. Society is guiltier far than the maker and dealer, who has at least the environment of business, the inducement of trade, the necessity of support for himself and of those dependent upon him, and an occupation which constitutions and laws have protected from time immemorial, to blunt his moral sensibilities, or to induce him to continue in the profitable entanglements which an aroused conscience is not quite strong enough to break. Society has no such excuse. Society gives all, and

receives in return this stone, or serpent, which is worse than the stone.

Look further, too, at the consumer. He pays his money, the product of legitimate industry, for the product of the still; a valuable consideration for that which satisfieth not, and which curses with an unconquerable desire for more and more of that which was all shames and crimes in the beginning.

What does alcohol to the husband? It converts him into a brute for life, and turns death into a blessing.

What does alcohol to the wife? It converts her into a maudlin fiend, a sot, an outcast, and shames the earth with a species of fallen angel, for which hell has no rival.

What does alcohol to them both? It turns parentage into a crime, and young life into inherited misery and debasement; loads childhood with burdens which maturity can not bear; blasts existence with shame and want, sickness and despair; transmits crime and idiocy, insanity, disease, pain and perchance (by good-fortune) death.

What does alcohol to the child? It blasts the fond hope and high promise with which life began; crushes out the mother's soul, and brings down the gray hairs of the once proud father in sorrow to the grave. Thus, in its turn, childhood curses parentage, and all the affections of human nature bring forth the ashes of despair.

And so it is that, in every possible aspect in which we can contemplate this traffic in alcohol as a beverage, we find it to be evil, utterly evil. If there be any other thing which is under the control of man, or to the influence of which he is subjected, whether or not it be under his control, from which he suffers so much, as an individual and in his social and his larger relations, what is it? If there be anything to which he may oppose his heart, his thought, his tongue, his pen, his hand, and all the organized forces of the State, what is it, if it be not the traffic in alcohol? Think over the whole category of things which blast and destroy mankind, and name the curse so universal and so threatening as this octopus, with his deadly tentacles glued upon the homes and the bleeding hearts of all Christendom — upon every continent — and whose choicest prey is the most highly developed and civilized of the race.

Miss Julia Coleman,

Superintendent of Literature, National W. C. T. U.

It seems an absurdity to claim that such an evil is beyond and above moral and legal restraint. We have already seen that, if subject to either, and the necessity require, it must be subject to both. I shall venture to assume that the constant warfare of the last hundred years for the rescue of men from this infinite curse has not been attempted tyranny on the part of those who waged it; that "personal liberty" has not been violated by all these gigantic efforts of the greatest and tenderest and the best, to promote the happiness of others by all the energies of personal love, of enlarged philanthropy, of the church and of the State; that the mighty noise of the battle to-day is not all for the destruction of our liberties, but rather for their preservation, and for the salvation of our homes and of our country, and for the happiness of mankind.

I close this chapter with certain propositions which I believe to be true. They were advanced by me on an occasion now long past. They have been subjected to at least the opportunity of critical examination, which I know they have received on the part of those who are interested to disprove them; for if they be true propositions, then, "their craft is in danger." They have never yet been confuted, nor, so far as I know, even assailed.

These propositions cover the case, and if they are not true they ought to be confuted, for many believe them, and will act upon them until they be either disproved or be enforced by all the powers of moral suasion and of public law.

FUNDAMENTAL PROPOSITIONS.

In order to justify legislation of any kind restricting the manufacture and use of alcoholic liquors, I believe it to be necessary to maintain these propositions:

First. That it is the duty of society, through the agency of government, which is the creature of society, to enact and enforce all laws which, while protecting the individual in the full possession and enjoyment of his inalienable rights, tend to promote the general welfare, and especially whenever that welfare is impaired or threatened by any existing or impending evil it is the duty of society to enact and enforce

laws to restrict or destroy that evil. It may be proper to observe that no law can promote the general welfare which deprives an individual of an inalienable right, when that right is properly defined, or which impairs the enjoyment thereof, whether of life, liberty, property, or the pursuit of happiness. But society has inalienable rights as well as individuals, and the right to such legislation as will promote the general welfare, in its true sense, is one of them; and the inalienable rights of individuals and the inalienable rights of society at large are limited by, and must be construed and enjoyed with reference to each other.

Second. While society has no right to prevent or restrict the use of an article by individuals for purposes which are beneficial only, yet if that use, beneficial to some, is found by experience to be naturally and inevitably greatly injurious in its effects upon others and upon society in general, then it becomes the duty of society, in the exercise of its inalienable right, to promote the general welfare, and, in self-defense to social life, just as the individual may defend his natural life, to prohibit, regulate or restrict the use of that article, as the case may require. This principle is daily applied in laws which control the manufacture and use of gunpowder, nitro-glycerine, dynamite, and other things of great and dangerous potency, the unrestrained use of which, even for useful purposes, has been shown by experience to be destructive to the inalienable rights of others. This results from the common principle of law that every man must so enjoy his own rights as neither to destroy or impair those of another, and it is the great end for which government is instituted among men to compel him so to do.

Third. No person has a right to do that to himself which impairs or perverts his own powers; and when he does so by means of that which society can reach and remove by law, to such extent as to become a burden or a source of danger to others, either by his example or by his liability to commit acts of crime, or to be essentially incapacitated to discharge his duties to himself, his family and society, the law — that is, society — should protect both him and itself. A man has no more right to destroy *his* inalienable rights

than those of another, or than another has to deprive him of his own. The laws restraining the spendthrift in the destruction of his inalienable right in property, and punishing suicide (as the common law did, by forfeiture of estate, etc.) or *attempted* self-murder (as the law does now), are familiar examples of the application of this principle.

These are elementary principles of law and of commonsense. They are corner-stones of all just government. To these principles every member of society is held to have given his assent. They are unquestioned, so far as I know, by any one who believes in any law. They are axiomatic, and indestructible as the social organization itself.

Fourth. The use (unless medicinally) of alcoholic liquors to the extent of intoxication or poisoning — which, as will hereafter be seen, is the same thing as intoxication — is an injury to the individual; it inflicts great evils upon society at large; it is destructive to the general welfare; it is of a nature which may be greatly restricted if not destroyed by the enforcement of appropriate laws. Consequently such laws should be enacted and enforced; and this should be done in our country, either by the States or by the general government, or by *both*, if such laws can be made more efficient thereby. If these propositions be true, I believe that the facts in the controversy between man and alcohol unquestionably bring the traffic under the jurisdiction of prohibitory law.

If these propositions be not true, then, society is without cement and government is rank usurpation.

CHAPTER XVII.

UNDER WHICH LAW, LICENSE OR PROHIBITION?

The Principles Underlying the License Idea Discussed — Prohibition under a Chinese Emperor, Four Thousand Years Ago — New York City under License Mapped and Studied as a City of Saloons — The Relative Merits of License and Prohibition as Means of Restriction — "Prohibition Does not Prohibit," an Absurdity — Gov. Dingley's Testimony — New Hampshire and Vermont.

ASSUMING, from the preceding facts and discussion, that opposition to the liquor traffic by the individual and society is obedience to the first law of nature, which is the exercise of the great right of self-defense, it becomes a vital matter to determine in what way and by what methods that right shall be exercised. It is obvious that it must be done either by persuasion or by force, or by their combination. The conduct of the producer and of the consumer must be controlled by their own will voluntarily yielding to the right, or by the will of others. No human power has the right to force the will of the individual when on the defensive, save the State. If the liquor traffic existed only by mere sufferance, and not by legal recognition and under the protection of the State, the law of self-defense would justify individuals and communities in the use of so much force as should be found necessary to destroy it without resort to legal measures. But it now exists under the protection of law. It will not yield to persuasion. If, then, it is to be removed, force must be applied by the sovereign power under the direction of the sovereign will. That will is the law; and if its existing expression protects the traffic, it must be changed to secure the regulation or the destruction of the traffic.

The law must permit absolutely without restraint of the trade — as in case of any useful occupation; or it must regulate and restrict, which implies that the trade is more or less dangerous to society; or it must prohibit absolutely, which

implies that the traffic is bad in itself or so dangerous to society, or both so bad and dangerous, that the public good requires its outlawry and extinction.

A *tax or duty* upon the occupation does not assume the existence of any evil in that occupation. The power of taxation may be exercised upon any trade whatever in the discretion of the sovereign power; that of the teacher, the clergyman and the husbandman or the lawyer, as well as of the dealer in strong drink. So a tax may be levied upon any production whatever: as cloth, tobacco, sugar or salt. Nothing against the occupation or product is implied by the imposition of a mere tax.

A license fee may stand upon different ground, and may be imposed either for the sake of revenue or for restraint, or with both ends in view. If by law the license be free to every one who will pay the license fee, and it be conceded that the occupation and the product are useful and not hurtful to society, then, the license fee is only another form of taxation, and should be uniform and impartial in its operation; otherwise, it becomes tyranny. If the law goes further and imposes conditions to restrain, to regulate and curb the industry by imposing an excessive or burdensome charge, or by restricting its exercise to a favored few, or in other ways designed to restrain the production or the occupation, it is then not a tax, but a prohibition, so far as it goes, and can only be justified upon the ground that the traffic is a public evil, and the degree of prohibition, whether absolute or partial, is to be determined wholly by the extent of the evil and the degree to which the public good requires its restraint. So that a restrictive license law stands upon the same *principle* as absolute prohibition. Whoever concedes the principle of the high or low *license* law, the law which is not enacted purely and only for the sake of revenue, has given up the "personal liberty" shibboleth, and stands upon the same ground of *principle* as the most fanatical prohibitionist. The argument between them has ceased by a surrender to the principle of the prohibitionist, and all further discussion is confined to the question of the degree of culpability on the part of the traffic and the demands of the public welfare. Whoever holds to the position that there should be no

"sumptuary laws" is for "free rum." Thus wide is the gulf between the theories and platforms of those who are for "prohibition" and those who are against it. There is no middle ground of *principle*. Liquor dealers' associations, which, under the pressure of outraged and aroused public conscience, endeavor to protect their craft by the open or secret advocacy of any form of license laws, have no principle or logic remaining upon which to base their action. Admitting their trade to be an evil, they must prove that the license law is better for the public than the prohibitory law when *faithfully enforced and with their own co-operation*.

It is no reply to say that the prohibitory law can not be so well enforced as the law of license; for nothing but their own opposition ever has stood, or ever will stand, in the way of such enforcement. Therefore, the question is between the relative good resulting from absolute prohibition of the use of alcoholic beverages and their use under a license law, which is absolutely no practical prohibition, except as pecuniary and other mere transient difficulties are put in the way, like the grass thrown at the boy whom the "old man found in his apple-tree, stealing apples."

When, therefore, the traffic asks or consents to a license law, whether high or low, it must be plainly understood that its motive is to secure an enactment under which, by fraud and evasion, more of that absolute freedom which it is entitled to under the anti-prohibitory theory is attainable than can be secured with the same effort by fraud and evasion to escape from the meshes of absolute prohibition. In other words, it is seeking free rum under license, because license is less hurtful to the trade than prohibition.

Whoever supports a license law assists, however unintentionally, to secure that end. I admit that a highly restrictive license law may be executed, although it seldom is, for a short time beneficially; but invariably it soon degenerates into freedom, and the quantity consumed is seldom diminished for the time being even, and soon it is increased. If public sentiment should continue active against the traffic, it inevitably passes on into prohibition. If public sentiment sinks and recedes, license becomes no law at all. Invariably the holder of the license violates its con-

ditions, and thereby incurs the penalty of the law, so that danger to himself compels him to permit the sale by his neighbor who has no license at all. The great pretended advantage of his co-operation with the community in the enforcement of the law disappears, and we have "free rum." Certainly, there can be no more freedom under the prohibitory than under the license law, when neither is enforced; and if the traffic be intrinsically right, why enact prohibition, either total or partial, in the form of license or of absolute denial?

It is better to have a good law partially executed than a bad law which seems to sanction the evil, and which will be no better executed than the good one. God put *prohibition* into the ten commandments; certainly they are not fully enforced. Yet He never has repealed them. It is safe to follow His plan of legislation. The non-enforcement of a good law is a strange reason for its repeal; that is to say, if there be an evil which requires the aid of law — the interference of the government — for its extinction, the law being provided and failing of execution because of the continued existence and strength of the evil, the law should be repealed in order that the evil may still more increase!

If it be a bad public example to neglect the enforcement of needed law, what are we to say of that public "example" which succumbs to the evil by withdrawing all protest and confessing the subjugation of the government itself to its power. If the prohibitory law exists, it will be the more effective whenever wanted, and is the more easily enforced when any law can be enforced. But the license law is frequently advocated by the enemies of prohibition from a *purely business motive*. Wealth is glad to remove the small dealer by the imposition of a heavy fee and then to absorb the profits of the whole trade to itself. Monopoly is after every dollar there is on earth. It is forever the big fish swallowing the little one. But why should the rich man be allowed his gilded saloon, when the poor man is denied his slum? The man who patronizes the former will become the pest who supports the latter. Is wealth to be used to destroy its possessor? Such a doctrine justifies suicide! Why should not the wretch be permitted to commit *hari kari* in a hovel,

as well as the dude and the gentleman surrounded by syrens and magnificence? There is no argument for license which is not an argument for absolute "personal liberty" — for the totally unrestricted traffic.

A restriction by license or tax is no greater impediment, certainly, than absolute prohibition and the infliction of the penalties and disgrace of crime. If prohibition fails wholly or partially, then must license, high or low, or taxation in any disguise, which is permission whatever form it takes, fail still more and worse. There never yet was in any community the necessary public opinion to enforce a license law, which would not accomplish more to remove the curse if operating to administer a prohibitory law. No prohibitory law was ever weakened or repealed, and no license law was ever substituted for prohibition, for the purpose of *suppressing* the evils of intemperance. The motives, the interests and the influences which oppose the enactment of prohibitory legislation are always identified with the rum power. Indeed, the staple argument for license is that thereby a strong interest is created which, in self-defense and to promote its own increase and profits, will aid to enforce the law against others who seek to engage in the same nefarious business.

But how delusive is even this pretense. Who ever knew of a licensed liquor saloon being conducted, except temporarily, without constant violation of the restrictions in the law under which it existed, and the incurrence of liability to its penalties? How long does the licensee continue in that innocence without which he dares not accuse the dealer who sells without any license, at his side, in defiance of all law whatever? A "nuisance" he may aid to suppress, for that hurts his trade by arousing the indignation of the community, — but he never moves on the enemy's works from any other motive, and seldom from even that. With slight and temporary exceptions, a license law is no law at all. There is no practical difference in the end, and the degree of *prohibition* which there is in the license law is all that does any good.

The only good ultimate effect of a license law is to demonstrate its own utter worthlessness, and thus to contribute by experience, which is the great teacher, to the evolu-

The Late John B. Finch.

tion of the law of perfect prohibition. We approach the light very slowly. The so-called prohibitory laws, so far as they have failed, have done so because they were partially, in effect, license laws themselves, and they always will be so until that part of the trade hitherto untouched and unrestrained is brought under jurisdiction: to wit, the manufacture, the transportation and the importation, which are now protected by national power.

The national protection to the liquor traffic is the true reason of the failure of State prohibitory laws, so far as they have been inefficient. As well may a single county expect to fully enforce prohibition while adverse laws and a hostile public opinion surround it. As the homely proverb says: "The fault is in the tinder." Our present system of prohibition is at best nothing more than an attempt at local option by States, and is subject to all the inherent weakness which exists in such movements in the several States. Far better than nothing; but we must reach the manufacture and the importation and the transportation by national power.

The effect of the *imposition of a license fee* is, in itself alone, perhaps calculated to restrict the number of those who engage in the traffic, and also to give the public a share in the proceeds of the sale. But, in practice, it is all collected from the public, either by an increase of the price or by the dilution or adulteration of the drink. On the other hand, it blunts the public conscience; it sinks the State to the level of the partaker, which is the level of the thief; while the gain to the public coffers is that of the man who in a conflagration should rescue his dog but lose his family. The tremendous account for burdens upon society, and even those imposed directly upon the State for pauperism, crime, insanity and charity, sustained by taxation, loss of production and immense taxable values which would exist but for the traffic, arouse our hot indignation and scorn when the trifling revenues from it are suggested as any palliation or compensation for such dire calamities.

Whenever it is apparent that the collection of a tax upon some occupation or commodity is required to defray the public expenses, there are many reasons why this traffic

should be selected to bear the imposition, perhaps sooner than any other; but it should not be selected if it appears that such tax will increase the trade or interfere with its extirpation. Ten thousand times more revenue can be collected by destroying than by taxing the liquor trade, for by its extinction how many fold should we multiply the wealth and happiness of the people now, and for all coming time?

But I believe the granting of any license, high or low, to make or sell intoxicating drinks *is a moral wrong*, and that, by constitutional prohibition of the whole traffic, should be made a legal wrong, — a crime against the Constitution and society. There are no considerations of pecuniary advantage to the State which justify it for a moment, — no matter if proportions were reversed and the profit of the tax were as great as is the destruction wrought by the traffic.

Can, then, the enactment of a license law ever be justified? No! Absolute prohibition should be the law of the land. To enact any other is a wrong.

Is the enactment of a license law ever to be excused? No! It must, however, sometimes be submitted to. The trouble about the business is this: We are under the law of absolute freedom. The traffic stands, like wheat-raising, under the full protection of the law. The State is responsible for its existence and for its vast proportions, for its shames, miseries, losses and crimes, — just the same as though it should fail to enact laws for the preservation of public order and, still worse, should protect men in making war upon society. That is the astounding position in which governments now actually stand. *They have given unrestricted consent and full protection*, and are partners in the concern, suffering the losses but getting none of the profits, save only as they promote an industry presumed to be useful, because it has been accepted as legitimate by acquiescence and positive law.

Three cases arise: —

First. Government says to the traffic: "I am in want of money. You can furnish it better than other occupations. Therefore I impose a tax." That is what might be said and done with any other business, and the *status* of the trade is untouched.

Second. Government says to the liquor traffic: "You destroy much good. You are a crime. I will partially suppress you. I will totally prohibit all but one man in a thousand from selling at all. I will consent that one man in a thousand shall sell, but he must give me a part of the money. I will license him to sell, for a fee which he will take out of his customers. I will be very strict with him also. He shall not commit this crime on Sunday nor poison children under ten years of age in his own store." That is a license; it does not read very well, but it is really an advance over the first position. It is better than nothing, because it concedes that the business is a crime, — otherwise it could not be interfered with for its restriction at all.

Third. The government says to the traffic: "You are a murderer and you must die." That is prohibition, and it is right. Free rum? — Never! Licensed rum? — Never! when possible to do better. And remember that it is always possible to do better. Why not return to the old practice of licensing or condoning every crime whatever for cash?

In licensing, and far more in permitting without restriction, the traffic in alcohol, we do license almost every known crime and form of public evil by wholesale, for this traffic is their primal cause. In the chapters upon "National Prohibition" and "What Shall We Do Next?" I have called attention to the reasons why the so-called prohibitory laws have partially failed, and will not here repeat what is there said. These laws have been by far the most successful of any we have ever had for the suppression of the evils of intemperance, and they were never repealed by those who desired their stricter enforcement. No law has ever been substituted for them which was enforced any better, or in fact as well. No license law was ever substituted for a prohibitory law under which the traffic did not increase. If a prohibitory law gives us free rum how *can* a license law restrain it? One becomes tired of the foolishness which teaches that license is restraint. There seems to be no way to learn save by experience, and, after many days, the whole country will apply prohibition as the only remedy for evils which should not exist, and which the people sincerely desire to destroy.

Prohibition is not a new rule although, from the nature of things, it is the only one which can result in prevention, and destroy the traffic. Its imperfect application is the only possible reason of failure, and it is singular reasoning which demands the abandonment of the best remedy in disease because it has not been administered to the patient.

The Emperor of China, 2207 years B. C., forbade the manufacture and drinking of intoxicating liquor, under the severest penalties, and even renounced its use himself. The Emperor Claudius suppressed drinking houses and the sale of liquor. The prohibition of the sale of ardent spirits was maintained in Sweden from 1753 to 1756, and from 1772 to 1775. In 1637, the General Court of Massachusetts, and in 1676 the New Constitution of Virginia, applied, in part, the principle of prohibition to the traffic in strong drink; and so on until the present time the right of the law-making power to prohibit has been asserted and vindicated over and over again. It is not possible, nor would it be profitable, to review the history of legislation upon the subject in this work. That has been exhaustively done by Dr. Eddy and many others. But the *principle* has been always successfully applied, whether by States throughout their entire jurisdiction, or in sections and localities, in the form of what are known as local option laws, whenever and so far as its application has been honestly and judiciously attempted. All prohibitory laws necessarily fail in part, and will continue to fail until they are enacted by authority having complete jurisdiction and power over the evil against which they are directed.

It is often admitted that prohibition is good for the country rather than license and free rum; but not for the city. Why? — because it can be enforced, it is said, in the country, but can not be enforced in the city. What is it, then, in which the good consists? In the prevention, if it can be secured, in the curtailing or destruction of the traffic. Then the only question is, Which is the best system, prohibition or license, to secure the end in the city? It being conceded that *prohibition* is the *thing* that is good in any event. Why cannot prohibition be enforced in the city? Murder takes place in the city. Is it therefore either

licensed or permitted any more than in the country? On the contrary, the greater the evil or the more rife and dangerous the crime the more strict the law, and the more stern should be the execution. Why is martial law declared in times of turbulence or war? If ordinary methods and tribunals will not enforce the law against the liquor traffic, it may become a reason for declaring *martial law* in the cities, but not for the repeal of the law and the license of the trade in death. The one city of New York is now doing more to destroy the American people than the whole Southern confederacy accomplished from 1861 to 1865.

Indeed, the cities of our country are almost built upon a framework of saloons, and everywhere the word saloon has come to be nearly synonymous with the liquor traffic, so that the anti-saloon movement, so called, is, when the term is properly used, but another name for the temperance movement itself. The general inclination to hold that the city should not be subjected to laws of equal stringency with the rural districts because of the greater difficulty of enforcement in the cities, when that same difficulty is the strongest reason for the severest possible prohibitions, inclines me to pause for a few pages to note the effect of license laws as illustrated in the chief city of the country. There is nothing like history, because it "teaches by example." The dangerous character of the saloon, which finds in the city its natural home, has never been better stated than by the Hon. William Windom in his Woodstock speech delivered on the fourth day of last July at Mr. Bowen's celebration. He says:

THE SALOON IS A MOST DANGEROUS ENEMY TO THE REPUBLIC.

"The home and the ballot are the very corner-stones on which our free institutions rest; the very holy of holies behind the sacred altars of Freedom. Destroy the one or corrupt the other, and free government is a failure. The liquor saloon aims its deadly blows at both. If the hopes of our fathers and our own ambition for this great republic are to be realized, we must protect and cherish the myriads of homes, where children are daily taught those lessons of Christianity, liberty, justice and forbearance, which alone

will qualify them for the sacred trust of citizenship. Whatever else the liquor saloons have done, they have never made one happy Christian home, and they never will. On the other hand, they have created unnumbered thousands of places misnamed homes, where the seeds of disorder and anarchy are daily planted and nourished in the minds and hearts of the young. These desecrated homes are the primary schools in which are taught, by precept and example, the first lessons in disorder and crime, while the saloons themselves are the colleges from which the most dangerous order of criminals are graduated. They stand open night and day — Sundays included — ready to receive the myriads of poor, ignorant and misguided wretches whose childhood, blighted in the drunkard's home, makes them the ready victims to the teachers of disorder, socialism and anarchy, who here find their council-chamber and their inspiration. I verily believe that if the saloon were abolished, the dangerous classes which now menace society would to a great extent disappear with it. What, think you, would become of the anarchist and socialist without his ally and assistant? Where would he rally his forces? Where would he teach his treason? Where would he find inspiration for his followers? The saloon system is itself a league of law-breakers, whose example affords a most powerful stimulus to disorder of all kinds. It openly proclaims its purpose to disobey all laws which interfere with its supreme purpose to make money in its own way, and at whatever sacrifice.

"Briefly stated, the question is, Shall the liquor power, with its dire and deadly influences, rule and ruin, or shall it be utterly destroyed?

"This malign power has organized and massed its mighty forces for the conflict. It has raised the black flag, and proclaimed that he who will not swear allegiance to it, and thereby become *particeps criminis* in its work of destruction and death, shall politically perish. It has even drawn the assassin's knife, and lighted the torch of the incendiary, in order to inspire dismay in the ranks of its enemies. The time has therefore come when this issue must be met. Political parties can no longer dodge it if they would.

Private citizens must take sides openly, for or against the saloon, with its methods and its results."

The frightful prevalence of the drink traffic in our cities, where license laws almost universally prevail, with the accompanying ignorance, poverty, degradation, vice and crime, and the corresponding danger to our existence, not only as a nation but also as a people, is the chief source of alarm to the thoughtful patriotism of our country; and in all civilized countries from like causes the cities are the primary sources of peril. In our own the danger is peculiarly imminent, by reason of the popular nature of our institutions.

Says Joseph Cook: "*Under a thoroughly free government the extension of the suffrage to ignorant and intemperate populations inevitably places the scoundrel class at the head of affairs. A drunken people can not be a free people.*"

The eye is the chief inlet to knowledge, and the map of New York city which accompanies this book, upon which are located over 9000 of the 10,168 saloons and places where intoxicating liquor was for sale in that metropolis on the thirtieth day of June, 1886, looks like a chart of the capital city of the regions of despair. When we consider that this great city controls the pivotal State of the Union, and how helplessly it drifts in the maelstrom of alcohol, we require more than the faith which removes mountains if we are still to hope for the republic. Whoever continues to hope — and not only do we hope, but we will conquer yet — must have the courage to attack and destroy this plague. Here is the license law in full operation. Behold its blessings! If the licenses cost still more, the city would for a time get a larger share of the blood-money, and capitalists might consolidate the smaller saloons in more enticing quarters. And, despairing to save the mass, there are many able, sincere and practical men who demand restrictive high license in the hope that they thereby may save some. But the appetite will remain the same, the supply the same, and, after a spasmodic contraction perhaps, the consumption will be the same or greater. The higher license will soon demonstrate that it is nothing but a new bandage for the same putrescent body. If it must be in order that the people may see, let it be done; yet I can but think that such waste of time is only made necessary by

failure to note the lessons of hundreds of years of experience, and by ignoring the plain teachings of natural reason. Meanwhile who is to shoulder the responsibility of the years of crime and misery in which the thrice-told tale is to be once more repeated? How many times must it be proved that two and two are four? Are we to travel in this fool's treadmill forever? The whole country can control the cities. Try national as well as State prohibition, and when they fail, and not till then, fall back upon high license, or, more logically, upon free rum.

The Church Temperance Society of New York has just issued a pamphlet entitled "New York City and its Masters," prepared by Mr. Robert Graham, General Secretary. Mr. Graham was formerly Secretary of the Church of England Temperance Society, but now devotes his great ability, with a zeal and courage which command our admiration and gratitude, to a stand-up hand-to-hand fight with the liquor traffic in our own country.

"New York City and its Masters" contains a series of maps with accompanying letter-press showing the number of saloons and their location, together with the churches and public schools, in each Assembly district. By the courtesy of Mr. Graham I have availed myself of the following facts from this work, but hope the reader will obtain the original. By the courtesy of the Board of Excise Commissioners, Mr. Graham obtained the following "carefully verified statement of licenses granted year ending April 30, 1886:"

First grade, hotel, license fee, $250,	17
Second grade, hotel, license fee, $100,	80
Third grade, saloon, license fee, $75,	8055
Fourth grade, storekeeper (sale off), license fee, $75,	518
Fifth grade, saloon (beer only), license fee, $30,	904
Total license granted,	9574
Number lapsed or revoked during the year,	406
Number now in existence,	9168
Estimated number of places selling without license, disreputable and gambling houses where liquor is sold,	1000
Total number of places where liquor is obtained,	10,168

The population of New York was by the census of 1880 1,206,239, of whom 727,629 are native and 478,670 foreign-born. Estimating the present population at 1,400,000, we have a liquor saloon to every 140 persons, including men, women and children. The whole number of churches and chapels is 447, of public schools 121, and "total good educational agencies 568."

But the real condition is much worse than even this startling average of the whole city would indicate. The evil is unequally distributed. It has its victims by Assembly districts, just as particular men are destroyed by it. In the First Assembly District there are 43,998 inhabitants, 13 churches, 3 schools and 1072 saloons; being one church to 3384 of population, or accommodations to about one person in six; one school to 14,666, and a saloon to every 41 of the people. The Second Assembly District has 47,958 population, 4 churches, 9 schools and 511 saloons. It may be hoped that parochial or private schools help this somewhat, but not substantially. Mr. Graham observes, "It is an undoubted fact that just where the poverty and misery is greatest there is the largest number of saloons."

The saloon is without doubt the great visible factor of danger in our government. The anti-saloon movement is an effort to destroy it with any and every kind of available weapon, and to utilize the activity of everybody who will even *wish* death to the saloon, although they will only pelt the rude boy in the apple-tree with tufts of grass, hoping that in due time the impotency of such warfare may induce them to throw the stones of total prohibition.

Mr. Graham has the following table, obtained with great care and labor "by personal investigation in each particular case by a committee of our Calvary branch, the documents for their verification being in their hands," showing the "places where primary and convention meetings were held preceding the elections of November, 1884." (See p. 37 of "New York City and its Masters.") If the American people would study this table, which I feel sure to be of unquestionable verity, then patriotic men might thank God and take courage in the hope of a moral

and political convulsion which would set us free from this wicked domination.

PRIMARY AND CONVENTION MEETINGS HELD IN NEW YORK CITY PRECEDING THE NOVEMBER ELECTION OF 1884.

	LIQUOR SALOONS.					NEXT DOOR TO SALOONS.					NEITHER.				
	Tammany Hall.	Irving Hall.	County Democracy.	Republican.	Total.	Tammany Hall.	Irving Hall.	County Democracy.	Republican.	Total.	Tammany Hall.	Irving Hall.	County Democracy.	Republican.	Total.
Congressional Convention,	6	7	6	..	19	..	1	..	..	1	3	..	3	..	6
Assembly Convention, . .	17	18	19	9	63	..	3	1	3	7	7	3	4	12	26
Aldermanic Convention, .	17	19	19	9	64	..	3	1	3	7	7	2	4	12	25
Primaries, ...	16	19	443	9	487	..	3	65	3	71	8	2	204	12	226
Totals	56	63	487	27	633	..	10	67	9	86	25	7	215	36	283

Political Meetings held in Saloon, ...	633	
Political Meetings held next door to Saloon, ...	86	
		719
Political Meetings held apart from Saloons, ...	283	
Total		1,002

In a communication from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, dated September 21, 1887, he informs me that the "production of fermented liquors in the city of New York, as shown by returns made to this office for the year ended August 31, 1887, aggregates 3,799,032 barrels of 31 gallons each."

This is 117,769,992 gallons, and I am assured by a competent observer that the consumption of this enormous amount or its equivalent takes place chiefly on Manhattan Island — an average of eighty-four gallons to each man, woman and child in the city. It is true that much of it is consumed by travelers and transient persons, but in any view it gives one an almost sublime conception of the capacity of the great throat of intemperance in America. About twelve hundred heavily loaded double wagons, drawn by two, four and sometimes six horses, convey the deluge from the breweries to the

Mrs. Sarah D. La Fetra,

President W. C. T. U., District of Columbia.

lower part of the city daily, for the supply of the infernal maelstrom. Says my friend Mr. U. H. Painter, who writes of it: "It don't burn up men's bodies and souls as fast as vitriol, but it does just as surely; the horses are the finest in the world, the drivers fat and sleek; the owners live in palaces, on the fat of the land. The men and women who pay for it are gaunt and always hungry; they live in poverty — hope has no abiding place there; the poison lures them to crime, to infamy, to hell. No man can strike them too hard. Lay on the lash. It is the crying shame of the world, the canker-worm of society, the skeleton that walks everywhere, day and night, and sleeps not; it is Dante's 'Inferno' *here* glaring at us all!"

Beyond all this are the still greater ravages of distillation.

NEW YORK CITY RULES AMERICA TO-DAY.

Only the nation can emancipate itself — if indeed it be not already too late. Look again at the map; consider the relation of New York to the whole country and the relation of our country to the world. What can license do in such a case? A teaspoonful dose of soothing-syrup to a volcano in full eruption! What local option? No more — even less. What can prohibition by the State? That is only local option by States, and New York City is a great cancer with deadly roots in every State and Territory in the Union. So Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Boston — all great commercial cities — are great national cancers, and can be reached, if at all, only by national cure. You may give hypodermic injections on any part of the surface of the body; that is what we have done so far. It relieves pain, but it does not cure; and if we continue as hitherto, our descendants will, if the race survives, be repeating our follies and failures a thousand years hence. This need not be. Good people must give their liquor up. Until they do, bad people will have theirs; and in this the bad people are right. High license — any restrictive license — is a contrivance to give good, well-to-do people their liquor in a respectable way, while the poor and the bad are to be compelled by law to practice a virtue which the former will not. Self-denial is the essence of the genuine temperance movement; and self-

denial by the whole of society must be the spirit of all successful temperance legislation, as it is of individual reform.

Hear Dr. Talmadge thunder against license, and especially high license:

"Do you not realize, as by mathematical demonstration, that the one result of this high-license movement, and the one result of the closing of small establishments — if that were the result — and the opening of a few large establishments, will be to make rum-selling and rum-drinking highly respectable? These drinkeries in Brooklyn and New York are so disgusting that a man will not risk his reputation by going into them. . . . . Now, suppose all these small establishments are closed up, and that then you open the palaces of inebriation down on the avenues. It is not the rookeries of alcoholism that do the worst work; they are only the last stopping-places on the road to death. Where did that bloated, ulcerous, wheezing wretch, that staggers out of a rum-hole, get his habits started? At a glittering restaurant, or bar-room of a first-class hotel, where it was fashionable to go. . . . . I say, give us the rash, rather than the carbuncles. Here you will have a splendid liquor establishment: Masterpieces of painting on the wall; cut-glass on the silver platter; upholstery like a Turkish harem. . . . . All the phantasmagoria and bewitchment of art thrown around this Herod of massacre, this Moloch of consumed worshippers, this Juggernaut of crushed millions! Do you not see that this high-license movement strikes at the heart of the best homes in America? . . . . Tell it to all the philanthropists who are trying to make the world better, and let journalists tell it, by pen and by type, that this day, in the presence of my Maker and my Judge, I stamp on this high-license movement as the monopoly of abomination."

But to return from this practical illustration of the ruinous work of license laws. The law should everywhere declare that there can be no property in alcohol which is designed to be used as a beverage, and decree its destruction just as slavery was abolished, because there can be no property in man. Certainly the destruction without compensation should be decreed for all alcoholic beverages created after the enactment of prohibitory law. If there can be no property in

man, and therefore there shall be no slavery, then certainly that which is designed only for the injury of man, and which is created illegally, should not be protected by law.

I admit that it would be proper to destroy the public enemy, by the administration of alcohol; but for the reason that he is the public enemy, and for no other, and then only when the use of poison is justifiable.

The good use — the medicinal use — is justified because a poison is necessary to an abnormal state of things — to alleviate or cure a snake bite, a disease, or a wound, just as, to follow the analogy, involuntary servitude and confinement, and still further interference with personal liberty, is inflicted upon the criminal, even unto death.

But why should society permit the infliction upon itself — and upon its own innocent members who are entitled to protection by the very nature of social and civil relations and obligations, the same or greater evils than the penalties of crime, and, in fact, the very crimes themselves. It is high time that society learned that its first obligation is not to punish criminals, but to eradicate the causes of crime. Remove the causes which create criminals, and there will be neither criminals nor crimes. Society does whatever it permits its individual members to do. If society, having power to prevent or to restrict, creates, or permits its members to create that substance or influence, whatever it may be, but for the existence of which there would be less of disease, suffering, or crime, it fails in its duty, in the very end for which society organizes and establishes government; and thus becomes itself a criminal. And because it is thus ignorant and criminal, penalties inevitable, inexorable and terrible are inflicted upon society by the Almighty, in the administration of his outraged laws.

To one who has lived in a State or section of the country where both the prohibitory law and the opposing legislation have been fairly tried in contrast with each other, the solecism that "prohibition does not prohibit" is an absurdity. I know from my own observation and memory, and from careful inquiry in Vermont and Maine, of the great transformation wrought by the Maine law in those States where it has been longest and most thoroughly tried, notwithstanding

the disadvantages under which its administration has labored, by reason of the hostile position of the general government, of the traffic, and of other influences, that drunkenness has been almost abolished from the rural population, and greatly restrained in the cities by the influence of that beneficent enactment. Gov. Dingley of Maine is one of the most competent of witnesses on this subject, and I will quote a few sentences of what he has said of the operation of the law in that State:

"In 1830, thirteen distilleries in the State manufactured one million gallons of rum (two gallons to each inhabitant), together with 300,000 gallons imported — not including cider and other imported liquors. Now there is not a brewery or distillery in the State. In 1833, there were five hundred taverns, all but forty of them having open bars. Now there is not a tavern in the State with an open bar, and not one in ten of them sells liquor secretly. In 1830 every store sold liquor as freely as molasses; now not one.

"In 1832, with a population of only 450,000, there were 2000 places where intoxicating liquors were sold — one grog-shop to every 225 of population. Their sales amounted to $10,000,000 annually, or $20 for each inhabitant. Last year the average sale of a hundred town agencies was $100,000, or fifteen cents per inhabitant. Including clandestine sales, even the enemies of temperance do not claim that the aggregate sales in the State exceed $1,000,000, less than $2 per inhabitant. This is but one-tenth of what they were forty years ago, and one-eighth of what they are on the average in the remainder of the Union, which is $16 per inhabitant. Liquor selling is almost wholly confined to the five or six cities of the State, so that hard drinkers are compelled to journey thither for their drams. Hence, most of the drunkenness of the State is concentrated in those cities, where the police arrest all persons under the influence of strong drink, making the number of arrests for drunkenness seem large in comparison with places where few arrests are made for this offense. In 1855 there were 10,000 persons (one out of every 45 of the population) accustomed to get beastly drunk; there were 200 deaths from delirium tremens annually (equivalent to 300 now); there were 1500 paupers

Gen. Clinton B. Fisk,

of New Jersey.

(equivalent to 2200 now) made thus by drink; there were 300 convicts in State prison and jails (equivalent to 450 now); and intemperance was destroying a large proportion of the homes throughout the State. Now not one in 300 of the population is a drunkard — not one-sixth as many; the deaths from delirium tremens annually are not fifty, and criminals and paupers (not including rumsellers) are largely reduced, notwithstanding the great influx of foreigners and tramps."

This testimony can be corroborated by the whole State if necessary, and is but a fair statement of the effect of the law in New Hampshire and in Vermont. New Hampshire has been specially hindered in the enforcement of the law by the unfortunate habits of her great accessions of foreign population. If the law had been left to operate upon our native population since its enactment in 1855, I do not believe that there would have been one-tenth of the intemperance which now exists. But with increasing intelligence the personal habits of the people are sure to improve, and the measures adopted to extirpate this crying evil by a better enforcement of the prohibitory law are sure to become more and more rather than less stringent. I do not think that during the whole thirty-two years during which the prohibitory law has stood upon the statute book of the State, it was ever so impregnably fortified in the confidence and even affection of the people as now, and he would be a rash man who would propose, and that political party would commit suicide which should seriously attempt its repeal. It is above the domain of party contention. We do not repeal the law against murder. We enforce it. So should and so will the people yet enforce the laws now existing and hereafter to be enacted prohibiting the main cause of murder and of every other crime.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

No other Form of Real Prohibition Possible — Control the Traffic from Origin to End — Necessity of Exerting the National Power — National Prohibition the Plan of Battle — Prohibition Amendment to National Constitution Presented in 1876 — Its Provisions Noted — The Subject Discussed from the National Stand-point — Manufacture as well as Sale must be Prohibited — The Temperance Reform most needs Nationalization — Concentrate on National Prohibitory Amendment to Constitution — Right and Necessity of National Legislation Discussed — The Amendment Reviewed — State Prohibition and National Prohibition Together — National Prohibitory Amendment should be the Preliminary Bunker Hill, not the Crowning Yorktown.

I HAVE elsewhere endeavored to show that government should take jurisdiction of the liquor traffic and that prohibition is the only effective way in which that jurisdiction can be asserted.

Assuming, for the purposes of the argument, that law should prohibit the traffic, I desire, in this chapter, to call attention to the necessity and to the proper method of national action, if any essential or permanent reform is to be effected through the agency of law.

No other form of real prohibition is possible. No prohibitory law now exists or ever has existed in this country. None has existed or does exist or can exist in any State. No prohibitory law has failed to prohibit, for there can be no prohibitory law taking jurisdiction of the liquor traffic unless it controls it from origin to end — from the point of its manufacture, or wherever it comes within our borders, and so through all the channels of distribution to the stomach of the consumer. Now, it is a fact that from the foundation of the national government until to-day it has not only permitted, but has fostered and protected the traffic in alcoholic liquors.

The Constitution, as construed, is for the traffic, and the laws are made and enforced in pursuance of the Constitution.

I am not now referring to the comparatively unimportant power of Congress over the Territories and the District of Columbia, which may affect one-fortieth of our people; but to the relation of the Constitution and the laws to the traffic in the States where the mass of the people are who are ruined by it.

Our government is not only peculiar in this that it is republican in form, but especially so in the distribution of its powers. Such, indeed, have been the origin, growth and final combination of our institutions that we hardly conceive of the government in its true nature. From the force of habits of thought, and forms of action and of expression which we continually use and witness, we come to believe that we live under two distinct governments at the same time, which is an impossibility.

We speak of the national government and of the State government. Neither is the government. Each is a department or branch of the government, which comprises them both, and by the union of both is itself one. The American people are a unit, a nation, and that people is the great fact behind both State and national or general forms, who create both, each with separate, generally independent but sometimes concurrent powers. As the people are one people, so the State and the national branches spring, not either from the other, but from the same root, and are one tree. Both combined have only the same powers which the English Parliament possesses alone. The powers of government being divided between these national and State branches, there are some things which each can perform fully without the co-operation of the other. There are other things which, from their nature, require the action of the government itself, as a whole, acting by and through both State and national forms. The one has general jurisdiction of local interests, the other of the interests of individuals and of the States in their larger relations and with other sovereignties. Yet the relation of the individual is direct to each branch of the government in its proper sphere. This peculiarity may be, in some respects, a weakness, but, on the whole, although it may diminish velocity, it increases strength, and is the very citadel of our liberties. If, then, there be an interest

or an evil which is everywhere, and which exists and is felt by each individual and by the people as a whole, in all the States and Territories of the republic, which is, in short, *national*, that interest or that evil is sure to require the protection, regulation or prohibition of the whole power of the people, exerted through both the State and national divisions of the one government.

Such an interest, if it be an interest, or such an evil, if it be an evil, is the liquor traffic.

It is already conceded that the States may regulate, license or prohibit, within their own jurisdiction, the manufacture and sale of liquors for home consumption, not interfering with it when coming within their borders from other domestic or foreign States while it remains and, it is intended that it shall remain, in the original packages.

It is, then, the special purpose of this chapter to discuss the necessity of the assertion of national power, concurrent with that of the States, for the extirpation of the traffic, if it is ever to be extirpated, and the enlargement of the national powers by amendment of the national Constitution, so that the whole people shall summarily and forever dispose of the evil, without waiting for the tardy action or stubborn resistance of adverse localities.

In my humble judgment, the temperance reform waits on the comprehension of this thought, and will practically fail until national prohibition is adopted as the plan of battle.

Before proceeding to a more general discussion of the subject of national prohibition, there should be a word of explanation upon the forms which the proposition has hitherto assumed. The first proposition for the amendment of the national Constitution so as to prohibit the traffic in intoxicating beverages, so far as I have knowledge, was introduced by myself in the House of Representatives, December 27, 1876. The joint resolution was in the following words and was supported by a speech of considerable length. I have introduced this resolution in every succeeding Congress, and it was favorably reported to the Senate by the Committee on Education and Labor of the 49th Congress. This resolution proposes an absolute affirmative prohibition by the nation of the traffic in distilled alcoholic

beverages from and after the year 1900, while the fermented drinks are left to the regulation of the States, with an enlargement of the powers of the States so as to give to them absolute control of the traffic in fermented drinks within their own jurisdiction, free from the protection which the national government now extends to it in the regulation of commerce and by the exercise of other powers, thus practically preventing the exercise of the police power by the State against the evil even when prohibition is attempted by the State.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, as provided in the Constitution:

ARTICLE —.

SECTION 1. From and after the year of our Lord 1900 the manufacture and sale of distilled alcoholic intoxicating liquors, or alcoholic liquors any part of which is obtained by distillation or process equivalent thereto, or any intoxicating liquors mixed or adulterated with ardent spirits, or with any poison whatever, except for medicinal, mechanical, chemical and scientific purposes, and for use in the arts, anywhere within the United States and the Territories thereof, shall cease; and the importation of such liquors from foreign states and countries to the United States and Territories, and the exportation of such liquors from and the transportation thereof within and through any part of this country, except for the use and purposes aforesaid, shall be, and hereby is, forever thereafter prohibited.

SEC. 2. Nothing in this article shall be construed to waive or abridge any existing power of Congress, nor the right, which is hereby recognized, of the people of any State or Territory to enact laws to prevent the increase and for the suppression or regulation of the manufacture, sale and use of liquors, and the ingredients thereof, any part of which is alcoholic, intoxicating or poisonous, within its own limits, and for the exclusion of such liquors and ingredients therefrom at any time, as well before as after the close of the year of our Lord 1900; but until then, and until ten years after the ratification hereof, as provided in the next section, no State or Territory shall interfere with the transportation of said liquors or ingredients, in packages safely secured, over the usual

lines of traffic to other States and Territories wherein the manufacture, sale and use thereof for other purposes and use than those excepted in the first section shall be lawful: *Provided*, That the true destination of such packages be plainly marked thereon.

SEC. 3. Should this article not be ratified by three-fourths of the States on or before the last day of December, 1890, then the first section hereof shall take effect and be in force at the expiration of ten years from such ratification; and the assent of any State to this article shall not be rescinded nor reversed.

SEC. 4. Congress shall enforce this article by all needful legislation.

The prohibitory sentiment of the country demands that the national Constitution be so amended as to include the absolute inhibition of fermented, as well as of distilled beverages, and the astonishing development and great evils of the use of fermented drinks, and the ease with which they are now fortified with pure alcohol and other drugs and poisons until the distinction between distilled and fermented liquors is lost, justify this demand of the earnest friends of prohibition. In unity there is strength, and so far as I can I shall contribute to that end by supporting the more comprehensive restriction of this nefarious trade. A successful result may or may not be longer delayed, but there will be at least unity of action, without which no progress whatever will be made. In the advocacy of the original amendment I have given my reasons for the form in which the proposition was made. I had hope of its earlier adoption in that form, and that from its success would follow the destruction of the trade in fermented as well as in distilled drinks. If experience shall vindicate the correctness of that judgment, no one will regret it more than myself. In the 50th Congress I shall introduce the proposed amendment for the absolute prohibition by the nation of the traffic in all forms of alcoholic beverages, and trust that a long-suffering people will rise in their might for its adoption, and for the rescue of our civilization from the monster's grasp. Let us now proceed to consider the necessity of the national prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating drinks.

NECESSITY OF NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

No general public evil has ever been permanently removed or generally restrained without the agency of law. Indeed, how can such an evil be removed unless there is a public opinion against it? Unless public opinion is pronounced against it, there is no evil which the forces of society will endeavor to remove. Law is the inevitable result of moral suasion whenever moral suasion is effective; and to say that there shall be no law is to say that there shall be no moral suasion to demonstrate the existence of the evil and to create public opinion for its removal.

The premises involve the conclusion which logically follows. Therefore, whoever asserts the existence of a general evil destructive to society, inflicted wholly or in part by its individual members upon each other, asserts the necessity of a law to assist in its removal and to prevent its restoration.

We have already adverted to the nature of the evil of alcoholism, and to the self-evident fact that but for the production of the cause through the agency of a great industry protected by law, the terrible consequences could not exist.

If, then, laws to prohibit or restrain the evil of alcoholic intemperance should exist, the only inquiry which remains is, what is the best law to effect the purpose? The object of the law should be to extirpate the evil. Is alcoholic intemperance a national evil? If so, should it not be prohibited by national law?

But if a national evil, it follows that it is one cursing all sections — every Territory and every State. If so, unless exclusive jurisdiction over it has been confided by the States and people to the general government, the law-making power in every State should also prohibit the evil in its jurisdiction. But we find on examination of our complex form of government, embracing in one grand whole that of the nation and of the States, that what is called the police power is in the States and the people at large; that no substantial part of it has been confided to the general government, at least no more than it may be necessary to exercise in order to preserve the powers expressly or by fair implication delegated to it in the fundamental law.

The police power is that under which the traffic in intoxicating drink must be controlled and prohibited, if at all — and it resides in the States. But the States and people have expressly given to the general government the right and power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, among the several States, and with the Indian tribes. The general government recognizes and protects alcohol as property and as an article of legitimate commerce. So long as any State, domestic or foreign, continues to permit the manufacture of alcohol and the traffic therein, the general government stands pledged to exercise all its powers of legislature, judicature and execution to protect and facilitate the continued infliction of the curse.

States may do much to rescue their people, and public sentiment everywhere may cry out in its extremity, but so long as the constitution and laws of the United States guarantee the safe importation and transportation of alcoholic beverages in the original packages through the ports and over the avenues of interstate commerce of this country, the extinction or substantial restraint of the evil is impossible. If the demand did not already exist, local laws and public opinion might, perhaps, suffice; but not now, when every hamlet, and some inmate of almost every house in the whole land, is cursed by unnatural desire. I would not be understood to discourage the efforts to secure prohibitory laws, both constitutional and statutory, in the States. They are indispensable, and even when these efforts fail, or, the laws being enacted, their purpose partially fails, still, they constitute the nucleus of that agitation which forms public opinion, and lead gradually up to that universal public judgment which, sooner or later, will amend the constitution of the country so as to prohibit absolutely this baneful traffic everywhere by national law. It should be observed that such an amendment of the national constitution would not be an infringement upon the police or any other powers of the States and of the people. Quite the contrary; for this power, now in the general government, to regulate commerce in alcohol, nullifies the police powers of the States to protect their people from an evil which falls under their absolute jurisdiction, in theory, and which in its tremendous scope includes almost every burden and crime, to

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President W. C. T. U., of New York.

prevent which the State governments themselves exist. Such an amendment would, first, remove all restrictions from the efforts of States, and, second, would place the general government affirmatively on the side of the interests of the whole people and of all the States, in their efforts to deliver themselves from the body of this death. Commerce with foreign powers must be regulated by national laws, and there are States and Territories of the United States wherein, if left to themselves, the manufacture and trade would exist, it may be, forever; consequently, under our complex system of government, it would be impracticable to remove the causes of alcoholic intemperance without an amendment to the national laws. Such an amendment of the national constitution is the proper immediate objective point of all temperance agitation and work. There has been labor enough long since expended to have secured the result if directed to this great end. There will never be any substantial and permanent temperance reform in this country, so far as the same is dependent upon law, until the sporadic efforts of States and sections are made to converge upon the real citadel of the rum curse, which is the national constitution.

MUST PROHIBIT MANUFACTURE.

There is another fallacy or misdirection of energy which is now, fortunately, being generally remedied. Prohibition has been directed against the sale merely, while the manufacture has not been interfered with; so that, as a matter of fact, there has never been a prohibitory law in this country. It is impossible to enact a prohibitory law, in its true sense, by any State. It is apparent that to prohibit the sale while the manufacture and transportation are unrestrained and the appetite everywhere exists is nugatory. No prohibition of the manufacture and transportation can be effective unless by virtue of national law, because the manufacture for the world can take place on any single square mile of the continent, and transportation is controlled by national power. Those who sneeringly say that prohibition does not prohibit should remember that there never yet was a prohibitory law in this country. When the nation has prohibited the importation, manufacture, transportation and sale of intoxicating

beverages, and that sort of prohibition does not prohibit, it will be ample season to cry out against the efficiency of enactments which seek to extirpate crime from the land by the removal of its great exciting cause.

It is often said that it is impossible to prevent the manufacture of alcohol for use as a beverage. Why is it more difficult to prevent the manufacture than the sale, for improper uses, by law? All civilized governments attempt to regulate or prohibit the sale. The nation knows every distillery, and taxes and thrives upon its product. Some States permit and regulate the sale for legitimate uses, while others license and regulate the sale for all, and the right to do one implies the right to do the other whenever the public good may require.

What difficulty, then, could the nation experience in prohibiting and preventing, substantially, the creation and transportation of alcohol for any but medicinal, scientific and other indispensable uses, if the attempt were seriously made? Even if only partially successful, why not make the most reasonable efforts, if we are to make any, to remove the evil, or abandon the field entirely? I have no argument with those, if such there be, who are opposed to any legislation against the liquor traffic — with those who would either license it or make it wholly free. Such people, to be consistent, should repeal the whole criminal code, and recite the golden rule to pirates and snakes.

If we are to legislate at all upon the subject, why not aim to ascertain the real nature and full extent of the evil, and then enact laws whose jurisdiction is complete, and whose penalties and prohibitions are commensurate to the end? Hitherto all legislation has been by the States. Necessarily it has been confined chiefly to the sale and use by individuals. The States can partially reach the sale and use within their own borders, but the manufacture and distribution are practically beyond their control, and therefore may almost as well be unrestricted by the States, since to prohibit within their respective limits is merely to drive capital and labor elsewhere, without perceptibly diminishing the use by their own citizens. Such attempts by the State are like removing the Mississippi river in sections, or abolishing the east wind by law.

For half a century, the working life of more than two generations, gigantic efforts have been put forth by noble men and women, by philanthropists, by statesmen and by States, to restrain and destroy the alcoholic evil, through the operation of moral suasion and by State law. Public sentiment has been aroused, and public opinion created, and at times, in my belief, it might have been crystallized into national law had the labor been properly directed. But it has failed, as it will always fail so long as we save at the spigot and waste at the bung. I borrow this expressive simile from the business of the enemy. The temperance question is in its nature a national question, just as much so as the tariff is, and more so than slavery was. It is waste of time to deal with it *only* by towns and counties and States. All possible local effort should be put forth against the liquor death everywhere. The yellow-fever should be fought in the by-ways and hospitals by the physician and the nurse as well as by the quarantine of our ports, and the suspension of infected traffic by national law; but the enemy will forever come in like a flood, unless the nation, which is assailed as a nation, defends itself as a nation. Battle-fields are local, but the powers which contend upon them are national. What progress would have been made in the restoration of national integrity, if the war for the Union had been conducted by the States in isolation, and their efforts had been confined to their own geographical jurisdiction respectively?

NATIONALIZATION.

What the temperance reform most needs is unification of effort, *nationalization*. Samson was not more completely hampered by withes than is this giant reform by the geographical lines of States; and if its supporters would but use their strength, they would at once find their natural arena circumscribed only by the national domain.

How shall this be done?

By concentration upon the enactment of national constitutional law. The nation can act in no other way than by law, and now there is no national law for the removal of the alcoholic evil. On the contrary, we have seen how by guaranteeing the importation and transportation, and permitting

the manufacture, the national constitution is the very citadel of the rum power.

Believing as I do that the misdirection of effort, and not the lack of comprehension of the extent of the evil or of earnest desire to remove it, is the reason why the temperance reform has so little of actual result to show for the agitation of the last fifty years, at the risk of some repetition, I will reproduce, with occasional changes, views expressed by myself a few years since, when endeavoring to secure concentration upon a national plan of action. One thing is certain — that the promoters of the traffic most dread a national movement. So long as the nation is their city of refuge in its territory and its laws, they fear not what man can do unto them. If they are persecuted in one place, as did the early Christians, they flee into another, and wait for the returning tide, which, like the ever recurrent pressure of the ocean upon Holland, can be excluded only by national dykes. But national prohibition would be the end of the traffic. They instinctively know it, and everywhere cry out, "Take any form but that." The liquor interest of this country and of the world is in the hands of great men. They are a tremendous power. They are neither better nor much worse, as a class, than those who control other business affairs. Many of them are "our best citizens." Whatever they do society permits, and often demands for its own gratification. But they know what hurts them when they suffer and what will destroy them when they hear it proposed. They know that national prohibition will do it. They are opposed to national prohibition. They consider prohibitionists to be cranks and fanatics. When the "children of light," as we temperance people love to consider ourselves, as compared with the liquor-dealing "children of this world," perceive the vulnerable point in the enemy's fortifications, they will charge upon it under the *national* banner, and in saving the nation they will save all its parts.

RIGHT AND NECESSITY OF LEGISLATION.

The right of government to legislate upon the subject of intemperance has been strongly denied, but the absolute necessity of prohibition or regulation of the traffic in intoxi-

cating drinks has been demonstrated in every civilized country where their use has unfortunately become prevalent, and the statute-books of England and America, for two centuries at least, bear constant witness to the exercise of that power. The question has been raised and settled in the Supreme Court of the United States, and by the highest tribunals in almost every State of the Union, if not in all. It is too late to deny the power, the right, and the necessity of such legislation. It is only a question of the jurisdiction by which it shall be enacted and the extent to which it shall be carried.

In this connection I wish to call attention to a fallacy which exists in the minds of many. It is assumed by the advocates of the traffic of intoxicating liquors that there is a distinction between the right of government to enact legislation *totally* and that which is *partially* prohibitory. Government, it is said, may *license* and *regulate*, but may not *prohibit*. But there is no such distinction in reason at all. The power to *partially* prohibit by *license* restricted to individuals and to a certain number — which is prohibition so far as it restricts at all — is the same power and stands upon the same ground — that is, the obligation to promote the general welfare — as that to prohibit absolutely. A license to only one man to make or sell ardent spirits is an absolute prohibition to all the rest of the community to do so at all. The advocates of the license and regulation of the traffic have no *logical* ground upon which to object to *absolute* prohibition, if necessity requires. It is only a question of *degree*. The universal sense of mankind has passed that point where it is necessary to demonstrate the *right* to prohibit absolutely and totally. There is in fact no difference between restraint and prohibition as a *principle*. Prohibition is never held to extend beyond those uses which are demonstrably injurious to society. For all necessary and beneficial purposes prohibitory laws permit or license the traffic. I think this view of the subject important and a complete reply to those who claim that the evil should be licensed and regulated, at the same time that they hold the total prohibition to be a violation of inalienable right and the enactment of a sumptuary law. The one is as much a sumptuary law and a violation

of inalienable right as the other, and no more so. If this is true, and I am not able to see wherein it is false, there is an end of the argument between the advocates of license and prohibition as to the *right* of such legislation, for they stand upon common ground, and there is no logical position for those who controvert the justice of prohibitory laws, so called, but that of those who advocate the unrestricted right to manufacture and sell intoxicating liquors to everybody for all purposes; and that ground has not been held by any court for generations to my knowledge.

The objection to license is that there is not enough of practical prohibition in it to diminish the evil.

Alcohol has its uses. It is a necessity in the arts. It is invaluable for many medicinal purposes, and as such is entitled to protection as property. But, on the other hand, it is armed with fatal capacity to destroy. It is a Pandora's box of evils. In its peculiarly fatal form, that of distillation, which is concentrated death, it was unknown for five thousand years of the world's history, and mankind were the better for their ignorance. The fruit of this tree of knowledge has been death. During the last three centuries what is known as ardent spirits with us, and the immense and dreadful curses which grow out of their use, have gradually arisen. They have the power of perverting the natural instincts and tastes of both body and mind, and to recreate man into the slave of perverted appetites, having insatiable, consuming, uncontrollable, devilish power. The image of God becomes dangerous to society as well as to himself, whether as a maniac or as a criminal, and it is this *consequence* of the use of intoxicating liquors which the laws have constantly, but imperfectly, undertaken to control for many years: nothing more.

The prohibitory amendment to the national constitution proposes to extend over the national domain the protection of a constitutional inhibition of the destructive tendencies of liquors when made and used for purposes which have been proved to be detrimental to society, and which many of the States of the Union have endeavored vainly to restrict and destroy.

Nothing but a general law can be efficient. That has

been demonstrated by experience. While one State prohibits, another manufactures and encourages. The appetite already exists. It increases and even becomes hereditary. More than one hundred and sixty thousand saloons and tippling places educate the children of America in habits of intoxication, and the appetite *will crush* the imaginary lines which State legislation erects against the introduction of this evil merchandise, even as the billows of the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone might be supposed to bury and consume the paper on which that legislation is written. The manufacture and the appetite act and react upon each other. The demand creates the supply, and constantly cries out, "Give! give!" The supply or manufacture is thus stimulated and perpetuated. It will always continue unless stopped by the union of persuasion and compulsion, because of its lucrative nature, and because the appetite for strong drink, when once established, lives with an infernal immortality through successive generations of men. Thus it is that the necessity of legal enactment is apparent. True that behind legal enactments, as in all other cases where public evils and crimes are prohibited by law, must be public opinion, which is the basis of all law in a free country where the people rule, and public opinion is the creature of experience, argument, discussion, and personal appeal — in short, of "moral suasion," as these agencies are called in their application to the subject of intemperate vice in the use of spirituous liquors. "Moral suasion" must precede the law, and accompany and assist in its enforcement. They are allies. The one grows out of the other just as the *law* against theft grows out of the universal sentiment of mankind that theft is wrong and a public evil which must be prevented by the forces of society.

Laws to protect society against intoxication inevitably grow out of moral suasion, if there is enough of it to arouse the general conscience and the intelligent apprehension of the people to the enormous losses and wrongs inflicted by alcohol upon society at large. Thus it is that the call for more of moral suasion and less of law is a contradiction of terms. These forces are in harmony like a father and son in a partnership; the law steps in and enlarges and perpetuates

the business which moral suasion has established after years of indefatigable industry upon the platform, through the press, and by private solicitation and appeal. And for any person to cry out against a law against the use of intoxicating liquors in society which could never have been enacted at all but in consequence of moral suasion, and say that it injures the cause because you cannot *compel* men to do right against their will, is to say that all crime and every public evil shall go free of the law; not only that, but that society shall abandon all conservative and preventive means for the protection of those who come after us; that not only shall the law abandon the present but the rising generation, and, in fact, consistency will require that in the end moral suasion itself must be abandoned, since its inevitable result is a formal embodiment of its teachings in general law, as soon as it has produced a strong public sentiment upon which law can rest, and which will enforce the law.

I have already asked attention to the facts, which, as I think, demonstrate that the unrestricted use and effect of distilled spirits constitute public evils of such a nature as to not only justify, but compel the interposition of the law; just now I wish to confine attention to the necessity of national legislation, if we would reach the evil effectively.

It is evident, in the first place, that the intense thirst or appetite of the country will lead to the manufacture and transportation of alcohol for the purpose of its gratification. If the production is suppressed everywhere else in the whole country, still, in a single one of the smallest States where the manufacture might be allowed (and the temptation to permit the manufacture in small and isolated localities would be greatly increased in the proportion that the concentration of the business made its existence profitable to the State for purposes of taxation and otherwise), the materials being transported, as they would be from other States, the entire supply of all kinds of distilled spirits for the whole country could easily be furnished. The manufacture might be localized, but it would still exist, and all the efforts of State legislation elsewhere would thus be substantially thwarted.

Again, supposing that every State and Territory in the country should suppress the manufacture, and importation

from abroad should continue, the evil would remain the same; and we should only have transferred the manufacture, with the immense capital engaged in it, to a foreign country, to which we should first export our corn and rye and wheat, to be returned in the form of imported liquors to the dry throats of American consumers. Thus we should retain the evil after depriving ourselves of the revenues derived from it. Now, since State legislation cannot interfere with the manufacture outside its own limits, nor possibly within its own limits for exportation to other States, and as commerce, alike domestic and foreign, is controlled by the general government, it is apparent that any legal enactment which goes to the root of the matter must be national in its scope and character. So far as the exportation to other countries is concerned, while I do not say that it could not be still carried on without great evil to our own people, aside from the waste of material, and the perversion of capital and labor from useful purposes, yet to continue to poison mankind at large, with what we had prohibited to ourselves, would be like peddling off to our neighbors the contaminated and fatal garments which we might have had left after the small-pox or yellow-fever had run through our own family.

As a means of suppression, the power to arrest the article *in transitu* is hardly less important than that to prevent the manufacture and sale; but this power can never be effectively exercised so long as the United States protects the transportation of ardent spirits to the same extent as other forms of property from one part of the country to another. Experience has demonstrated the impossibility of prevention when there is a chance to procure and while all the innumerable avenues of transportation are open.

Again, the power to control the manufacture and sale and use of distilled alcoholic liquors is to be found under the head of the *police* power of government, as it is called, which is vested primarily in the several States; and in order that this power be exercised by the nation at large, except in the District of Columbia and the Territories, the Constitution must first be amended so as to give the national government the right to co-operate with the States in the enforcement of that power for the restriction of this traffic. There is no

valid objection to the enlargement or change of national jurisdiction in this respect, as will appear from an inspection of the Constitution as it now stands. The power already exists over the internal police of the States *so far* as to protect alcohol as property for *all* purposes for which it can be manufactured and transported. The constitution *now interferes* with the internal police of every State which may desire to banish liquor from its borders for the public good, by protecting every other State which sees fit to encourage the traffic in the production and transportation of this substance as a commodity of legitimate commerce, and compels each State to allow its importation in bulk from foreign countries and other States, and when once within the territorial limits of a State you can no more prevent its distribution through the dram-shop than you can arrest the progress of the storm by a geographical line. So it is that the Constitution already does interfere in the most potent and specific manner with the internal police of the States upon this all-important subject.

Thus it appears, *first*, that the evil can only be effectually reached by national legislation, and, *second*, that such legislation must be of a *constitutional* character. It further appears that this is the assertion of no new power over the internal police of the States. It is only a modification, for the general welfare, of a power already possessed by the national government, which is now being exercised to the destruction of the efforts of the States to extirpate a prolific source of pauperism, crime and death. The Constitution of the United States, as it now is and has been from the beginning, is a law for the *unrestricted* manufacture, sale, importation, exportation, and internal transportation of intoxicating liquors. It is the great legal fortress of intemperance in this country to-day. It is not a blank upon this subject. It is not even a mere *license* law. But by its recognition of alcohol as property, which may be made and used and carried and protected for *all purposes* in the national domain; by its protection of alcohol as an imported article in the ports and in the Territories of the nation, and by its practical nullification of State laws, enabling the citizens of a certain State to erect a public bar protected by the supreme law of

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President W. C. T. U., of Iowa.

the land along every inch of the boundaries of a sister State which may be struggling to suppress the evil, by smuggling strong liquors with impunity across the boundaries of States, and even carrying them everywhere under the Stars and Stripes, protected if need be by the Army of the Union, in these ways the Constitution of the United States is now the great almighty obstacle in the way of the temperance reform in this country.

That Constitution ought in this respect to be changed. Can it be changed? That is the question, and there is but one answer. *It must be done.* No such word as *fail* should be allowed in the vocabulary of patriotism. But *how?* It can only be done by public opinion. Intelligence, conscience and common-sense are the foundations of sound public opinion; and they are the agencies which must be relied upon to effect the proposed change in the Constitution of the nation. It must be based upon the intelligent demand of three-fourths of the States in this Union. How can that public sentiment be created? First, there must be an intelligent apprehension of the extent of the evil to be remedied, and that the nation *as such* is concerned in it. Second, there must be a practical measure proposed, wise and just and efficient, upon which the efforts of the people can be concentrated. That measure must be radical in its nature, but it must not ignore existing rights nor violate the public faith, nor assail the personal character of those who are engaged in what the nation recognizes, and has recognized from the beginning, as a legitimate business and source of revenue to the coffers of the country. If the nation has traded in its own destruction, it must itself wear the hood of shame. That measure cannot destroy property rights vested in the public faith without compensation or without giving time for the diversion of capital to other and less pernicious industries. But the trade must treat popular agitation as notice to quit. It must exercise common prudence for the future.

The slave trade was abolished by a constitutional provision, which, in form, gave it protection for nearly twenty years. If it had been proposed to make that provision operative at once, the Constitution itself never would have been

adopted by the American people. That measure must interfere as little as possible with the internal affairs of the States, leaving to them the enforcement of special laws within their own borders, subject to the general constitutional restriction. And, finally, in order to have practical value, it must be one which, appealing to the intelligence and patriotism of all classes in the whole country, will have some rational chance of adoption by the widely diversified interests, prejudices and sentiments of this vast nation, and of incorporation into the supreme law of the land. Such a measure I have endeavored to devise, and, although it may be full of imperfections, I have felt some hope that it would turn the attention of greater powers to the subject, and that some plan for the suppression of this national crime and shame, through a constitutional inhibition, would be matured. I desire to call specific attention to those features of this proposed amendment to the Constitution which have commended themselves to my own judgment, and which I have thought would strike the public mind with some force.

LEADING FEATURES OF THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT.

First, it *is* a proposed *constitutional amendment*, and not a measure of proposed legislation by Congress under the Constitution as it now is. I think I have already said enough to show that whatever the nation does to facilitate the suppression of the evils perpetrated by alcohol must be accomplished by a change in the Constitution itself.

TIME.

Second. The *time* when the first clause shall take effect is so far in the future that vested rights will not suffer at all; certainly not essentially. Notice of a quarter of a century is sufficient to every manufacturer to turn his attention to other and less harmful pursuits. It is longer than our fathers gave to the merchant marine of the country to remove its capital from the slave trade, even if ratified at once, and ten years are given whenever ratification may take place. This will enable every man to wear out his still or convert his machinery to some beneficial purpose. It will cover the average period of business life for this entire

generation, and I doubt whether there is a distiller in the world who desires that his son should follow the pursuit in which he himself feels compelled to remain, and the immediate destruction of which would reduce his family to beggary. Capital invested in the wholesale and import trade could be very easily diverted in other directions at much shorter notice, while the retailer only requires time to sell out his stock on hand.

I am persuaded that great injustice is often done in public discussions of this subject by the wholesale denunciations and uncharitable, not to say unchristian and even brutal, epithets which are hurled at the large number of American citizens who are engaged in one branch or another of the liquor business. They are men like ourselves, oftentimes better than those who assail them, and nothing is gained by the effort to reform individuals by lectures which would disgrace a fish-woman, or to carry great public measures by scurrilous attacks upon men who follow an avocation which, however hostile to the interests of mankind, is yet intrenched in the Constitution of our country, — a Constitution sanctioned by the names of Washington, Franklin and Madison; and by virtue of the broad provisions of which we derive the power to attack our fellow-men with a license of the tongue almost as pernicious to the public welfare as the license of the traffic in rum. I am satisfied that very large numbers of men, whose interests are bound up in the liquor traffic, would themselves gladly co-operate, if they were not repelled as criminals, with the most ultra advocates of the temperance cause in some broad measure which, while it will enable them to avoid pecuniary ruin, will, at the same time, protect the coming generations from the storm of fire and brimstone which is pelting ours like that which fell upon Sodom and Gomorrah and left them at the bottom of the Dead Sea.

THE CONSUMER.

Again, the *consumer*, he who complains that you assault his manhood, his personal liberty, that you lock up his mouth with a sumptuary law, that you trample upon his God-given freedom, when you deprive him of his rum,

whisky, brandy, and gin, when you interfere with his right to get drunk, to be drunk and to help others to be drunk like himself, even this man cannot complain, for before the year 1900 he will be in his grave. And I have never yet seen the *sot*, even, who wanted to transmit his right to be destroyed by strong drink to his son. There is hardly a victim of intemperance on this continent to-day who will not vote to save his son from the dreadful appetite which chains him to his fate. The parental sentiment of the country will cry out for this amendment, and the instincts of human nature will crowd to the ballot-boxes of the land to save the children of the ages to come. I firmly believe that, if Congress will only give the American people the opportunity to act on this proposed amendment, it would win upon a popular vote after two years' discussion.

But there is no form in which the appeal can be made but by the submission of an amendment from the national Legislature to the States at large, and why should not the opportunity be given and the result left with the people themselves?

The importation of liquors is now the subject of treaty stipulation with France and other countries, but we have the unquestionable right to abrogate these treaties after reasonable notice. Every nation has this right, and I allude to it only because I have heard the existence of these treaties suggested as an obstacle to the adoption of the amendment.

Again, this resolution proposes to prevent the manufacture. I think it is apparent that there can be no permanent temperance reform in this country so long as the manufacture is free.

I am not aware of the existence of any law in any State which interferes with the unrestricted manufacture of distilled spirits for every purpose. Whatever is made will be sold; and, if it is right to regulate or prohibit the sale for any use, it must be right to regulate or prohibit the manufacture for the same use, and if it is possible to regulate or prevent the sale after the article has been distributed into a million localities all over the country, it is comparatively easy to control the manufacture, which, necessarily, must be

carried on where large masses of capital are concentrated. Granted, that individuals will manufacture their own poison, yet they must do it in secret and under such difficulties and public reprobation that comparatively small injury could result. And if it is possible to regulate the sale, and successfully, or even with approximate success, to restrict the *sale* to legitimate and necessary uses in detached States, as has been so largely done even under all the embarrassments of existing laws and a public sentiment none too sensitive and never hereafter to be less so than now, how much easier will it be to regulate and control the *manufacture* by licenses from the States or from the general government, as should be found best in practice. Especially would this be so when, by the control of transportation, every particle made could be traced to the proper and authorized dealers or custodians throughout the country. It would be impossible to conceal the manufacture if carried on to any injurious extent. Nothing can reach the manufacturer but a constitutional amendment, for two reasons: first, as before observed, the Constitution now recognizes ardent spirits for all uses to be property, and, second, no matter how strictly any State law might provide for its suppression, capital could locate in some other jurisdiction, in some other State or Territory, or in some foreign state, and create the supply which the drinking appetite of the consumer demands.

Nor can there be any valid objection to this legislation based upon the doctrine of State rights, for the Constitution now asserts and exercises the power to substantially control or thwart the police power of the States by rendering nugatory their efforts to regulate and suppress the evil. The police powers of the States are thus really nullified or abridged in a most important, nay a matter of vital, concern. The deadliest foe of social happiness and public order is placed under the protection of the national Constitution, and the State must subordinate its process to the rights of rum, protected by the national power. This amendment proposes to repeal those restrictions upon the rights of States to govern themselves, and substitute provisions in harmony with the tendencies of enlightened State legislation and the interests of society, and thus it proposes

to *re-enforce* the police power of the States acting for the public good. This certainly, at the worst, is no greater restriction of the powers of the States than now exists in the Constitution by virtue of the protection given to the liquor interests against which the States, so many of them, wage war. And it is difficult to see why an advocate of States' rights should be satisfied with the Constitution as it is, and then complain when it is proposed to change the Constitution so as to give the States still greater power to restrict and control an evil over which, but *for* this Constitution, the States would have absolute power.

It seems to me that this is a sufficient reply to those who, claiming that they desire to suppress the evil, object to an increase of State power for that purpose. If the real difficulty is that the objector would relieve the liquor traffic of *all* legal disabilities, whether State or national, then this view of States' rights will not be satisfactory. He will then be satisfied with no constitutional amendment which does not destroy all "police power," State or national, to interfere with the evils of alcoholic intemperance. "States' rights" is a term too much abused in these latter days, and honest men should examine well the motives and pretenses of those who appeal to prejudices engendered by controversies which, with their causes, are vanished away. We certainly are a nation to such extent that a vast evil which contaminates the atmosphere of the continent can be assailed with national power, especially when it can be reached successfully in no other way, and the method proposed leaves to the States the execution of the great work if they will perform it in their own self-chosen way.

But I would not fail to urge that there be no national action at the expense of that which otherwise would be done in the States. The two forms of agitation and legislation should go on together, and each as the ally of the other, promoting, by their joint action, the success of both, fortifying and securing their conquests when made.

In the same campaigns we discuss both State and national issues. Why is it not easier and better to consider the issue against alcohol in its broad and national aspect, which is the really important and only decisive one, rather than wholly in

its local and lesser relations in States, counties and towns? At the same primaries we select both State and national candidates, or choose delegates to act for us in conventions which perform our will. Why not, then, see to it that national candidates are sound upon the temperance issue, as well as those who are to be officers only of the State?

No more important questions ever arise in Congress than questions upon bills and resolutions which relate to traffic in alcohol, and yet we ignore them in the formation of national platforms, and in the choice of candidates for the exercise of the executive and legislative power.

The movements of the present time for prohibitory amendments of State constitutions and for statutory prohibition and regulation, including the system of "local-option" effort, are of great importance, especially as the means of temporary restraint, and as the centers of agitation and means of creating enlightened public opinion; but such is the nature and scope of the evil, and such are the relations of the general and special or State governments to each other, that nothing but a movement based upon the national idea presents a clear prospect of permanent success. The same and greater difficulties arise in all action for the permanent or even temporary suppression of the liquor traffic that does not include aggressive co-operation of the national government, which ruined the country under the Articles of Confederation, and which did not abate until the whole subject of commerce, foreign and between the States, was placed under the control of one sovereign power. The combination of local and national effort is indispensable to the desired end. Neither can prevail without the other; neither can be postponed for the other without harm. Let everybody throw a stone at the liquor traffic, each in his own way, when he is so organized that he can not or will not use prepared ammunition nor shoot with the regulation gun.

But still the fact will remain that to ignore or delay the movement for a prohibitory amendment of the national Constitution, so that it may be reserved to be a Yorktown rather than a Bunker Hill — that is to say, a crowning rather than a preliminary battle — is to decide to fight as a mass of individuals, or an isolation of States, rather than as a trained

army with a general plan of campaign, and a national concentration of organized power for the destruction of an organized national curse.

It is a division and misdirection of power where combination and definite aim are required to give substantial success. It is time that the prohibitory idea should assume that control of any national party which belongs to a sentiment which is the conviction of three-fourths of the people in that party. No party can remain permanently three-fourths for prohibition and one-fourth against it. That is less possible than it once was for the nation to remain permanently half slave and half free. Ideas never compromise. They contend for mastery, but they never conciliate nor coalesce. We are at the dividing of the ways:

> "The crisis presses on us.
> Face to face with us it stands,
> With its solemn lips of question,
> Like the Sphinx on Egypt's sands."

Our generation is passing away. Let not those of us who have chiefly done our work forget that the nation will survive us, and that the tree of liberty will be full of sap after we are gone. Let us die in the direction of hope. If the victory come not in our time, nor to our advantage, let those who bury us have reason to embalm our hearts, that in the thick fight which is between us and the Holy Land, chieftains who command our children shall, like the crusader, cast the sacred relics far forward into the ranks of the foe. So may the armies of the cross win victories from the memory of our devotion to the right.

Let us at least leave behind the example of unflinching and unselfish valor put forth in a sublime cause — a cause which it is duty to uphold, even though complete success may linger until our warfare is ended, and our sacrifices and calamities, if any there be, endured for its promotion, shall be long overpast.

CHAPTER XIX.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND TEMPERANCE REFORM.

Woman's Kingdom, the Home, at Stake — Woman the Greatest Barrier to Intemperance — Temperance is Woman's War — Rum Destroys the Home — Suffrage of Woman Indispensable to the Temperance Reform — Human Suffrage the True Ideal — Woman Suffrage Discussed — Senate Committee's Report on Suffrage of Woman — Woman's Christian Temperance Union, an Illustration of Woman's Ability to Shape Action — Ouida's Notions about Women — Intelligent Men Concede Woman's Capacity and Moral Fitness — Suffrage not a Right Dependent on Sex — To Vote the Great Primitive Right — Maternity does not Disqualify; Motherhood adds Motives — Mothers can Attend Church, why not the Polls? — Objection that Woman does not Desire Suffrage — Objection that Husband and Wife will Disagree — Experience of Wyoming, Washington, and Kansas — Women Voting has made Voting Respectable — Senate Report, on Development of Woman Suffrage — School Suffrage in Eleven States — Speech of Hon. Albert Griffin — Free Suffrage for All.

THE worst consequences of the liquor traffic fall upon women and children.

Intemperance is the most cowardly of all crimes. I say of all *crimes;* for it must be admitted that if so long as the effects of self-poisoning by the use of intoxicating beverages are confined to the drunkard, the practice is only a *vice*, yet the moment that he is led by it to violate his duty to others, and trespass upon their rights, he becomes a criminal. Although there is much intemperance among women, and it is to be feared that the habit is increasing, especially among the fast and wealthy few, still the gentler sex is comparatively free from the dreadful practice, which is so common among men. Some of the reasons for this fact may be that the woman nature, if not the better, is less inclined to the indulgence of coarse animal tendencies, like gluttony and drunkenness, that woman has fewer temptations, and, when there is opportunity, is more readily reclaimed. Then, again, woman is the supreme being in the family, and instinctively perseveres

longest against temptation, adversity and unfortunate environment, in the effort to sustain and preserve the family bark from wreck on the sea of dissipation. All the intense feelings and forces of wifehood and motherhood are rallied for the great struggle against the drink demon who invades her sacred citadel. Whoever surrenders to him,—and sometimes he captures all and spares neither age nor sex,—as a rule, the woman who is wife and mother yields last.

Intemperance is not a natural passion. It is an acquired appetite; and woman, warned of its special horrors reserved for herself, is the greatest barrier to its general prevalence among men. Imagine for a moment the influence of woman withdrawn from the warfare against alcohol; or even that she were as indifferent and inactive in her opposition to it as the masses of the other sex!—Would not the ravages of the traffic be doubled in five years?

Men alone would seldom lose a day or a dollar in temperance crusades. The war for abstinence is a war for woman and for home. It is woman's war. Man may help her. But she fights it, if it be fought, and she wins it, if it be won. It is her kingdom which is at stake, and upon her success depend all the great interests of society.

There can be no doubt that the spiritual fiber of woman's organization is of a higher type than that of man. She is more closely allied with the moral and religious elements or forces in the universe—with these qualities in the Great Source of everything. This is one of the differences between the sexes, and, like physical strength, is one not of kind but of degree.

Man possesses more of body. It is not clear that he has the stronger mind; and his moral or spiritual nature is as much the weaker as his physical is superior to that of woman. So far, he has had the better opportunity, for superior strength has enabled him to seize it, and brute selfishness has led him to do it. So the history of woman has been that of dependence—generally of slavery, for both pets and drudges are alike slaves—just as the refined and spiritual and good have been crucified on every Calvary, from the earliest ages, by the tyranny of physical force.

Woman in history has the same relation to man in history

that the purer and the better side of human nature has always sustained toward its less refined and material tendencies. And as in the evolution of the ages spirit eventually vanquishes matter, the soul the body, right conquers wrong, and the pure and holy are victorious over all, and assert a supremacy which destroys nothing that should continue, and chastens selfishness only so far as to convert its strength into a source of good, elevating and refining and preserving those qualities which unrestrained have tyrannized and destroyed, so in the higher and holier and happier ages upon which we are now surely entering, the complete enfranchisement of woman is the primal condition and basic fact which will mark the era of the dominance of reason and conscience in the affairs of the race.

But, even if this were not so, the very selfishness of woman compels her to be the enemy of rum; for rum destroys her home as the serpent despoils the mother-bird of her brood. While I believe that "ever the right comes uppermost, and that ever is justice done," and that the various forces of "moral suasion" would in the end remove the liquor traffic, yet it takes too long — too many ages — and we cannot wait.

And again, it is a part of the order of nature that the ruling force in society should embody itself in law. Government is a natural institution, although in its forms it may be modified by the will of men. When society is informed of any great evil and of the remedy, it will remove that evil if it be strong enough to do it. The evil of alcoholic intoxication is one of the greatest which have ever afflicted humanity. Society is becoming informed of this fact, and is anxiously endeavoring to remove it; so far with but partial success. Public sentiment has already in many cases taken on the form of laws which, being defective or defectively executed, have failed — some totally, all partially failed. Why has the law failed? Why has it been defective? Why, when its terms were efficient, has it still failed in execution? Is there any force in society not yet utilized, and which can be and therefore must be utilized, in order to give and execute good laws for the destruction of the traffic in poison drinks? I believe that the suffrage of woman is indispensable to the success of the temperance reform.

But I know that suffrage will never be given to woman in so important a matter as this, unless by the concession of the correctness of a principle, which, if granted, will sooner or later confer complete freedom in the exercise of suffrage upon womanhood just as it is exercised by man. When this is done, we shall hear, not of manhood suffrage nor of womanhood suffrage, but of soul-suffrage. In the soul is the source of the right; and whoever has a mature human soul is, under our form of government, entitled to human suffrage. Human suffrage is its true name. Let us baptize it thus.

Therefore, it becomes necessary to examine briefly the general subject of the suffrage, since we cannot hope nor do we care for its concession to woman to be applied to one purpose alone, however important that purpose may be.

FOUNDATION OF THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

If there be any principle upon which our form of government is founded, and wherein it is different from aristocracies, monarchies and despotisms, that principle is this:

Every human being of mature powers, not disqualified by ignorance, vice or crime, is the equal of and is entitled to all the rights and privileges which belong to any other such human being under the law.

The independence, equality and dignity of all human souls is the fundamental assertion of those who believe in what we call human freedom. This principle will hardly be denied by any one, even by those who oppose the extension of suffrage to women. But we are informed that infants, idiots and women are represented by men. This cannot reasonably be claimed unless it be first shown that the consent of these classes has been given to such representation, or that they lack the capacity to consent. But the exclusion of these classes from participation in the government deprives them of the power of assent to representation even when they possess the requisite ability; and to say there can be representation which does not presuppose consent or authority on the part of the principal who is represented, is to confound all reason, and to assert, in substance, that all actual power, whether despotic or otherwise, is representative, and there-

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fore free. In this sense the Czar represents his whole people, just as voting men represent women who do not vote at all.

True it is that the voting men, by excluding women and other classes from the suffrage, by that act charge themselves with the trust of administering justice to all, even as the monarch whose power is based upon force is bound to rule uprightly. But if it be true that "all just government is founded upon the consent of the governed," then the government of woman by man, without her consent, given in her sovereign capacity, if, indeed, she be an intelligent creature, and provided she be competent to exercise the power of suffrage, which is the sovereignty, even if that government be wise and just in itself, is a violation of natural right, and an enforcement of servitude and slavery against her on the part of man. If woman, like the infant or the defective classes, be incapable of self-government, then republican society may exclude her from all participation in the enactment and enforcement of the laws under which she lives. But in that case, like the infant and the fool and the unconsenting subject of tyrannical forms of government, she is ruled and not represented by man.

Thus much I desire to say in the beginning, in reply to the broad assumption of those who deny women the suffrage by saying that they are already represented by their fathers, their husbands, their brothers, and their sons, or to state the proposition in its only proper form, that woman, whose assent can only be given by an exercise of sovereignty on her part, is represented by man, who denies and by virtue of power and possession refuses to her the exercise of the suffrage whereby that representation can be made valid.

The claim, then, that woman is represented by the other sex is not well founded, and is based upon the same assumption of power which lies at the base of all government anti-republican in form. It can not be claimed that she is, as a free being, already represented, for she can only be represented according to her will by the exercise of her will through the suffrage itself.

As already observed, the exclusion of woman from the suffrage under our form of government can be justified upon proof, and only upon proof, that by reason of her sex she

is incompetent to exercise that power. This is a question of fact.

The common ground upon which all agree may be stated thus: All males having certain qualifications are in reason and in law entitled to vote. Those qualifications affect either the body or the mind, or both.

First, the attainment of a certain age. The age, in itself, is not material, but maturity of mental and moral development is material, soundness of body, in itself, not being essential, and want of it alone never working forfeiture of the right, although it may prevent its exercise.

Age, as a qualification for suffrage, is by no means to be confounded with age as a qualification for service in war. Society has well established the distinction, and that one has no relation whatever to the other; the one having reference to physical prowess, while the other relates only to the mental and moral state. This is shown by the ages fixed by law for these qualifications, that of eighteen years being fixed as the commencement of the term of presumed fitness for military service, and forty-five years as the period of its termination; while the age of presumed fitness for the suffrage, which requires no physical superiority certainly, is set at twenty-one years, when still greater strength of body has been attained than at the period when liability to the dangers and hardships of war commences; and there are at least three million more male voters in our country than of the population liable by law to the performance of military duty. It is still further to be observed that the right of suffrage continues as long as the mind lasts, while ordinary liability to military service ceases at a period when the physical powers, though still strong, are beginning to wane. The truth is that there is no legal or natural connection between the right or liability to fight and the right to vote.

The right to fight may be exercised voluntarily, or the liability to fight may be enforced by the community whenever there is an invasion of right, and the extent to which the physical forces of society may be called upon in self-defense, or in justifiable revolution, is measured not by age or sex, but by necessity, and may go so far as to call into the field old men and women and the last vestige of physical force.

It can not be claimed that woman has no right to vote because she is not liable to fight, for she is so liable; and the freest government on the face of the earth has the reserved power, under the call of necessity, to place her in the forefront of battle itself; and, more than this, woman has the right, and often has exercised it, to go there.

If any one could question the existence of this reserved power of society to call the force of woman to the common defense, either in the hospital or the field, it would be woman, who has been deprived of participation in the government and in shaping the public policy which has resulted in dire emergency to the State. But in all times, and under all forms of government and of social existence, woman has given her body and her soul to the common defense.

The qualification of age, then, is imposed for the purpose of securing mental and moral fitness for the suffrage on the part of those who exercise it. It has no relation to the possession of physical powers at all.

All other qualifications imposed upon male citizens, save only that of their sex, as prerequisites to the exercise of suffrage, have the same objects in view, and can have no other.

The property qualification is, to my mind, an invasion of natural right, which elevates mere property to an equality with life and personal liberty, and ought never to be imposed upon the suffrage. But, however that may be, its application or removal has no relation to sex, and its only object is to secure the exercise of the suffrage under a stronger sense of obligation and responsibility — a qualification, be it observed, of no consequence save as it influences the mind of the voter in the exercise of his right.

The same is true of the qualifications of sanity, education, and obedience to the laws, which exclude dementia, ignorance and crime from participation in the sovereignty. Every condition or qualification imposed upon the exercise of the suffrage by the citizens, save only sex, has for its only object or possible justification the possession of mental and moral fitness, and has no relation to physical power.

The question then arises, Why is the qualification of masculinity required at all?

The distinction between human beings by reasons of sex is

a physical distinction. The soul is of no sex. If there be a distinction of soul, by reason of the physical difference, or accompanying that physical difference, woman is the superior of man in mental and moral qualities. In proof of this see all the eulogiums of woman pronounced by those who, like the serpent of old, would flatter her vanity that they may continue to wield her power.

I repeat it that the soul is of no sex, and that sex is, so far as the possession and exercise of human rights and powers are concerned, but a physical property, in which the female is just as important as the male, and the possessor thereof under just as great need of power in the organization and management of society, and the government of society, as man; and if there be a difference, she, by reason of her average physical inferiority, is really protected, and ought to be protected, by a superior mental and moral fitness to give direction to the course of society and the policy of the State. If, then, there be a distinction between the souls of human beings resulting from sex, I claim that, by the universal testimony of all men, woman is better fitted for the exercise of the suffrage than man.

It is claimed by some that the suffrage is an inherent natural right, and by others that it is merely a privilege extended to the individual by society in its discretion. However this may be, practically any extension of the exercise of the suffrage to individuals or classes not now enjoying it, must be by concession of those who already possess it, and such extension without revolution will be through the suffrage itself, exercised by those who have it under existing forms.

The appeal by those who have it not must be made to those who are asked to part with a portion of their own power, and it is not strange that human nature, which is an essential element in the male sex, should hesitate and delay to yield one-half its power to those whose cause, however strong in reason and justice, lacks that physical force which so largely has been the means by which the masses of men themselves have wrung their own rights from rulers and kings.

Give woman justice, or a chance to take what belongs to

her, if she wants to. After that we can talk of *protection*, if she needs it. Will woman be less attractive, because she can vote? Will she be less of a necessity or less of a luxury in human affairs? If she can do so much without the ballot, what could she not accomplish with it? It is a false pretense that men withhold the ballot for her sake; it is for their own. It is greed of power — poor, mean jealousy of woman in fair, open competition, and fear of subjugation from reduction to our own aliquot part of power in society. That is what ails us men. Eye-rolling ranters about the angelic sweetness of woman, etc., and the contamination of the ballot should have their feelings submitted to chemical analysis.

It is not strange that when overwhelmed with argument and half won by appeals to his better nature to concede to woman her equal power in the State, and ashamed to blankly refuse that which he finds no reason for longer withholding, man avoids the dilemma by a pretended elevation of his helpmeet to a higher sphere, where, as an angel, she has certain gauzy ethereal resources and superior functions, occupations and attributes which render the possession of mere earthly every-day powers and privileges non-essential to woman, however mere mortal men themselves may find them indispensable to their own freedom and happiness.

But to the denial of her right to vote, whether that denial be the blunt refusal of the ignorant or the polished evasion of the refined courtier and politician, woman can oppose only her most solemn and perpetual appeal to the reason of man and to the justice of Almighty God. She must continually point out the nature and object of the suffrage, and the necessity that she possess it for her own and the public good.

What, then, is the suffrage, and WHY IS IT NECESSARY THAT WOMAN SHOULD POSSESS AND EXERCISE THIS FUNCTION OF FREEMEN?

I will quote briefly from the report of the majority of the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, which I had the honor to submit during the first session of the 49th Congress:

The rights for the maintenance of which human governments are constituted are life, liberty and property. These rights are common to men and women alike, and whatever citizen or subject

exists as a member of any body-politic, under any form of government, is entitled to demand from the sovereign power the full protection of these rights.

This right to the protection of rights appertains to the individual, not to the family alone, or to any form of association, whether social or corporate. Probably not more than five-eighths of the men of legal age, qualified to vote, are heads of families, and not more than that proportion of adult women are united with men in the legal merger of married life. It is, therefore, quite incorrect to speak of the State as an aggregate of families duly represented at the ballot-box by their male head. The relation between the government and the individual is direct; all rights are individual rights, all duties are individual duties.

Government in its two highest functions is legislative and judicial. By these powers the sovereignty prescribes the law, and directs its application to the vindication of rights and the redress of wrongs. Conscience and intelligence are the only forces which enter into the exercise of this highest and primary function of government. The remaining department is the executive or administrative, and in all forms of government — the republican as well as in tyranny — the primary element of administration is force, and even in this department conscience and intelligence are indispensable to its direction.

If, now, we are to decide who of our sixty millions of human beings are to constitute the citizenship of this republic, and by virtue of their qualifications to be the law-making power, by what tests shall the selection be determined?

The suffrage, which is the sovereignty, is this great primary law-making power. It is not the executive power proper at all. It is not founded upon force. Only that degree of physical strength which is essential to a sound body — the home of the healthy mental and moral constitution — the sound soul in the sound body is required in the performance of the function of primary legislation. Never in the history of this or any other genuine republic has the law-making power, whether in general elections or in the framing of laws in legislative assemblies, been vested in individuals who have exercised it by reason of their physical powers. On the contrary, the physically weak have never for that reason been deprived of the suffrage nor of the privilege of service in the public councils so long as they possessed the necessary powers of locomotion and expression, of conscience and intelligence, which are common to all. The aged and the physically weak have, as a rule, by reason of superior wisdom and moral sense, far more than made good any bodily inferiority by which they

have differed from the more robust members of the community in the discussion and decisions of the ballot-box and in the councils of State.

The executive power of itself is a mere physical instrumentality — an animal quality — and it is confided from necessity to those individuals who possess that quality, but always with danger, except so far as wisdom and virtue control its exercise. And it is obvious that the greater the mass of higher and spiritual forces, whether found in those to whom the execution of the law is assigned, or in the great mass by whom the suffrage is exercised, and who direct the execution of the law, the greater will be the safety and the surer will be the happiness of the State.

It is too late to question the intellectual and moral capacity of woman to understand great political issues (which are always primarily questions of conscience — questions of the intelligent application of the principles of right and of wrong in public and private affairs) and properly decide them at the polls. Indeed, so far as your committee are aware, the pretense is no longer advanced that woman should not vote by reason of her mental or moral unfitness to perform this legislative function; but the suffrage is denied to her because she can not hang criminals, suppress mobs, nor handle the enginery of war. We have already seen the untenable nature of this assumption, because those who make it bestow the suffrage upon very large classes of men who, however well qualified they may be to vote, are physically unable to perform any of the duties which appertain to the execution of the law and the defense of the State. Scarcely a senator on this floor is liable by law to perform a military or other administrative duty, yet the rule so many set up against the right of women to vote would disfranchise nearly this whole body.

But it is unnecessary to grant that woman can not fight. History is full of examples of her heroism in danger, of her endurance and fortitude in trial, and of her indispensable and supreme service in hospital and field; and in the handling of the deft and horrible machinery and infernal agencies which science and art have prepared, and are preparing for human destruction in future wars, woman may perform her whole part in the common assault or the common defense. It is hardly worth while to consider this trivial objection that she is incompetent for purposes of national murder or of bloody self-defense as the basis of the denial of a great fundamental right, when we consider that if that right were given to her she would by its exercise almost certainly abolish this great crime of the nations, which has always inflicted upon her the chief burden of woe.

It will be admitted that the act of voting is operative in government only as a means of deciding upon the adoption or rejection of measures or of the selection of officers to enact, administer, and execute the laws.

It also must be admitted that in the discharge of these functions intelligence and conscience are the faculties requisite to secure their proper performance.

In this day, when woman has demonstrated that she is fully the intellectual equal of man in the profound as well as in the politer walks of learning — in art, science, literature, and, considering her opportunities, that she is not his inferior in any of the professions or in the great mass of useful occupations, while she is, in fact, becoming the chief educator of the race, and is the acknowledged support of the great ministrations of charity and religion; when in such great organizations as the suffrage associations, missionary societies, *the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union*, and even upon the still larger scale of international action, she has exhibited her power by mere moral influences and the inspiration of great purposes, without the aid of legal penalties or even of tangible inconveniences, to mould and direct the discordant thought and action of thousands and millions of people scattered over separate States, and sometimes even living in countries hostile to each other, to the accomplishment of great earthly or heavenly ends, it is unreasonable to deny to woman the suffrage in political affairs upon the false allegation that she is wanting in the very qualities most indispensable and requisite for the proper exercise of this great right.

The advocates of universal male suffrage have long since ceased to deny the ballot to woman upon the ground that she is unfit or incompetent to exercise it.

There is a class of high-stepping objectors, like Ouida, who decry the sound judgment and moral excellence of woman as compared with man, but in the same breath these people deny the suffrage to the masses of men, and advocate "the just supremacy of the fittest," so that no time need be wasted in refutation of those malignant and libelous aspersions upon our mothers, sisters and wives, which, when carried to logical conclusions by their own authors, deny the fundamental

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principles of liberty to man and woman alike, and reassert in its baldest form the dogma that "the existing system of electoral power all over the world is absurd, and will remain so because in no nation is there the courage, perhaps in no nation is there the intellectual power, capable of putting forward and sustaining the logical doctrine of the just supremacy of the fittest."

In fact, all honest, intelligent men, who believe in the republican system of government at all, concede that woman has the capacity and moral fitness requisite to exercise the ballot.

There is no escape from it. The discussion has passed so far that among intelligent people who believe in the republican form — that is, free government — all mature men and women have under the same circumstances and conditions the same rights to defend, the same grievances to redress, and, therefore, the same necessity for the exercise of this great fundamental right of all human beings in free society. For the right to vote is the great primitive right. It is the right in which all freedom originates and culminates. It is the right from which all others spring, in which they merge, and without which they fall whenever assailed.

This right makes, and is all the difference between government by and with the consent of the governed and government without and against the consent of the governed; and that is the difference between freedom and slavery. If the right to vote be not that difference, what is? If either sex as a class can dispense with the right to vote, then take it from the strong, and no longer rob the weak of their defense for the benefit of the strong.

But it is impossible to conceive of the suffrage as a right dependent at all upon such an irrelevant condition as sex. It is an individual, a personal right. It may be withheld by force; but if withheld by reason of sex it is a moral robbery.

But it is said that THE DUTIES OF MATERNITY disqualify for the performance of the act of voting. It can not be, and, I think, is not claimed by any one, that the mother, who otherwise would be fit to vote, is rendered mentally or morally less fit to exercise this high function in the State because of

motherhood. On the contrary, if any woman has a motive more than another person, man or woman, to secure the enactment and enforcement of good laws, it is the mother, who, beside her own life, person, and property, to the protection of which the ballot is as essential as to the same rights possessed by man, has her little contingent of immortal beings to conduct safely to the portals of active life through all the snares and pitfalls woven around them by bad men, and bad laws which bad men have made, or good laws which bad men, unhindered by the good, have defied or have prostituted, and rightly to prepare them for the discharge of all the duties of their day and generation, including the exercise of the very right denied to their mother.

Certainly, if but for motherhood she should vote, then ten thousand times more necessary is it that the mother should be guarded and armed with this great social and political power, for the sake of all men and women who are yet to be. But it is said that she has not the time. Let us see. By the best deductions I can make from the census and from other sources there are 15,000,000 women of voting age in this country at the present time, of whom not more than 10,000,000 are married, and not more than 7,500,000 are still liable to the duties of maternity, for it will be remembered that a large proportion of the mothers of our country at any given time are below the voting age, while of those who are above it another large proportion have passed beyond the point of this objection. Not more than one-half the female population of voting age are liable to this objection. Then, why disfranchise the 7,500,000, the other half, as to whom your objection, even if valid as to any, does not apply at all; and these, too, as a class the most mature, and therefore the best qualified to vote of any of their sex? But how much is there of this objection of want of time or physical strength to vote in its application to women who are bearing and training the coming millions? The families of the country average five persons in number. If we assume that this gives an average of three children to every pair, which is probably the full number, or if we assume that every married mother, after she becomes of voting age, bears three children, which is certainly the full allowance, and that twenty-four years are

consumed in doing it, there is one child born every eight years, whose coming is to interfere with the exercise of a duty or privilege which, in most States, and in all the most important elections, occurs only one day in two years.

That same mother will attend church at least forty times yearly, on the average, from her cradle to her grave, beside an infinity of other social, religious, and industrial obligations which she performs and assumes to perform because she is a married woman and a mother, rather than for any other reason whatever. Yet it is proposed to deprive women — yes, all women alike — of an inestimable privilege and the chief power which can be exercised by any free individual in the State, for the reason that on any given day of election not more than one woman in twenty of voting age will probably not be able to reach the polls. It does seem probable that on these interesting occasions if the husband and wife disagree in politics they could arrange a pair, and the probability is, that arrangement failing, one could be consummated with some other lady in like fortunate circumstances of opposite political opinions. More men are kept from the polls by drunkenness, or, being at the polls, vote under the influence of strong drink, to the reproach and destruction of our free institutions, and who, if woman could and did vote, would cast the ballot of sobriety, good order, and reform, under her holy influences, than all those who would be kept from any given election by the necessary engagements of mothers at home.

When one thinks of the innumerable and trifling causes which keep many of the best of men and strongest opponents of woman suffrage from the polls upon important occasions, it is difficult to be tolerant of the objection that woman, by reason of motherhood, has no time to vote. The greater exposure of man to the casualties of life actually disables him in such way as to make it physically impossible for him to exercise the franchise more frequently than is the case with women, including mothers and all. And if this liability to lose the opportunity to exercise the right once or possibly twice in a lifetime is a reason that women should not be allowed to vote at all, why should men not be disfranchised also by the same rule?

But it is urged that woman does not desire the privilege. If the right exist at all, it is an individual right, and not one which belongs to a class or to the sex as such. Yet men tell us that they will vote the suffrage to women whenever the majority of women desire it. Are, then, our rights the property of the majority of a disfranchised class to which we may chance to belong? What would we say if it were seriously proposed to recall the suffrage from all colored or from all white men because a majority of either class should decline or for any cause fail to vote? I know that it is said that the suffrage is a privilege to be extended by those who have it to those who have it not. But the matter of right, of moral right, to the franchise does not depend upon the indifference of those who possess it, or of those who do not possess it, to the desire of those women who wish to enjoy their right and to discharge their duty. If one or many choose not to claim their right, it is no argument for depriving me of mine, or one woman of hers. There are many reasons why some women declare themselves opposed to the extension of suffrage to their sex. Some well fed and pampered, without serious experiences in life, are incapable of comprehending the subject at all. Vast numbers, who secretly and earnestly desire it, from the long habit of deference to the wishes of the other sex, upon whom they are so entirely dependent while disfranchised, and knowing the hostility of their "protectors" to the agitation of the subject, conceal their real sentiments, and the "lord" of the family, referring this question to his wife, who has heard him sneer, or worse than sneer, at suffragists for half a lifetime, ought not to expect an answer which she knows will subject her to his censure and ridicule, or even his unexpressed disapprobation.

It is like the old appeal of the master to his slave, to know if he would be free. Full well did the wise and wary slave know that happiness depended upon declared contentment with his lot. But, all the same, the world does move. Colored men are free. Colored men vote. Women will vote. If colored women vote, their votes will be cast quite as intelligently as those of colored men. There will be one million of them. White women will vote, and there are two

of them to one colored woman all through the South, and in the whole country ten times as many. How, then, is the quality of the suffrage to be injured by reason of color, unless the white color is the inferior? The suggestion is dishonorable. To such paltry talk are the opponents of woman suffrage driven by the truth. A little further on, I shall revert to the evidence of a general and growing desire on her part, and on the part of just and intelligent men, that the suffrage be extended to women.

But we are told that husband and wife will disagree, and thus the suffrage will destroy the family and ruin society. If a married couple will quarrel at all, they will find the occasion, and it were fortunate indeed if their contention might concern important affairs. There is no peace in the family save where love is, and the same spirit which enables the husband and wife to enforce the toleration act between themselves in religious matters will keep the peace between them in political discussions. At all events, this argument is unworthy of notice at all, unless we are to push it to its logical conclusion, and, for the sake of peace in the family, to prohibit woman absolutely the exercise of freedom of thought and speech. Men live with their countrymen, and disagree with them in politics, religion, and ten thousand of the affairs of life, as often the trifling as the important. What harm, then, if woman be allowed her thought and vote upon the tariff, education, temperance, peace and war, and whatsoever else the suffrage decides?

But we are told that no government, of which we have authentic history, ever gave to woman a share in the sovereignty.

This is not true, for the annals of monarchies and despotisms have been rendered illustrious by queens of surpassing brilliance and power. But even if it be true that no republic ever enfranchised woman with the ballot, even so, until within one hundred years, universal or even general suffrage was unknown among men.

Has the millennium yet dawned? Is all progress at an end? If that which is should *therefore* remain, why abolish the slavery of men?

But we are informed that woman does not vote when she

has the opportunity. Wherever she has the unrestricted right she exercises it. The records of Wyoming and Washington and Kansas demonstrate the fact.

And in these parts of the country, too, as well as wherever else she has exercised the suffrage, she has elevated man to her own level, and has made the voting precinct as respectable and decorous as the lecture-room or the assemblies of the devout. All the experience there is refutes the apprehension of those who fear that woman will either neglect the discharge of her great duty, when allowed its fair and equal exercise, or that the rude and baser sort will overwhelm and banish the noble and refined.

But, to my mind, it seems like trifling with a great subject to dwell upon topics like this. It can only be justified by the continual iteration of the objection by the opponents of woman suffrage, who, in the lack of substantial grounds whereupon to base their opposition to the exercise of a great right by one-half the community, declare that there is no time in which woman can vote.

The following is an extract from the report of the majority of the Senate Committee before cited, showing, to a certain extent, the degree of consequence which this movement has assumed, its extent throughout our country, and something of its duration. Since this report was compiled, there has been action in several States, notably in Kansas, where municipal suffrage has been a complete success, and a great deal of popular discussion, and a vast amount of demonstration, from the action of popular assemblies.

The Committee say:

"This movement for woman suffrage has developed, during the last half-century, into one of great strength. The first petition was presented to the Legislature of New York in 1835. It was repeated in 1846, and since that time the petition has been urged upon nearly every Legislature in the Northern States. Five States have voted upon the question of amending their Constitutions by striking out the word 'male' from the suffrage clause — Kansas in 1867, Michigan in 1874, Colorado in 1877, Nebraska in 1882, and Oregon in 1884.

"The ratio of the popular vote in each case was about one-third for the amendment and two-thirds against it. Three Territories

have, or have had, full suffrage for women. In two — Wyoming since 1869 and Washington since 1883 — the experiment (!) is an unqualified success. In Utah, Miss Anthony keenly and justly observes that suffrage is as much of a success for the Mormon women as for the men.

"In eleven States, school suffrage for women exists. In Kansas, from her admission as a State. In Kentucky and Michigan fully as long a time. School suffrage for women also exists in Colorado, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, New York, Nebraska, and Oregon.

"In all these States, except Minnesota, school suffrage was extended to women by the respective Legislatures, and in Minnesota by the popular vote in November, 1876. Not only these eleven States, but in nearly all the other Northern and Western States, women are elected to the offices of county and city superintendents of public schools, and as members of school-boards. In Louisiana, the Constitution of 1879 makes women eligible to school offices.

"It may also be observed, as indicating a rising and controlling public sentiment in recognition of the right and capacity of woman for public affairs, that she is eligible to such offices as that of county clerk, register of deeds, and the like, in many and perhaps in all the States. Kansas and Iowa elected several women to these positions in the election of November, 1885, while President Grant alone appointed more than five thousand women to the office of postmaster; and although many women have been appointed in the Departments, and to pension agencies and like important employments and trusts, so far as your Committee are aware, no charge of incompetency or of malfeasance in office has ever yet been sustained against a woman.

"It may be further stated, in this connection, that nearly every Northern State has had before it, from time to time since 1870, a bill for the submission of the question of woman suffrage to the popular vote. In some instances, such a resolution has been passed at one session and failed to be ratified at another by from one to three votes; thus, Iowa passed it in 1870, killed it in 1872; passed it in 1874, failed to do so in 1876; passed it in 1878, and failed in 1880; passed it again in 1882, and defeated it in 1884; four times over and over, and this winter these heroic and indomitable women are trying it in Iowa again.

"If men were to make such a struggle for their rights, it would be considered a fine thing, and there would be books and even poetry written about it.

"In New York, since 1880, the women have urged this great

measure before the Legislature each year. There it takes the form of a bill to prohibit the disfranchisement of women. This bill has several times come within five votes of passing the Assembly.

"In many States, well sustained efforts for municipal suffrage have been made, and, as if in rebuke to the conservatism, or worse, of this great republic, this right of municipal suffrage is already enjoyed in the province of Ontario, Canada, and throughout the island of Great Britain by unmarried women to the same extent as by men, there being the same property qualification required of each.

"The movement for the amendment of the National Constitution began by petitioning Congress December, 1865, and since 1869 there have been consecutive applications to every Congress praying for the submission to the States of a proposition similar to the joint resolution herewith reported to the Senate.

"The petitions have come from all parts of the country; more especially from the Northern and Western States, although there is an extensive and increasing desire for the suffrage existing among the women in the Southern States, as we are informed by those whose interest in the subject makes them familiar with the real state of feeling in that part of our country. It is impossible to know just what proportion of the people — men and women — have expressed their desire by petition to the National Legislature during the last twenty years, but we are informed by Miss Anthony that in the year 1871 Senator Sumner collected the petitions from the files of the Senate and House of Representatives, and that there were then an immense number. A far greater number have been presented since that time, and the same lady is our authority for the estimate that in all more than two hundred thousand petitions, by select and representative men and women, have been poured upon Congress in behalf of this prayer of woman to be free. Who is so interested in the framing of the law as woman, whose only defense is the law? There never was a stronger exhibition of popular demand by American citizens to be heard in the court of the people for the vindication of a fundamental right."

Since the submission of the report the attempt has been made to secure action in several of the State Legislatures. One which came very near being successful was made in the State of Vermont. The suffrage was extended, if I am not incorrectly informed, so far as the action of the House of

Representatives of that State could give it, and an effort being made to propose some restriction and condition upon the suffrage, it was defeated, when, as I am told by the friends of the movement, if it could have reached a vote in the Vermont Legislature on the naked proposition of suffrage to women as suffrage is extended to men, they felt the very greatest confidence that they would have been able to secure favorable action by the Legislature of that State.

Miss Anthony informs me that in the State of Kansas, where she spent several weeks last autumn (1886) in the discussion of the subject before vast masses of people, the largest halls, rinks, and places for the accommodation of popular assemblages in the State were crowded to overflowing to listen to her address. In every instance, she took a vote of those vast audiences as to whether they were in favor of woman suffrage or against it, and in no single instance was there a solitary vote against the extension of the right, but affirmative and universal action of these great assemblies demanding that it be extended to women.

Since that memorable campaign, Kansas has extended municipal suffrage to her women. She did not create the right — God created the right when he created the human soul. But Kansas made its exercise legal, and gave, so far, to woman liberty protected by law. Municipal suffrage is a great power, and full enfranchisement must follow. Municipal suffrage has been once exercised. It has not destroyed society nor disgraced the voter. It will not at once produce the millennium, but on every great question we shall hereafter have woman's help in Kansas.

I have just received the speech of Hon. Albert Griffin, Chairman of the National Anti-Saloon Committee, delivered in Topeka, Kan., Aug. 9, 1887, in which, speaking of the dangers to society by the transition of power from the country to city populations, which arise, principally, from the domination of the saloon among the latter, and of woman suffrage as a means of counteracting this and other evils, and of the operation of the municipal woman suffrage law of that State, he says: —

"Leaving national matters, I desire now to say a few words upon another subject. But, while doing so, I speak neither officially nor as a partisan, but simply as a private citizen of Kansas. Cities of the United States are growing with wonderful rapidity, and those of Kansas are not exceptions to the rule. Several States are already controlled by their cities, and the day is not far distant when the most of them will be. There would be nothing alarming about this, but for the further fact that cities operate like magnets on the weak and vicious, which elements, when concentrated in the masses, inevitably become the dupes and tools of demagogues and corruptionists. How to neutralize the political power of these dangerous masses in large cities is one of the greatest problems of the day, and Kansas will do well to solve it before she finds herself in the meshes of a net too strong to be broken.

"Last winter, the Legislature of Kansas was wise enough and courageous enough to pass a woman's municipal suffrage bill, and the first election held under it proved that, in the very places where the worst results had been predicted, the moral tone of both parties was really improved, and a better class of officials were chosen than would have been under the old system. It is not surprising, therefore, that the success of the experiment — as it was called by many — has led to a rapidly growing desire to try it on a larger scale. Indeed, the woman's suffrage question is certain soon to become a seriously disturbing factor, unless it is taken out of partisan politics by referring it to the people for their decision.

"The spring elections in this State, especially the one in Leavenworth, prove that in Kansas a large majority of the votes cast by women will be on the side of good government, against human vultures, and for the protection of the weak and innocent; and I believe that when they have the opportunity the voters of this State will expunge from its constitution all reference to sex. I am confident that the men of Kansas are now willing to give their mothers, wives and daughters equal rights with themselves. 'Give,' did I say? I take back that word and substitute 'restore' to them the rights conferred by the Creator, and embezzled by our male ancestors, and still wrongly and forcibly retained by us."

All will remember the coarse falsehoods with which the anti-woman-suffrage press teemed immediately after the election itself, in regard to the conduct of women at the polls in Kansas at an election, where, out of a total of ninety

thousand votes more than twenty-five thousand were cast by the wives, mothers and sisters of that glorious State. I have just received the following from one of the leading journals of Topeka, and commend it to the attention of all who deny the doctrines of this chapter.

"TOPEKA, KAN., October 16.

"Judge Adams, Secretary of the State Historical Society, has just completed a compilation of the recent municipal vote, which was the first one taken under the new law giving its women the right to vote. The compilation shows that in 232 cities of the State which voted, there was a total of 90,194 votes, of which 64,846 were male votes and 25,348 were female votes. Judge Adams' report is accompanied by the following statement:

"'I have been most thoroughly impressed with the conviction that the people of Kansas, at last spring's election, completely solved the woman suffrage question. It is no longer a question whether women want to vote. They do want to vote. This is proven by the fact that they have voted at the first opportunity given them. They voted with an intelligent, zealous, earnest interest in the good of the community in which they have their homes. If the issue involved in the election of any town was one affecting merely the local material interest of the community, they voted with good judgment and for the common welfare. If the question was as to better school management they voted for the best. If it was for the street, sanitary or other reforms, they voted prudently for what seemed to be the good of all. If it was for a change of an administration notoriously involved in speculations with water-works or other corporations, they voted to deliver the city from such corrupt entanglement. If political parties, controlled by saloon influence, put up candidates with the odor of whisky on their garments, the women rebuked the party managers and voted for candidates who would better promote the moral welfare of the community. In every instance they voted for home and fireside, for the freeing of the community from those demoralizing influences and temptations from which every good woman would deliver those of her own household. I have been impressed with the reports received, showing the orderly and quiet character of the elections. There was no dissent from the testimony on this point.'

"He comments upon the unexpectedly large vote of women, and upon the healthy influence of their presence in banishing riot and disorder from the polling-place. He remarks upon the courtesies

everywhere extended the lady voters, and gives statements as to how the men of all parties vied in escorting the ladies to the polls in carriages, how the ladies came to the polls accompanied by their husbands, sometimes singly, sometimes in groups, and quietly deposited their votes, and returned quietly to their homes, and how sometimes they came by scores and fifties from points of assemblage, and in some instances from churches, where they had met and prayed together before coming."

And so the truth gets along after a while; and when she comes she stays — and woman suffrage will stay. It will abide with us as a part of free government forever.

Popular demonstrations of approval are developing in all parts of the country, perhaps not to so marked an extent as these which I have just stated; but it is a feeling growing in this country that woman should have this right; that it belongs to her as an individual and not as an atom in the aggregate of her sex. As a human soul she has a right to it, and is not to be deprived of it until such time as all shall choose to exercise it. How can we deny the demand of millions who believe in suffrage for women, and who can not be forever silenced, for they give voice to the innate cry of the human heart that justice be done not alone to man, but to that half of this nation which now is free only by the grace of the other? Let us indorse, if we do not initiate, a movement which, in the development of our race, shall guarantee liberty to all, without distinction of sex, even as our glorious Constitution already grants the suffrage to every citizen, without distinction of color or race.

CHAPTER XX.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

The Temperance Movement an Effort of Humanity to Unchain Itself — The Spirit of Liberty as Conceived by the Fathers of the Republic — Four Valuable Volumes — Dr. Benjamin Rush's Pamphlet the Starting Point of the Present Movement — Hon. Samuel Dexter's Picture of the Situation in 1814 — The Evil at Later Dates — Rev. Lyman Beecher's Description of the "Creature Comforts" at a Connecticut Ordination in 1810 — Churches and Religious Associations Awake — American Society for the Promotion of Temperance Organized 1826 — Massachusetts Medical Society Discourages the Use of Liquors 1827 — Rush, Muzzey, Davis — Jonathan Kittredge's Pamphlet — The Famous Massachusetts Fifteen-Gallon Law — The Washingtonians in 1840 — The Maine Law — Neal Dow the Columbus of Prohibition — For Thirty-Five Years Temperance has Moved on Abstinence and Prohibition.

THE temperance movement is an effort of humanity to unchain itself. It is a rebellion conducted by the people according to law, against the further domination of personal habits and social customs which have enslaved and destroyed the world almost from the beginning. Emancipation of the individual from ignorance, passion and appetite is the first and chief element of all liberty, and civil rights are of no benefit to him whose higher nature is in subjection to the lower and grosser impulses, which were given to serve and not to control.

When the human race began its new departure in Independence Hall, on the fourth day of July, 1776, the great men who led it comprehended that true liberty is a consequence of the inherent fitness of men for its possession; that freedom comes from within, and is of the mind. They conceived of liberty as a manifestation in and through man of something higher and better than himself, and of which his emancipated and more elevated state is the evolution. They knew that all consciousness, all pleasure and all pain, appertain to the individual; that the whole is but an aggregation

of atoms or parts; and, though the sunshine may come from without, yet all life and growth are within the solitary recesses and by the processes of the individual soul. They sought to achieve the emancipation of mankind by the improvement and elevation of the units of the race. The methods of tyranny, in all its forms, are just the contrary. The one or the few repress, belittle and subject the many. Their real agencies are ignorance, passion, appetite; and these, if unrestrained, create the means of self-perpetuation in the form of superstitions, customs and laws. As soon as the exigencies of the Revolutionary War had passed away, the intelligence of the superior few at once grasped the thought that, if the whole people were to be made and kept competent for the enjoyment and preservation of free institutions, the great evils which resulted from the almost universal slavery of intoxication must be radically restrained.

There had been Englishmen, like Lord Chesterfield, and many Americans also, who had comprehended the traffic in strong drink, and denounced it with a scathing severity which has never been surpassed, even in our own time; but there had been no "Temperance Movement," such as that which, during the last century, has been rooting itself in the intelligence and conscience of the common people, and growing broad and high, like a new and mighty tree, with healing leaves and fragrant shade for all the nations of the earth. Such a movement is only possible as a part of the general progress of mankind, and must be the work of the masses of men. The temperance movement of to-day is even more logically the result of the working of free principles and institutions than was the agitation which destroyed slavery; and it will be found to be an "irrepressible conflict," until the people have liberated themselves from this most ancient, debasing and destructive form of self-imposed oppression. Wise kings and great religions have prohibited the use of intoxicants in ages past, and have succeeded in partially restraining the evil; but this temperance movement of modern times is a part of the American Revolution at home, and an overflow of that Revolution abroad; it is the sovereignty of intelligence and enlightened self-interest, sanctioned by the precepts of morality and religion, exerted by the com-

mon people for their own more perfect liberation. Such a movement is completely possible only in a free country; and, once set on foot in such a country, will never stay its progress until the evil is exterminated, or the nobler impulses of the people have disappeared, and they have returned to that last state of debasement and thraldom which is worse than the first.

It will be impossible to present more than the briefest outline of the history of the present temperance movement, which is, I firmly believe, to wax stronger and stronger unto the perfect day. For its full exposition, the reader is referred to such works as "The Liquor Problem of all Ages," by Dr. Dorchester; "Alcohol in History," by Rev. Dr. Richard Eddy, the "Centennial Temperance Volume," with the history it contains written by Dr. Dunn, and "One Hundred Years of Temperance."

These four volumes are of great value, and I would give up my whole book to the commendation of them if their universal perusal could thus be secured.

The real commencement of the temperance movement now in progress, is generally identified with the publication, by Dr. Benjamin Rush, of his pamphlet, entitled "The Effects of Ardent Spirits on the Human Mind and Body" — in the year 1785. It was a part of the eternal fitness of things that this distinguished service to mankind should be rendered by the man who was chairman of the committee on Independence in the Continental Congress of 1776.

This essay was a new indictment of the worst form of oppression to mankind, and produced in its own field an influence almost like "Common Sense" upon the Revolution. During the next forty years it was the leading temperance document, and, although confined in its denunciations to distilled spirits, is not surpassed in earnestness and power by anything which has been written since. It must be remembered that the demonstration of the poisonous nature of all alcoholic drinks, which modern science has given to us, was not available to Dr. Rush, and that the specially destructive effects of ardent or distilled spirits, in his time, almost compelled him to attack them alone, without too violently assailing the drinking customs

of the people. Nor is it strange that, in the almost impenetrable thick darkness of that period, the vision of the wisest should have been obscured.

If Dr. Rush were living now, no one can doubt that he would hold to the same advanced opinions which we have already seen expounded by Dr. Davis of Chicago, his worthy successor, not alone in the temperance reform, but in the leadership of the medical profession.

It is very difficult to comprehend the surprise with which society must have listened to the strange voice of this one prophet crying in the wilderness; but his voice was heard, although not seeming immediately to accomplish much. It was like the song of the angels in the air. It was a great annunciation, and we can hear it yet. Benjamin Franklin, Gen. Putnam, Dr. Belknap, and others, supported Dr. Rush in his work, but, after all, what were they among so many! The truth, however, had been spoken, or at least that half of it which condemned ardent spirits had been spoken, and it could not return void to Him who sent it. The rest must follow. The revolution was begun and could not go backward, although, until about the year 1825, the drinking curse continued to be most grievous upon the American people.

In 1792 there were 2579 distilleries in the United States. In 1810 there were 14,191. The population had not doubled during the time in which the number of distilleries had increased nearly sixfold.

The consumption per capita in 1792 was $2\frac{1}{2}$ gallons, and in 1810 it was $4\frac{4}{7}$ gallons — in both cases including children and slaves, who generally could have consumed but little.

Hon. Samuel Dexter was president of the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, in 1814. He had been Secretary of War and of the Treasury. He says in a circular issued by him as president of the society in 1814:

"The solemn fact is, more than four times as much spirit is consumed on the farm now as was used upon the same farm, by the same conductors of it, twenty years ago. The pocket-flask has grown into a case-bottle, and the keg into a barrel. This fact is not affirmed upon light evidence. The

Eugene H. Clapp,

Head of the Sons of Temperance of the United States.

consequence is found to be that the bloated countenance and the tottering frame are become a frequent spectacle among the yeomen of the country, once regarded, even to a proverb, as the healthiest, the hardiest and the happiest class of the community."

In 1823, the consumption of ardent (distilled) spirits had increased to 7½ gallons per capita yearly, and the whole nation seemed to be dying with alcoholic poisoning.

The *Boston Recorder* says, in 1823: "It is an evil of wide extent and it still spreads. No check is given or scarcely attempted. Philanthropists, statesmen and Christians witness and deplore it. As a destroying angel, it lifts its pallid front and ghastly look in our cities, towns and scattered settlements. It reels and wears rags in every street, and mouths the heavens with drunken blasphemies under every hedge. Nor does it lay its polluted hand on the rabble merely; it may be seen in milder and more fashionable forms, pacing splendid carpets, waving a lily hand over well furnished side-boards, and here and there flushing the cheek and deadening the eyes of female delicacy. Fifty millions lost is but a trifle compared with the moral influence of intemperance. This immense sum has poured down the throats of ten millions of people, seventy-five millions of gallons of liquid fire mingling and flowing with their life-blood."

Rev. Lyman Beecher says of an ordination in Plymouth, Ct., soon after his settlement in Litchfield, which was in 1810:

"At this ordination the preparation for our creature-comforts, ... besides food, was a broad side-board covered with decanters and bottles and sugar and pitchers of water. There we found all the kinds of liquors then in vogue. The drinking was apparently universal. This preparation was made by the society as a matter of course. When the consociation arrived they always took something to drink round, also before public services and always on their return. As they could not all drink at once, they were obliged to stand and wait as people do when they go to mill. . . . . When they had all done drinking and taken pipes and tobacco, in less than fifteen minutes there was such a smoke you could not see. The noise I can not describe; it was the maximum

of hilarity. They told their stories and were at the height of jocose talk. . . . ."

He describes another similar ordination. Think of such a body of men dealing damnation round the land in a double sense. One must admire their plucky disregard of self-interest, when they could deliberately adhere to the stern theology of their day, notwithstanding their own dubious prospects hereafter under its vigorous doctrines.

Dr. Beecher proceeds:

"These two meetings were near together, and in both my alarm and shame and indignation were intense. *'Twas that that woke me up for the war.* And, silently, I took an oath before God that I would never attend another ordination of that kind. I was full. My heart kindles at the thought of it now." So it is. Flowers as well as nettles spring from the dung-hill, and the scandalous conduct of these clergymen, who in our time would have been taken for a party of loafers in a saloon, stirred up a revolt in their own hearts, and we have plucked the flower of safety from the nettle of danger. To-day the clergy are the bulwark of the temperance reform.

Churches and religious associations awoke. Drunken men were in no condition to tinker creeds and lay on holy hands. The whole business was rank blasphemy. The conscience and intellect of the whole nation were excited, and concentrated upon the situation. There was need of a change, and the change came.

On the thirteenth day of February, 1826, "The American Society for the Promotion of Temperance" was organized. It was founded upon the doctrine of total abstinence, although it did not rigidly enforce it. Its formation grew out of the admitted failure of the doctrine of the moderate use and the substitution of the fermented for distilled drinks, which had been the theory of Dr. Rush, and, generally, the highest point to which the tide of reformation had risen in the minds of those who followed him. But Dr. Edwards said of the new society, "We want for members holy men, who do not use intoxicating liquors unless prescribed by a physician as a medicine." They advocated the doctrine of total abstinence, but, says Dr. Dorchester, "considerations

of providence held them back from pledging the people." Upon this basis the controversy continued for years. The movement was a mental process still, an effort to educate, enlighten and convince, so that the individual will, guided by reason, might be led to assert supremacy over conduct, and thus achieve personal independence of the tyrant, without assistance from the law.

In the same year the *National Philanthropist* was started in Boston. Its motto was, "Temperate drinking is the down-hill road to intemperance." Thus the newspaper entered the ranks of the reformers. Educational agencies were aroused, and temperance societies formed among the students and the young everywhere.

In 1827, the Massachusetts Medical Society resolved "to discourage the use of ardent spirits, and to discontinue the employment of spirituous preparations whenever they could find substitutes." They also declared against the too careless and excessive use of wine even, and thus entered in a certain feeble, half-conscious way upon the war against fermented drinks.

In 1827, Prof. Reuben D. Muzzey of Dartmouth Medical College delivered his famous address before the New Hampshire Medical Society, of which he was president. No man is surer of immortality than Dr. Muzzey. Hear him! For sixty years that voice has been ringing throughout the world! — "Let all virtuous men unite to expel the common enemy. He ought not to be allowed a place in Christian society. He is a foreigner, a Mohammedan; he was born in the land of robbers, and he has established the genuineness of his origin by the millions he has deprived of property, of morals and of life. He has come to us in the robe of friendship, has assured us of his best regards, has proffered his aid and solace in sickness, pain and poverty. Such a friend, who could reject? He has been received into general favor, and admitted to Christian confidence and companionship; and what reward has he taken for his kind offices? He has stolen away character, health, property, the rich blessings and endowments of society and domestic intercourse, the moral sense, life and the hope of heaven.

"*Gird up, then, to the combat. Always meet him as an enemy; never again admit him to your bosoms; give him no quarter; expel him from your houses; drive him from the land. Always treat him as a murderer; he has slain your brothers, he lurks for the life-blood of your children; he whets his sabre for you.*"

And now abide these three — Rush, Muzzey and Davis. The medical profession can remove intemperance, and is responsible if it be not done.

I may be pardoned for quoting again from one of the giants of those days, and for the pride with which I reproduce the following extracts from the work of an honored citizen of my native and beloved State.

The Hon. Jonathan Kittredge of Canaan, New Hampshire, was one of the ablest lawyers and jurists of his generation. On the eighth day of January, 1827, he delivered an "Address on the Effects of Ardent Spirits," before a public meeting, in the town of Lyme, New Hampshire, which was published by the American Tract Society, No. 221 of its series, and circulated by scores if not hundreds of thousands among the people for many years. Temperance literature has produced no more powerful document than "Kittredge's Address," and, while I read it, the image of the mighty old man arises before me, as I saw his form and listened to his impressive eloquence at the bar, in the days of my youth. Eminent lawyer and able judge that he was, it is this little tract, by which he conferred immeasurable blessings upon his race, which will preserve his name in loving memory to the end of time. I quote briefly from the address to show something of the ardor and power with which it is written, but, more particularly, to indicate how the temperance movement had at last evolved the great doctrine and duty of total abstinence. First, he pictures the effect of the moderate use of intoxicating drink. He says:

"We can all call to mind the case of some individual whom we have known for years, perhaps from his infancy, who is now a poor miserable drunkard. In early life his hopes and prospects were as fair as ours. His family was respectable, and he received all those advantages which are necessary, and which were calcu-

lated to make him a useful and respectable member of society. Perhaps he was our school-fellow, and our boyhood may have been passed in his company. We witnessed the first budding of his mental powers, and know that he possessed an active, enterprising mind. He grew up into life with every prospect of usefulness. He entered into business, and for a while did well. His parents looked to him for support in old age, and he was capable of affording it. He accumulated property, and in a few years, with ordinary prudence and industry, would have been independent. He married and became the head of a family, and the father of children, and all was prosperous and happy around him. Had he continued as he began, he would now have been a comfort to his friends, and an honor to the community. But the scene quickly changed. He grew fond of ardent spirits. He was seen at the store and the tavern. By degrees he became intemperate. He neglected his business, and his affairs went to gradual decay. He is now a drunkard; his property is wasted; his parents have died of broken hearts; his wife is pale and emaciated, his children ragged, squalid and ignorant. He is the tenant of some little cabin that poverty has erected to house him from the storm and tempest. He is useless and worse than useless; he is a pest to all around him. All the feelings of his nature are blunted; he has lost all shame; he procures his accustomed supply of the poison that consumes him; he staggers through mud and through filth to his hut; he meets a weeping wife and starving children; he abuses them, he tumbles into his straw, he rolls and foams like a mad brute, till he is able to go again. He calls for more rum, he repeats the scene from time to time, from day to day, till soon his nature faints, *and he becomes sober in death.*

"Let us reflect that this guilty, wretched creature had an immortal mind — he was like us, of the same flesh and blood — he was our brother, destined to the same eternity, created by and accountable to the same God, and will at last stand at the same judgment-bar; and who, amid such reflections, will not weep at his fate, whose eye can remain dry, and whose heart unmoved?

"This is no picture of the imagination. It is a common and sober reality. It is what we see almost every day of our lives; and we live amid such scenes and events, with the addition or subtraction of a few circumstances; it is the case of every one of the common drunkards around us. They have not completed the drama — they are alive — but they are going to death with rapid strides, as their predecessors have already gone. Another company of immortal minds is coming on to fill their places, as they have filled others'. The number is kept good and increasing."

This was spoken more than sixty years ago. Even then it was the "old, old, story" of moderate indulgence, gradual degradation, and final despair. To-day it is the same story, a little older, true as ever, and far wider in its application.

After a powerful discussion of the general subject of intemperance, Mr. Kittredge voices the concurring sentiment of the time as follows:

"But it is this moderate use of ardent spirits that produces all the excess. It is this which paves the way to downright and brutal intoxication. Abolish the ordinary and temperate use of ardent spirits, and there would not be a drunkard in the country.

"But we are apt to think that the wretches whom we see and have described were always so; that they were out of miserable and degraded families; and they are walking in the road in which they were born. But this is not so. Among the number may be found a large proportion who were as lovely in their infancy, as promising in their youth, and as useful in early life, as your own children, and have become drunkards — I repeat it, and let it never be forgotten — *have become drunkards by the temperate, moderate and habitual use of ardent spirits, just as you use them now.* Were it not for this use of ardent spirits, we should not now hear of drunken senators and drunken magistrates, of drunken lawyers and drunken doctors; churches would not now be mourning over drunken ministers and drunken members; parents would not now be weeping over drunken children, wives over drunken husbands, husbands over drunken wives, and angels over a drunken world.

"He who advises men not to drink to excess may lop off the branches; he who advises them to drink only on certain occasions may fell the trunk; but he who tells them not to drink at all strikes and digs deep for the roots of the hideous vice of intemperance; and this is the only course to pursue.

" . . . . . Let those who can not be reclaimed go to ruin, and the quicker the better if you regard only the public good; but save the rest of our population; save yourselves; save your children! Raise not up an army of drunkards to supply their places! Purify your houses! They contain the plague of death — the poison that in a few years will render some of your little ones what the miserable wretches that you see staggering the streets are now. And who, I ask, would not do it? What father, who knew that one of his sons that he loves was in a few years to be

what hundreds you can name are now, would hesitate, that he might save him, to banish intoxicating drinks from his premises forever?

"But if all will do it he is saved; and he who contributes but a mite to this work of God deserves the everlasting gratitude of the republic. If the names of a Brainerd, of a Schwartz, of a Buchanan, have been rendered immortal by their efforts to convert the heathen to Christianity, the names of those men who shall succeed in converting Christians to temperance and sobriety should be written in letters of ever-during gold, and appended by angels in the temple of the living God. The sum of their benevolence would be exceeded only by His who came down from heaven for man's redemption. Then, banish it; this is the only way to save your children.

"As long as you keep ardent spirits in your houses, as long as you drink it yourselves, as long as it is polite and genteel to sip the intoxicating bowl, so long society will remain just what it is now, and so long drunkards will spring from your loins, and so long drunkards will wear your names to future generations. And there is no way given under heaven whereby man can be saved from the vice of intemperance, but that of *total abstinence*."

Truer now than then, for the drinks of to-day are deadlier than ever before.

Churches and denominational associations, medical bodies, military organizations, public meetings, almost every form of effort united to endorse these and similar expressions of sentiment in all parts of the country; and a mighty movement, based on "moral suasion," filled the land for the removal of the evils of intoxication from society, which has never wholly ceased, although it was seriously interrupted by the civil war, and is now not only more active than ever at home, but is agitating and educating the popular mind throughout the civilized world. This work — the enlightenment of the mind, and the awakening of the moral sense which results from it, so that both the utility and the duty of personal abstinence from whatever poisons the soul as well as the body — is now clearly seen and felt to be the only substantial foundation of permanent temperance reform.

The public sentiment which resulted from this discussion naturally sought to apply the doctrine of total abstinence to society through the forms of law. If the use of alcohol as

a beverage is an injury and a sin by the individual, how can it be right for society to permit an indulgence which concentrates upon the whole, with the accumulating intensity of geometrical ratio, all the evils which degrade and ruin the direct consumer!

Thus was evolved the idea of legal suasion, which may be said to have the same relation to society, using the term in the sense of the State, which moral conviction or suasion has to the individual. Each has in view the establishment of a law, by the one for the control of personal conduct, and by the other the control of the whole by the combined power of all its parts. And as in its origin and early stages the movement sought to reform by substituting the restricted personal use, and only after experience had demonstrated the futility and folly of the effort asserted the broad, radical and potent doctrine of total abstinence as a civil, moral and religious duty, so also, by reason of what would seem to be inevitable from the structure of human nature, the first effort in the movement for public law sought only to secure moderate restriction by society — to impose conditions and hindrances, but not to forbid. The serpent was licensed to bite, but the people required it to be done with propriety, and demanded a fair division of the profits of the traffic in their own bodies and souls. But the poison continued to kill, whether administered by licensed regulars or by irresponsible quacks; and finally, almost in the last throes of social dissolution, the holy doctrine of the total prohibition by public law of the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage was born into the legislation of the world.

The people began to move for the repeal of license laws, and for legislation having for its object the outlawry of the liquor traffic, and which could only result in its ultimate classification among crimes.

True, they did not grasp the idea of destroying the evil in the germ or point of manufacture, and only sought to mop up the ocean, all along its infinite shores of woe, by preventing and punishing the retail sale; but the principle of prohibition was involved, and the unfailing logic of the public mind will be sure to utilize it, by the adoption and consecration of every form of its application

in future legislation, until the rescue of mankind is accomplished.

In 1838, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts adopted the famous fifteen-gallon law, which greatly injured the retail traffic. It was, in fact, almost death to the saloon, in those days, when laws were made to be executed, and not to be evaded or to serve as a legal cloak for crime.

This law prohibited the retailing of any spirituous liquors, except for medicine and for use in the arts, by apothecaries and physicians specially licensed—in quantities of less than fifteen gallons, and that delivered and carried away all at one time.

In many other States like laws were enacted, many of them soon to be repealed; but the agitation or movement had been placed upon the right track, and the engineer knew whither to run his train. Scores of years might and will elapse before it arrives at the millennial terminus: but it is only a question of time, the avoiding of accidents and the removal of obstructions. The contest in legislation had previously been between license, or regulation, and entire freedom from all restraint. Henceforth it was to be practically conceded that the liquor trade is amenable to law, and that, unlike useful occupations, the public good requires its regulation or restraint.

Ever since that time the real controversy has been between license as a form of alleged restraint, accompanied with a certain cash interest or partnership by the people in the admitted curse, on the one hand, and war to the death against it, on the other. In such a conflict there can be no compromise, because principles are incapable of selling out, and human souls in masses are honest and almost sure to be right so far as they comprehend the issues involved. Having once seen clearly the nature and effect of the use of poisonous beverages upon society, and that prohibition is the very essence of its prevention, as much as prohibition is of the essence of the ten commandments or of legislation against any other crime, the people will cling to the great remedy and insist upon its use, notwithstanding the nostrums of honest or of knavish quackery, to say nothing of the alternate coma and contortion of the patient.

An effort was made to wield the power of the national government to the complete destruction of all State legislation against the trade; but the Supreme Court of the United States decided, in the words of Chief Justice Taney: —

"Every State may regulate its own internal traffic according to its own judgment and upon its own views of the interest and well-being of its citizens. . . . If any State deems the retail and internal traffic in ardent spirits injurious to its citizens, and calculated to produce idleness, vice or debauchery, I see nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent it from regulating and restraining the traffic, or from prohibiting it altogether, if it thinks proper."

This was the result of the famous liquor cases carried up from the States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, decided in the year 1847, and to be found in 5 Howard, "Reports of the Supreme Court of the United States." Thus much was settled for the States; but the great questions of importation, exportation and transportation, and other questions which grow out of the powers of the general government to regulate commerce, as well as inherent difficulties which result from the fact that the evil is national and requires national action for its removal, still remain, and will remain until some better day, when prohibition shall be written into the constitutions and laws of both the Nation and the States.

But it was found by experience, the Great Reformer, that prohibition and punishment of the retail sale, merely, were not an efficient remedy, for the reason that the ease and frequency with which the offence was committed, combined with the large profits of the transaction and the generally slight penalties, almost always, in practice, a small fine, enabled the seller to continue in the profitable violation of the law. There were thus found to be inherent and radical defects, which must be remedied, if the reform was to receive great and permanent support, by even prohibitory legislation.

It could hardly be said that either license or the moderate application of prohibition failed for the want of an adequate public sentiment, certainly not from lack of the greatest effort

to create that sentiment, for the support of the law. In 1835, "more than eight thousand temperance societies had been formed; more than four thousand distilleries had been stopped; more than two hundred thousand persons had ceased to use any kind of intoxicating liquor; about two millions had ceased to use distilled liquors, one million five hundred thousand of whom were enrolled members of the temperance societies." ("Liquor Problem," p. 474.)

When the tide of reformation hesitated, a new form of agitation, electrical and almost volcanic in its character, was developed, in what is known as the Washingtonian movement.

On the evening of the second day of April, 1840, six inebriates, said to have been a club organized for "social tippling," met in Chase's Tavern, in the city of Baltimore. A distinguished lecturer on temperance was to speak in the city that night, and the club sent a committee to hear the lecture and report to the club. The report of the committee was favorable, — the landlord denounced temperance lectures, a discussion ensued, and a member of the club said, "We expect rum-sellers to cry down temperance lecturers; it is for your interest to do so."

They reorganized the tippling club into "The Washington Society," and took the pledge of total abstinence. They kept the pledge, became apostles of its principles, and the movement spread all over the land. In a few years six hundred thousand drunkards had been reformed, of whom, however, all but one hundred and fifty thousand returned to their cups. The moral of this movement is that we must save the boy if we would be sure of the man. On the whole, it may be doubted whether the Washingtonian excitement was a blessing or a curse; because, unfortunately, many of its most zealous and active promoters discouraged all resort to the enactment and enforcement of laws against the traffic. The result was that when the nervous exaltation of communities had passed away, and the extra momentum of moral forces was exhausted, public sentiment not being crystallized into the enduring forms of law, the enemy came in again like a flood, and prevailed mightily once more. To be sure, one hundred and fifty

thousand reformed men had adhered to their pledges and were saved; but what are one hundred and fifty thousand among so many? And who knows that the demoralization of public sentiment which the Washingtonians created in their opposition to legal restraint was not the principal reason why the cup of temptation and destruction was again put to the lips of the four hundred and fifty thousand who fell and perished in that last state which is worse than the first? Besides, we have ever since been combating the absurd theory, which is the favorite fortress of the liquor-dealers, that the evil is increased because it is prohibited by law. This feature of the Washingtonian movement must have been a trace of maudlin insanity which pledges could not eradicate, and the consequent loss to the coming generation of the best results of this mighty rushing wind from heaven is full of pithy suggestion to those who are engaged in the temperance movement of to-day. Let society enact laws when overshadowed by the highest and holiest inspiration, and according to the loftiest ideals. Laws should always be better than the people until the people have attained unto them. A good law should never be repealed because it is violated. It should remain on the statute-book, like the Golden Rule in the Christian faith — as an ideal for conduct, if nothing more, and as a rallying-point for the faithful and law-abiding minority, until at last the whole community climbs to the higher standard, and enforces its beneficent provisions for the general good.

But, even with moral agitation and restrictive law combined, the evil, although spasmodically curtailed, still tenaciously remained.

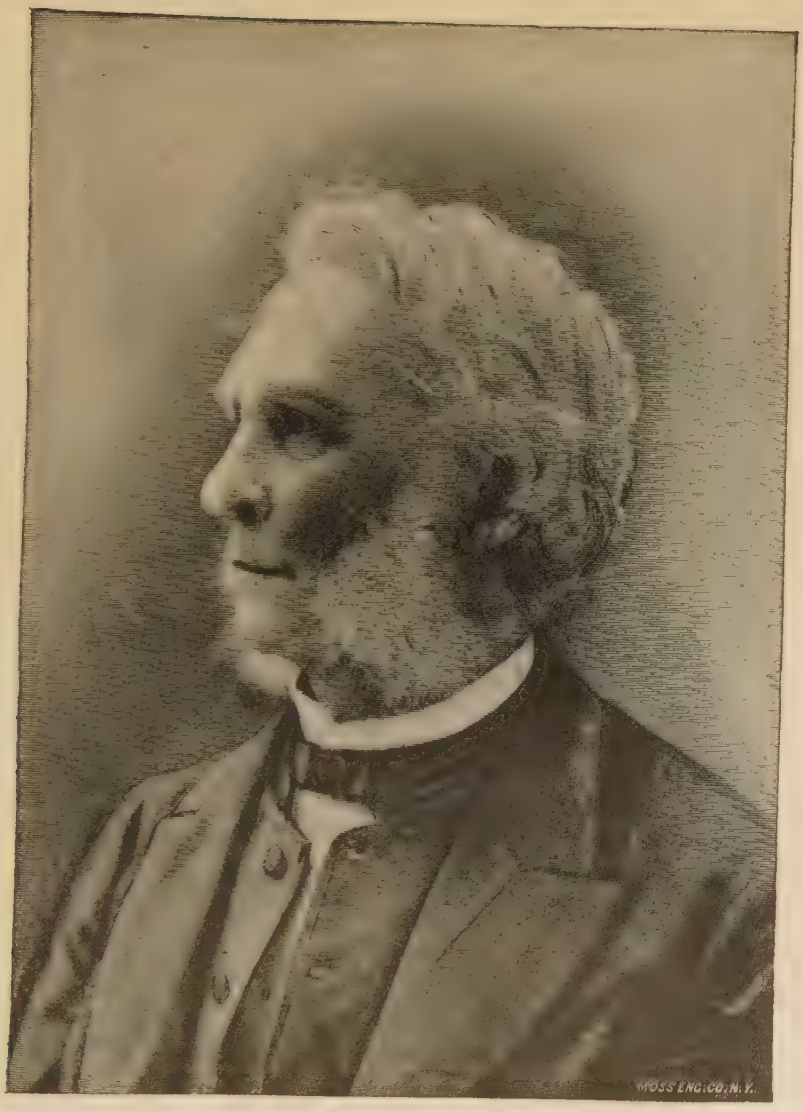
Yet the resolute determination of the people to conquer their own freedom from their oppressor did not yield, so that a new and most important improvement in prohibitory laws was developed.

It was the Maine law.

Neal Dow is the Columbus of prohibition.

The Vikings may have discovered the coast, but they did not hold it. Columbus revealed the New World and it became the home of nations.

The Maine laws declared the liquor trade to be a nuisance



Gen. Neal Dow,

"Father of the Maine Law."

and a crime, and destroyed the contraband and forfeited stock of liquor, with all its utensils and agencies, like a kit of burglars' tools. In addition to this, it increased personal penalties and made imprisonment easy whenever a community is in earnest.

The Maine law, in efficient form, was signed by the Governor June 2, 1851. Before its enactment, prohibition had been a barren fig-tree, except in remarkably fine seasons. Since that time, whenever the lord of the vineyard has cared for it, the tree has borne good fruit. It does not yield well in the wild state; but it is not a thistle, and, when properly cultivated, it produces, not thorns, but figs.

The temperance movement had now developed the two great agencies of its own promotion, and henceforth there could be no doubt that the efforts of its supporters would be directed to secure *total abstinence by the individual and absolute prohibition by the State.*

For the last thirty-five years, more than the average lifetime of a generation, the application of these two principles — abstinence and prohibition — has been the intelligent object of the temperance movement, and such will necessarily continue to be the plan of battle to the end.

But the public mind grasps the situation slowly; and every step in advance is taken only after experience has demonstrated its necessity. Prohibition was long applied merely to the retail sale. It seems incomprehensible that intelligent law-makers should not have directed their efforts first against the manufacture; but it is only within the last few years that this has been done; and even now the force of the temperance movement is largely wasted by misdirection. More slowly still has the public mind been able to comprehend the necessity of action by the nation, in order that the entire sovereignty of the people may be exerted for the overthrow of an evil which is as incapable of control by the States as the waters of the ocean are of separation by geographical lines. But, notwithstanding all these and other difficulties, which have been and are and will be encountered, the liquor traffic is doomed to destruction; because the public good demands it, and the intelligent conscience of the people will never rest until the strong arm of the law

has thrust the sword of prohibition through and through the monster's heart.

Thus, through many vicissitudes and fluctuations, the temperance movement has grown stronger and more sublime during the last third of a century, until now it displays international proportions and embraces the world in its sweep. Always and everywhere its only real victories have been won under the banner of total abstinence and prohibition. In every controversy, whether in nation, or state, or county, or other municipality, the test comes between these two great principles on the one hand, and the moderate or free use —high or low license or free indulgence, for it is all one thing ultimately — on the other.

Guided by the unerring instinct of self-preservation, the traffic invariably arrays itself with this latter group. No stronger demonstration than this fact could exist, that only the former are its enemies, while license and moderation are its friends.

The intelligence which comes of incessant agitation has now forced the issue to the front, where it stands as the great moral, sentimental and even industrial problem of the times. Evasion or escape from it is no longer possible. It confronts all political parties, and where they neglect or refuse to consider, it creates new ones and old things pass away. Religion finds in the liquor traffic the personification of all sin, and in destroying it achieves the salvation of the race. The hopes and affections of domestic life have discovered in it their great enemy; and are concentrating against the destroyer of manhood, womanhood, childhood, home. And now, behold! for all the aroused faculties of the masses of men are in action to achieve independence of the tyrant of the ages; and all the attributes and powers of Almighty God are pledged for their success.

The Supreme Court of the United States has just decided, in the Kansas cases, that the State has full power to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors within its limits, without compensation for loss thereby occasioned to those previously engaged in the traffic. This settles, finally and favorably, a vexed and important question, which has hitherto greatly perplexed and, in some localities, retarded the temperance reform.

CHAPTER XXI.

FORCES AGAINST ALCOHOL — RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.

The Two Great Principles, Total Abstinence and Prohibition — Religious Organizations — "One Hundred Years of Temperance" — The Roll-Call of the Churches — Presbyterian Church — John Wesley and the Methodist Champions — The Baptist Position; Gov. George N. Briggs and Congressional Temperance Society; Wayland, Knapp, Garrison: Mississippi Convention of 1884: Dr. Gifford's Summary — Reformed Dutch Church — Cumberland Presbyterian Church — Lutheran Church — Society of Friends — United Brethren — Disciples of Christ — Universalist Church: Thompson, Chapin and Miner — Methodist Protestant Church — Congregational Churches; Humphrey, Evarts, Beecher, Justin Edwards, Cheever, Gough, Wilson and others — Episcopal Church — German Reformed Church — The Moravians — Reformed Episcopal — The Unitarians; Lowell, Channing, Ware, May, Pierrepont, Gannett, Hale, Faxon — Free Baptist Church — Christian Church — Church of God — United Presbyterian Church — African Methodists — Evangelical Association — Methodist Episcopal Church South — The Unanimity of the Churches on this Great Moral Issue.

I FIND it impossible within the limits of a much larger work than this to enter upon a statement of the multifarious details of the temperance movement in recent years. Nor is it necessary, for the most that is important is either fresh in general recollection or is accessible in the various records of contemporaneous events. I have endeavored rather to write of facts and principles which are the elements of the great debate, and on which the final decision of the controversy must depend, and to avoid the endless and profitless discussion of the details of temporary measures and of local action. It is sufficient for this purpose to say that it seems to me that all which is desirable or permanent in the temperance movement lies in the application and enforcement of these two great leading principles: Total abstinence from the use of all intoxicating beverages by the individual, and absolute prohibition thereof by public law. Whatever

of statutory or of constitutional legislation by the nation and by the States, or by the people in limited localities, under the peculiar method known as local-option laws, promotes or tends to promote the ascendency of these principles is in the direction of permanent and desirable temperance reform. All else, in my belief, is worthless — a fraud, a delusion and a snare — save only as failure lights up the lamp of experience to guide honest souls into safer paths hereafter. And really, has not history already recorded enough for the instruction of all whose sincere desire is to destroy, rather than to protect, this trade in human bodies and souls? But capital and appetite are a strong combination, and they have infinite ingenuity to devise and equal power to execute means "not to do it." If God was not a majority, it would be a hopeless prospect for the temperance reform. In this and in following chapters, I shall endeaver to give some account of the organizations, forces and instrumentalities which are arrayed on the side of man in his great conflict with alcohol.

OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.

The primary relation of man is to his Creator, the Great First Cause, "whom we call God and know no more." The feeling which exists in consequence of this relation manifests itself in love, adoration and worship. It is universal, ineradicable and intense. It is religion; and, whatever may be the forms and ceremonies of its manifestation, and however it may be perverted and distorted in its development, this element or attribute of human nature is in him the source of aspiration and progress. It is the elastic connection which continually lifts the race as a whole, and exerts the most powerful and permanent impulse in all reform. The religious organizations of Christendom demonstrate this truth. This elastic union between man and his God is often strained, and sometimes appears to be broken; but, generally, it holds, and, let us hope, may never fail in the end to draw every wandering planet again to the bosom of its eternal source. As might be expected, — in fact, must from the laws of nature be the case — those organizations in society through which conscience, morality and worship are most actively manifested, the churches — religious bodies — have from the

first been, and still continue to be, the great visible force which has sustained the temperance movement against the opposition it has encountered. I do not mean that they are composed of anything but "men of like passions as ourselves." They have, indeed, required to be enlightened and converted; but I do mean that they, as organizations, represent the highest and best in the community — not all of it, but the majority of it; and that every good cause has very largely, I think chiefly, to rely upon them for that ever present power which grinds the grist of human welfare. Large volumes could be, have been, written, giving the history of temperance effort in each of the great Christian denominations, and I can only refer the reader to them for all but a few very general statements. But I wish to show the spirit and attitude which the great denominations of the Christian church, representing, as they do, the highest and strongest forces at work in our civilization, have occupied hitherto, and their present position in line of battle. "One Hundred Years of Temperance," published by the National Temperance Society, contains this information in full. I am greatly indebted to it for facts relating to the Protestant churches.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

The Presbyterian Church has noted and strongly opposed the sin of intemperance from its organization. The Rev. Francis Makemie was the first Presbyterian minister in America. He was the father of American Presbyterianism, and preached against intemperance as early as 1705 — and similar utterances were common by the clergy of this denomination ever afterward.

The ancestors of Dr. Benjamin Rush, whose relation to the reform is well understood, were mostly Quakers and Baptists, but his mother was a Presbyterian, and he is himself described by the historian as a "noble and gifted son of the Presbyterian Church."

The constitution of the church was adopted May 28, 1788, and at the first meeting of the assembly, which was the next year, "she expressed her determination to contribute her part to render men *sober* . . . . . subjects of a lawful gov-

ernment." In the year 1811, Dr. Rush succeeded in arousing the assembly to vigorous action, which accomplished great good, and, among other things, occasioned the organization of the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance.

Rev. William Y. Brown, D.D., tells us "that it may be said, without any disparagement to others, that by this deliverance of 1811, and by the subsequent activity of the committee on correspondence, ... the Presbyterian Church became the acknowledged leader of God's hosts in the temperance reform in this country — a position which she has nobly and honorably maintained for nearly three-quarters of a century." Even so early this church began to foreshadow the doctrine of total abstinence, and its application at least to ardent spirits, to enforce temperance by church discipline, to prohibit a preacher from retailing "spirituous or malt liquors without forfeiting his ministerial character among us." It has ever been the "supreme desire of the Presbyterian Church to 'secure' the utter extermination of the traffic in intoxicating liquors as a beverage."

Between 1827 and 1830, this church took a strong stand for total abstinence, and, maintaining itself ever in the advance, declared for prohibitory laws in 1854, and expressed the hope that the time was not far distant "when such a law should be universally adopted and enforced." From this position the Presbyterian Church has never wavered since. Indeed, both stability of purpose and the spirit of progression seem to distinguish this great organization.

In 1883, the assembly adopted "Dr. John Herrick Johnson's Amendment" unanimously, in the following words: "In view of the evils wrought by this scourge of the race, this assembly would hail with acclamations of joy and thanksgiving the utter extermination of the traffic in intoxicating liquors as a beverage, by the power of Christian conscience, public opinion, and the strong arm of the civil law"; and in 1885 the assembly again declared: "The entire extinction of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage is the goal to which the assembly looks forward, and for the accomplishment of which it expects the earnest, united, determined and persistent labors of all its ministers

and people, in connection with the religious and sober citizens of our common country."

The Presbyterian Church stops there because there is no further to go. There is no more advanced ground, and it is with just pride that one of her distinguished sons (Dr. Brown) exclaims: "So hath this noble church wrought in the past century in this great cause, and I have the utmost confidence that she will be true to her past history to the end, and when . . . . . the liquor traffic shall be outlawed in every State in the Union, and in the laws and constitution of the federal government, as it doubtless will be in the near future, when the good angel of victory shall appear bringing the crown for the most valiant soldier, methinks I hear the unanimous voice ringing out from all divisions of the one great army: 'Let the crown be placed upon the old blue banner of the Presbyterian Church, the standard that has always been in the forefront of the hottest part of the battle, for she is worthy to receive it.'"

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

In the year 1760, John Wesley, who ranks only less than the inspired Apostles among the great characters of the Christian church, wrote the following "on the sin of distilling and selling spirituous liquors": "But neither may we gain by hurting our neighbor in *body*. Therefore we may not sell anything which tends to impair health, such as, eminently, all that liquid fire commonly called drams or spirituous liquors. It is true that these may have a place in medicine. . . . . Therefore, such as prepare and sell them only for that end may keep their conscience clear. . . . . But all who sell them in the common way, to any one who will buy, *are poisoners in general.* They murder the king's subjects by wholesale. . . . . They drive them to hell like sheep;—and what is their gain? Who would envy their large estates and sumptuous palaces? A curse is in the midst of them — the curse of God cleaves to the stones, the timber, the furniture of them! The curse of God is in their gardens, their walks, their groves — a fire that burns to the nethermost hell! *Blood, blood, is there; the foundation, the floor, the walls, the roof, are stained with blood!* And canst

thou hope, O thou man of blood! though thou art 'clothed in scarlet and fine linen, and farest sumptuously every day,' canst thou hope to deliver down thy fields of blood to the third generation? Not so, for there is a God in heaven; therefore thy name shall be rooted out. Like as those whom thou hast destroyed, body and soul, thy memorial shall perish with thee."

Mr. Wesley exhibited the qualities of high statesmanship, as well as of a Christian teacher, in dealing with the liquor problem of his day. From 1743, when, by the rules of the "United Societies of Methodists," "drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, except in cases of extreme necessity," were prohibited, all through his prolonged and unparalleled labors, he denounced the sin of intemperance, and so bent the twig of Methodism that the mighty tree inclines only to the right, and gives neither shade nor shelter to the chief curse of this world, and, so far as we can judge from the number and fate of its victims, of the next world also. After giving the facts, Dr. Buckley says: "Let it, then, be remembered forever that American Methodism began as a total-abstinence society, of the strictest sort, forbidding the manufacture, the sale or the use of spirituous liquors, except in cases of extreme necessity. Whoever violated that rule was subject to discipline and branded as inconsistent by the general rules, which were read in his hearing on all important public occasions." Subsequently there was a partial decline, for this high standard seems to have taxed poor human nature beyond what, under the temptations of the times, it could bear. For a while, they left out the word "extreme" before "necessity"; but in the General Conference of 1828 it was resolved: "Whereas, the rules and examples of the Wesleyan Methodists, from the founding of their existence as a people, both in Europe and America, were calculated to suppress intemperance, and to discountenance the needless use of ardent spirits, that all our preachers and people be expected, and they are hereby expected, to adhere to their first principles, as contained in their excellent rules on this subject, and as practiced by our fathers, and to do all that they prudently can, both by precept and example, to suppress intemperance throughout the

Dr. J. M. Buckley,

Editor of "The Christian Advocate."

land"; . . . . . and "That, to bring about the reformation desired on this subject, it is important that we neither drink ourselves (except medicinally) nor give it to visitors or workmen." In 1844 the church divided, and then and subsequently the sentiment of the Methodists, both South and North, seems to have been for prohibition of the liquor evil in all its branches. At the first General Conference after the division, a report was adopted in which the Conference says: "We proclaim with peculiar satisfaction that we now have Mr. Wesley's rule on spirituous liquors restored to our general rules." "This was done by a vote of 2011 to 21, in the annual conference" (Dr. Buckley). In 1852, the General Conference rejoiced "greatly," . . . . . especially "that God has put it in the hearts of civil rulers to interpose the authority of the State for the protection of society against what we hold to be an enormous social wrong — the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks." At nearly if not quite every General Conference since that time, the same ground has been taken, and specific things prescribed to be done, having in view the greater efficiency of the clergy and the membership in the work of destroying the traffic.

Dr. Buckley writes, in "One Hundred Years of Temperance": "The ministry and active membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church are, almost to a man, zealous advocates of total abstinence. Among the ministers, it would be difficult to find one who is known to use even malt liquors as a beverage. Among the people, the general practice is that of total abstinence. Probably there is no body of men and women of any considerable size in the world who purchase and use so small an amount of intoxicating liquors as a beverage as the Methodist Episcopal Church . . . . . and it stands to-day, in the United States, as an aggressive force second to none in the efforts to overthrow a system, with its dependent usages, which promotes every moral and social evil, and produces many misfortunes, vices and crimes, which, without it, would have no existence."

THE BAPTIST CHURCH.

"The Baptist denomination is an archipelago. Each local church lifts itself independent of every other church. . . . .

The denomination stands for State rights as opposed to centralization in church life." This remark of Rev. O. P. Gifford may explain the reason why in his sketch of the connection of this powerful and omnipresent denomination with the temperance movement, he quotes little from representative bodies in regard to its sentiments during the period of temperance evolution. But the general fact is apparent that the Baptists, in their several divisions, have been well to the front in the war against alcohol. Their representative men have delivered some of the earliest and most decided utterances upon the subject. Gov. Briggs was President of the Congressional Temperance Society.

President Wayland wrote to Dr. Justin Edwards in the year 1833: "I think the prohibition of the traffic in ardent spirits a fit subject for legislative enactment, and I believe the most happy results would flow from such prohibition." The Washingtonian movement was guided and fostered by and under the preaching of Elder Knapp. The first temperance paper — the *National Philanthropist* — was owned and edited by Rev. William Collier, a Baptist. This paper was established in the year 1826, as noted in the preceding chapter. It was a very great achievement to catch the spirit of the press, and yoke its mighty but somewhat reluctant powers to the car of temperance reform. William Lloyd Garrison, who was editor of the *Philanthropist* in 1829, then wrote as follows: "Prior to that period (1826) intemperance was seldom a theme for the essayist; the newspapers scarcely acknowledged its existence, except occasionally, in connection with some catastrophe or crime, and it did not occur to any one that a paper devoted mainly to its suppression might be made a direct and successful engine in the great work of reform. When this paper was first proposed, it met with a repulsion which would have utterly discouraged a less zealous and persevering man than our predecessor. The moralist looked on doubtfully; the whole community esteemed the enterprise desperate. By extraordinary efforts, and under appalling disadvantages, the first number was given to the public; and since that time it has gradually expanded in size and increased in circulation, till doubt, and prejudice and ridicule have been swept away." Dr. Justin Edwards re-

ported the First and Second Baptist Churches of Boston, in 1823, as having no member engaged in the liquor traffic, and the Boston Baptist Bethel has sustained a Monday evening temperance meeting, every week, for more than forty years, and has a pledge containing over 20,000 names ("One Hundred Years Temperance," p. 317). In 1835, a New Jersey association of churches declared "that it is morally wrong in all, but especially in a professor of religion, to manufacture, vend or use such liquors (intoxicating or alcoholic) as a common article of luxury or living." It will be observed that this early declaration also includes *fermented* drinks within its terms.

They also declare for total abstinence, and for the *expulsion from their communion* of all who make, vend or use intoxicating liquors as a common article of luxury or living, if they should prove to be incorrigible after affectionate and earnest efforts to reclaim them. From 1883 to the present time, the State conventions of this great denomination, all over the country, have been very emphatic for total abstinence and for prohibition. I quote from the resolutions of the Mississippi convention of 1884:

"*Resolved*, That we raise our uncompromising protest against the use, manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage; against the renting of property for the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors; the selling of the fruits and cereals to be manufactured into this beverage; the signing of whisky petitions or going on the bonds of liquor sellers, and against giving countenance in any way to the iniquitous traffic or use.

"*Resolved*, That the cause of Christ is greatly injured by churches retaining in their fellowship whisky sellers, whisky drinkers, visitors of saloons, and signers of petitions to sell whisky, and those who persist in lending their influence to Satan in these ways should be brought under church discipline.

"*Resolved*, That we will use our influence to secure an enforcement of the existing statutes in regard to the traffic in intoxicating beverages, and that we will endeavor to bring about prohibition as soon as practicable. That we believe

"First, that the most effectual legal remedy for the manifold evils of intemperance is constitutional prohibition.

"Second, the licensed liquor traffic to be the enemy of the church, a disgrace to civilization and humanity.

"Third, we believe it to be our duty to support for office such candidates as are in favor of temperance reform, other things being equal.

"*Resolved*, That we rejoice at the progress of legal prohibition in our State and throughout the United States."

What a marvel of completeness and power! "Only one thing thou lackest," and that will yet be supplied by the developing necessities of the case — an emphatic crowning resolve for national prohibition. A people thus in earnest will find the way.

Mr. Gifford thus sums up for the Baptist denomination: "We have the honor,

"1. Of establishing the first temperance newspaper, and leading the way to the founding of the Temperance Publication House.

"2. Of one of the first utterances for Prohibition.

"3. Of originating the Washington movement.

"4. Of the oldest continuous temperance service.

"5. Of standing squarely, as a denomination, for total abstinence for the individual and prohibition for the State."

THE REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH.

This ancient organization was planted in the New World from Holland, on the island of Manhattan, as early as the year 1623. For three centuries at least, this church has been a deadly foe to the excessive use of intoxicating drinks, and has forbidden those guilty of such indulgence the sacrament of Holy Communion, and its discipline has been most rigorously enforced.

In the year 1828, the following declaration was made for total abstinence:

"*Resolved*, That the principle adopted by many individuals and societies, in different parts of the country, for the suppression of intemperance, viz., total abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, excepting only its use as a medicine, meets with the decided approbation of this synod."

The records of this church are replete with emphatic utterances for total abstinence and the promotion of the great work of temperance reform by every rational means,

from the beginning until now. The Rev. C. L. Wells, D.D., claims for this church that, "in its ministry and membership, it presents as fair a record for purity, Christly living and devotion to the welfare of humanity as any church in this broad land. . . . . Wherever a Reformed Dutch Church is established, there you find earnest advocates of 'law and order,' of sound reform, of temperance, and determined opposition to the traffic in intoxicating drink. We claim to stand among the leaders in this enterprise. Such is the attitude of our church toward this work."

And so we salute thee — venerable! and without a stain!

THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

This denomination is seventy-seven years old. Born in a time of general religious and temperance revival, from the beginning it has been a temperance church.

In the year 1881, the assembly ordered "that our people be advised to favor the passage of prohibitory laws, and that they vote for men who will both make and execute such laws"; and in 1885 this denomination declared for national prohibition, with a clearness and emphasis which entitle it to prominent leadership in the great conflict of the world. Who shall lead but those who can see? Hear the assembly! — After enumerating the various general principles and measures embraced in the movement, they say:

"We should regard the foregoing and other methods of temperance work as but means to the end at which the special and wonderful movement of the day aims, and that is so devoutly to be prayed for — *the national abolition of the drink traffic*. This is the transcendent issue of the hour." Rev. J. Reed Morris thus sums up a most interesting sketch:

"Be it observed that ecclesiastical orthodoxy, in this age of the world, is measured largely by a church's attitude toward the liquor traffic. . . . . If, as has been hereinbefore maintained, this church stands in the front rank of the great battle-line of the Lord's host, arrayed in fierce conflict against the monster foe, Intemperance, there is no ground for vain-glory.

"The watchword of the day is — 'Go forward.' Therefore, the imperative demand upon all who are committed to

this transcendent issue is to gird on the armor anew for a yet mightier onset against a common foe to both civil and religious interests."

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

The Lutheran Church is older than the temperance reformation — centuries older than the modern temperance movement for total abstinence and prohibition. It has, however, thrown the influence of its strong German intellectuality and deep religious feeling against the drinking tendencies of the people at all times, and, after the manner of massive natures, this great church, becoming fairly aroused, has of late years been among the most radical and advanced of any, in its expressions and action against the rum traffic.

In 1871, the General Synod says:

"*Resolved*, That we are more than ever thoroughly convinced of the necessity of thoroughly educating the public mind upon the elementary truths of temperance, by making free and proper use of the platform, the press and the pulpit; . . . at the same time we are fully satisfied that judicious legislation is indispensable to complete success, and that we hold ourselves in readiness to co-operate with the friends of the cause in securing and enforcing such laws as will effectually suppress the evils of intemperance among us."

Since then various State synods have taken strong ground against the liquor traffic, that of West Pennsylvania being specially noticeable in its demand for strong prohibitory legislation, and resolving that "we will continue to protest, to preach and to pray against the rum traffic, and, under every favorable opportunity, *we will vote as we pray*."

Dr. Swartz well says, in concluding his sketch: "Recognizing the fact that the Lutheran Church in this country is largely recruited by emigration from the Old World, and that this foreign element brings with it un-American prejudices and customs, especially in regard to total-abstinence principles and practice, it is not strange that Lutherans have been beset with peculiar difficulties and hindrances in achieving a fair standing and making a good record with other less embarrassed workers in the great temperance reform. On

this very account, however, all the more needful is the co-operation of the Lutheran bodies with the hosts of temperance workers in other churches. The Lutherans have a grand mission, and they are nobly and hopefully arising to meet their peculiar responsibilities. Let them have at once the sympathies and prayers of all temperance reformers."

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

The Quakers originated in England, about 1660. They have always been pronounced in their opposition to war, the slave trade, slavery and intemperance. The society is separated into subdivisions called yearly meetings, which are the law-makers and governing body, independent of each other, but having a fraternal and advisory relation, which is maintained by correspondence. I will cite from the recent declarations of these meetings, to show the attitude of the society toward the traffic in alcohol.

In the year 1874, the yearly meeting of New England appointed a committee to "put forth earnest efforts to suppress the wicked traffic in intoxicating drinks," and an appropriation was made to their use. In 1876 are reported labors to promote constitutional prohibition, scientific instruction in schools, etc. The Philadelphia yearly meeting and ten others in various States occupy substantially the same grounds as that of New England, above cited. During most of the history of the society it has been consistently opposed to intemperance, and, by the sincerity and honesty of life manifested in their intercourse with the people, a strong influence for temperance has been exerted in favor of the temperance cause by this class of Christians. The particular action of each yearly meeting for many years is faithfully given by Mr. William Egerton in "One Hundred Years of Temperance."

THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST.

This denomination was organized in the year 1800, in a dwelling over the store-room of a distillery which belonged to one of the brethren.

In 1821, the Third General Conference resolved "that

neither preachers nor lay members shall be allowed to carry on a distillery . . . . . and that it shall be the duty of the preachers to labor against the evils of intemperance." In 1833, the General Conference adopted a rule making it an offense, punishable with expulsion, for an exhorter, preacher or elder to manufacture or sell ardent spirits, and gave a year's grace wherein those so engaged could close out their business. In 1848, the use, as well as the manufacture and sale, was forbidden to all members.

In 1881, the General Conference said: "We will not relax our efforts until constitutional prohibition shall be secured in every State of this our great domain." In 1885, the same position was reaffirmed, and the church urged "to strive in every legitimate way to secure constitutional prohibition, both State and national."

The Rev. E. S. Lorenz sums up as follows: "But whether identified with the political party or not, all United Brethren are Prohibitionists, and can be depended upon to vote right when constitutional prohibition is offered to the people. . . . . Not a century old by half a generation, the Church of the United Brethren in Christ is fully abreast, clergy and laity, with the most advanced results of the closing century of temperance work, and promises to do no mean share of the work which the opening century is pledged to accomplish."

THE "DISCIPLES OF CHRIST."

This denomination was organized in the year 1811, and already has about six hundred thousand members. It is one of the most active, and may yet become one of the most powerful, in Christendom. As a body, the "Disciples" are strongly against the evil of intemperance, but have made less explicit declarations against it through their conventions than most other denominations, because of the strictness with which their constitution excludes the consideration of questions not wholly and directly relating to matters devout. But the general expression of individual membership, as obtained by Mr. F. M. Green, is for total abstinence and prohibition, and they favor political action of a radical character.

THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH.

This church was organized in 1790, and in the year 1800, in order to avoid the appearance of evil in assembling at taverns, where liquor was generally abundant, the Convention resolved "that the council of the Convention do assemble in future at the private house of a brother or sister, as it becometh us to abstain from the appearance of evil." In 1835 strong temperance resolutions were adopted by the General Convention. In 1856, the General Convention classed slavery and intemperance together, and insisted that "the enormous evils" arising from both "are themes within the domain of the moral and religious teacher"; and in various State conventions, from time to time, total abstinence and legal prohibition have been strongly endorsed, and, within the last few years, prohibition by constitutional law. Rev. Edwin Thompson has been one of the most active and important laborers in the temperance reform. It was of him that, when some spoke of him as the "main spoke in the wheel," Dr. Lyman Beecher exclaimed, "Indeed, it seems to me that he has been the hub and all the spokes, and a considerable part of the rim!" Rev. Dr. Chapin will be remembered as for years the most eloquent American divine, and very prominent in the temperance reform, while Dr. A. A. Miner, "who conducted for the people of Massachusetts, before the legislative committee, the defense of prohibition against the assaults of Gov. Andrew, and is now president of the Massachusetts Alliance," is fittingly designated as the "unequalled champion of radical temperance measures in New England." Dr. Richard Eddy's sketch is much more full than the few facts which I have gleaned from it. This denomination has many distinguished names of men honorably connected with the temperance movement, among whom it would be injustice should I omit to mention that of Dr. Eddy himself.

THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH.

This church was organized in 1830. Its first "deliverance" against intemperance was made, as follows, by

the General Conference which framed its Constitution and Discipline:

"1. *Resolved*, That the efforts of the friends of temperance to promote entire abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, except as a medicine, meet our cordial approbation.

"2. *Resolved*, That we deeply regret that any professed Christians should at this day, and under the lights which Providence has furnished, continue to manufacture, vend or use ardent spirits.

"3. *Resolved*, That we earnestly hope that the making, vending and using of distilled liquors, as an article of luxury or diet, will be abandoned by all the friends of the Redeemer, throughout the world."

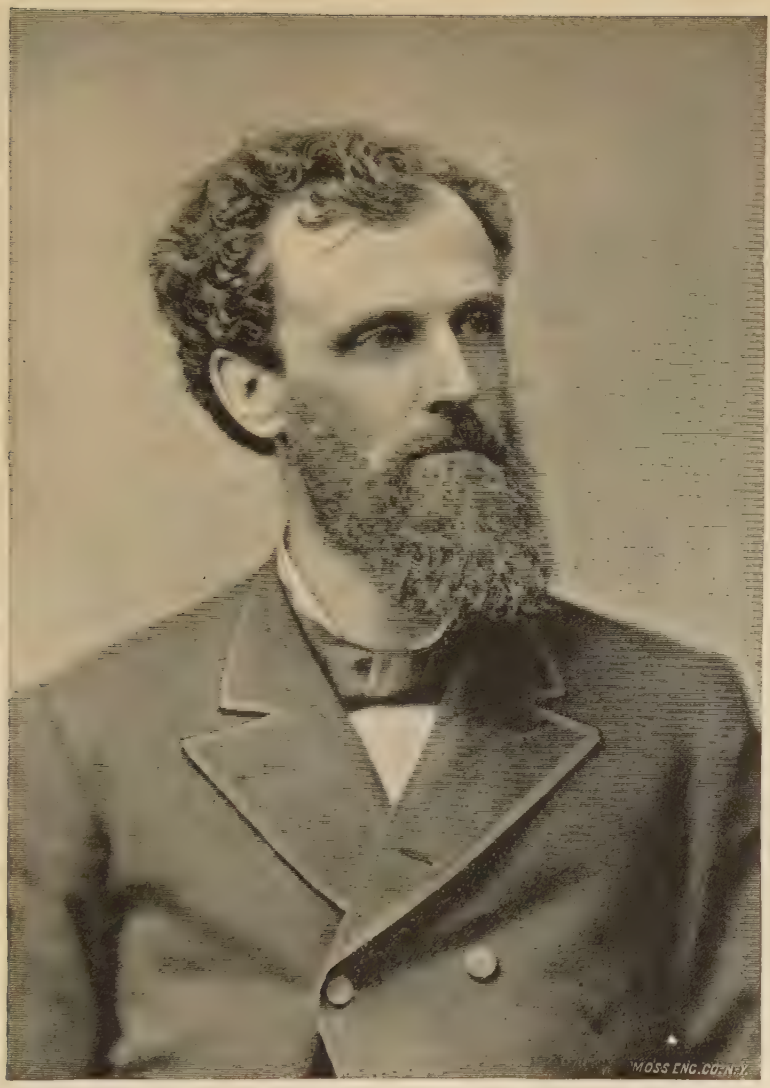
Fifty years later the General Conference declared, "The manufacture, sale and use of intoxicating liquors, as a beverage, is a violation of the teaching of the Bible, and is opposed to the best interests of our country"; in favor of "moral suasion" and "legal prohibition," and that "total abstinence from alcoholic beverages is the Bible rule of temperance." And again, in 1884:

"*Resolved*, That we believe that the most successful way to suppress the traffic in intoxicants is constitutional prohibition."

The resolutions of the annual conferences of this church have been numerous, progressive, earnest and, finally, radical, in opposition to the liquor traffic, and, in the words of Rev. B. F. Benson, "these successive deliverances, running from 1830 to the present time, exhibit the gradual development of temperance doctrines, from a mild form of persuasion, in which Christian people are *advised* not to sell or drink intoxicating spirits, to the most positive denunciation of their use as utterly inconsistent with the Christian profession, and the sale as a crime against society, which, like other crimes, should be prohibited by the laws of the land. And this latter is the position of the Methodist Protestant Church at this time."

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.

These churches are independent Christian republics. They have not even a federal union, and, living almost always in peace, they have no articles of confederation for



George A. Bailey,

Head of the Good Templars in New Hampshire.

times of war. But their form of church government and the town-meeting system have been the very charters and working models of freedom. To borrow an ecclesiastical term, they are the "deliverances" of liberty. National meetings are rare with this denomination. Dr. Langworthy says (p. 377 "One Hundred Years Temperance"). "Our conferences, associations, and councils are simply advisory. For more than a century we had no gathering, elective or otherwise, that could be called national."

For this reason it will not be possible to gather the history of the temperance sentiment of this denomination from general declarations of large representative bodies. But many of the most pronounced leaders of the temperance movement have been and are among the leaders of this faith, and the church membership is generally quite as radical in opposition to the traffic as are their representative men. Rev. Heman Humphrey, for twenty-two years president of Amherst College, preached a series of six temperance sermons in the year 1810, "probably the first *series* ever preached." In 1813, he published six articles in the *Panoplist*, on "the cause, origin, effects and remedy of intemperance in the United States."

I do not know how the fact has been with regard to the intervening presidents of that institution, but I gladly embrace this opportunity to testify of the eminent scholar and noble man who now presides over it, that, much as the college may have gained, the country and its councils lost still more when he left the public service for that of this important seat of learning. More than anything whatever this nation needs radical, determined and able public men devoted to the cause of national prohibition, and especially are they needed on the floor of Congress! Great as will be the influence of Dr. Seelye upon the present and future of the country in his present career, having known him in his congressional life, I can not but regret the loss in that arena of his great powers and his conscientious devotion to duty in every good cause, and especially to the great temperance movement of this age, and of all ages, of which he is so well fitted to become the national champion.

Jeremiah Evarts, Esq., treasurer of the A. B. C. F. M.,

and father of Senator Evarts, became editor of the *Panoplist* in the year 1810, published many articles which greatly assisted the cause in that early day, and was very active in the work of temperance organization. Rev. Calvin Hill advocated *total abstinence* from spirituous liquors, as early as 1812; and Rev. Roswell Swan was among the very earliest advocates of total abstinence — and he himself *abstained*.

Dr. Lyman Beecher was in his day — and it was a long one — probably the most influential of the leaders in temperance work.

Of Rev. Justin Edwards, D.D., it is said that he was a wise and fearless worker in the temperance cause, and was the chief promoter of the organization of the American Temperance Society, in 1816. Rev. Dr. Hewett, Rev. John Marsh, D.D., Rev. Samuel Worcester, D.D., President Day of Yale College, President Lord of Dartmouth College, President Hitchcock of Amherst College, President Appleton of Bowdoin, Prof. Moses Stuart of Andover, Dr. Leonard Woods, Hon. Neal Dow, Henry Wilson, Vice-President of the United States, John B. Gough, Charles Jewett, M.D., Rev. George B. Cheever, author of "Dea. Giles' Distillery," and many others, were men without whom it is impossible to conceive of the temperance movement. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the services of this body of great men to the cause.

Dr. Langworthy well says: "To have had the first organized temperance society in the world, and the first series of temperance sermons ever preached, and the first total-abstinence society ever formed, is a thrilling summons to all Congregationalists to follow more closely in the footsteps of their own noble leaders"

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

This church has perhaps formerly been more conservative, or at least less demonstrative, in its relations to the temperance movement than most others, but never indifferent to it; and, during the last few years, has become very active in the promotion of measures for individual reform, and to prevent the young from being "led into temptation." The organiza-

tion of the American Church Temperance Society utilizes the abilities and resources of all who are willing to oppose the evils of intemperance, whether in their personal habits they be abstainers or otherwise, the basis on which the work of the society is conducted being "union and co-operation, on perfectly equal terms, for the promotion of temperance, of those who use temperately and those who abstain entirely from intoxicating drinks as beverages." . . . . . And as to means it is said: "Supreme above all others we recognize the grace of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, as the means by which the reform of the intemperate is to be sought." Dr. Da Costa gives a minute and valuable account of the working of this society, and of the growing energy with which the deep piety and vast power of this great branch of the Christian church is being concentrated in practical ways for the destruction of the liquor traffic. It can not be long before it will be found in the front rank of the battle; and, when it gets there, it will come with steady, organized and irresistible force.

Dr. Da Costa says (p. 383, "One Hundred Years," etc.): "The condition of the temperance work in the Protestant Episcopal Church at the present time may not be expressed adequately in statistics, and the effort, therefore, is not attempted. It may be said, however, that the leaven is gradually leavening the whole lump; and that, passing beyond the bounds of the body in connection with which it was organized, the Church Temperance Society is affecting the action of many kindred societies, and becoming a powerful factor in temperance work all over the land. It owes its strength and efficiency, first of all, to the deeply religious spirit in which the movement was conceived; and, secondly, to its policy in combining men of diverse views, who are nevertheless agreed respecting the common end. The society accepts the help of all, in whatsoever degree it may be offered, and engages in controversy with none."

Of this society, the late Hon. William E. Dodge said that its organization formed "one of the most important and beneficial events of the present century."

THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.

The Rev. W. C. Hendrickson, in his sketch of this church, says that "it is one of the oldest religious denominations in this country," and that "the progress of the temperance cause during the last hundred years is a marked feature in its history. Many of the fathers now living remember when intoxicating liquors were freely used upon all churchly occasions, and considered as one of the *spiritual influences* required to stimulate church work. . . . . It was not considered a misdemeanor to give a sufficient amount to create the *happy feeling*." Thus it appears that, in common with others, Christian ceremonies in this church were celebrated in a manner not inconsistent with the rites of a heathen divinity. See now what has happened. Within the last ten years, the General Synods held at Tiffin, Ohio, denounced "especially the monster evil, intemperance"; in 1884, the General Synod at Baltimore reaffirmed the same action, and within a few years the Eastern Synod held at Bellefontaine, Pa., and the Western Synod have adopted the following "strong deliverance":

"*Whereas*, the almost incredible amount of $500,000,000 is annually expended in the United States for intoxicating liquors; and whereas, one half of the taxes levied on the people of the United States are directly chargeable to the use of alcoholic beverages; and whereas, the most appalling amount of crime, suffering and disgrace is caused by the liquor traffic; and whereas, the efforts hitherto made have failed to furnish an adequate remedy; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the synod favors the total prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks as a beverage, by constitutional amendment.

"*Resolved*, That the synod earnestly desires its pastors, elders, deacons and people to continue to use all proper means to educate the public mind and conscience to the approval of this remedy."

Like action has been taken by the synods of Ohio and Pittsburg, and such is the present attitude of the Reformed Church. National prohibition is the crowning conception of temperance reform; save only international prohibition, covering the whole world. Amen.

THE BIBLE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

antedates the other Christian churches, probably, "in the adoption of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors" as a condition of membership. The Rev. William Cowherd organized such a church in the year 1809.

In 1823, Rev. William Metcalfe published a tract "on the duty of entire abstinence from all intoxicating drinks."—This includes fermented drinks, as well as ardent spirits. — He inculcates "entire abstinence from this baneful liquor," and declares: — "The accursed beverages ought never to gain admittance to our dwellings; and, if possible, *we should not even hear their names.*"

Rev. Henry S. Clubb informs us that this is believed to be the first tract published in the country "inculcating entire abstinence from intoxicating liquors"; and that the Bible Christian Church has never permitted "intoxicating liquors within its walls." Pride in such a record can not be a sin.

THE MORAVIAN CHURCH.

The Moravians are for temperance. In 1873, the American Synod takes this position: "It is opposed to all traffic in intoxicating drinks, and the use as a beverage of hard cider, beer, ale, whisky, wine, brandy, gin, rum, *patent bitters*, etc., and would respectfully urge all the members of our church to abstain therefrom" —and in the year 1884 the synod reaffirmed the same. As a denomination, the Moravians are in favor of legal measures for the suppression of intemperance and of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton has compiled the resolutions of synods and other matter demonstrating the attitude of this most interesting branch of the Christian Church.

THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

as shown by Rev. W. T. Sabine, holds advanced ground upon the temperance question. In 1873, the General Council resolved that it "marks with pleasure the progress of the temperance revival throughout the country, and desires to put on record its sympathy with that great

movement, as ordered and blessed of God, and hereby affectionately recommends this cause to the co-operation of the clergy and laity of this church"; and in 1885 places on record like declarations, and urges total abstinence "from the traffic and use of all intoxicating liquors."

THE SEVENTH-DAY BAPTISTS.

Dr. A. H. Lewis has made up the record of this church, and concludes it thus: "The foregoing are representative official utterances by the General Conference of the Seventh-Day Baptists in the United States. They show that the denomination is a unit, and is radically committed to the fundamental doctrines of *total abstinence for the individual and total prohibition for the State.*"

Amen and Amen.

THE UNITARIAN CHURCH.

As with the Congregationalists, the record and the present position of the Unitarians upon the temperance movement are to be found less in what its representative bodies have said than in what its representative men and women have both said and done. Tried by this test, no denomination has been more active in the cause. But its representative bodies have not been silent.

As a fair specimen of the action of its ministerial associations, I quote the following, from resolutions passed by the Association of Norfolk County, Mass., in the year 1882:

"*Whereas*, we look upon intemperance in the use of ardent spirits as the source of untold evils, in the forms of poverty, ignorance, wretchedness and crime, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we urge upon all Christian people and good citizens the duty of renewed and persistent efforts to discountenance and discourage the use of intoxicating liquors merely as an indulgence of the appetite, and to deepen and strengthen the sentiment in behalf of temperance in the community. . . . .

"*Resolved*, That we favor legislation looking to the total suppression of the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors for use as a beverage; that we are in favor of as stringent laws as can be executed, and that we hope to see a law upon the statute-book, sustained by public sentiment, which shall make public drinking-places impossible."

In 1872, the national conference declared it to be duty to do all that can be done, by voice and pen, by life and example, to "arrest and destroy this mighty foe of civilization," and in 1884 it declared that, "under all the conditions of modern society, we believe that nothing short of a total disuse of intoxicating beverages can serve as a sure means of abolishing and preventing the miseries and evils of intemperance."

Dr. Lowell, Dr. Channing, Dr. Henry Ware, Jr., Rev. Samuel J. May, Rev. John Pierpont, William G. Elliott, D.D., well known throughout the Mississippi Valley, Dr. Gannett and many others, who have passed away, were, in their time, among the great champions of temperance reform.

Of the living, the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, the — but the time and space would fail me to write the names which belong on the brilliant roll of mighty men and women who are now at the forefront of battle in this temperance war — and what is true of the clergy is equally true of the laity of this denomination.

I shall be pardoned if I mention by name Henry H. Faxon of Quincy, whose intense zeal has never lacked for discretion, and who has beaten the devil so far every time, and, whenever it was necessary, has done it with his own fire. A practical man, who sees to it that those who take the sword perish by the sword. Ten such men would save the United States.

Of Mrs. Mary A. Livermore I write with the respectful reverence which is due to one of the ablest minds of either sex, adorned with all the graces and angelic excellencies of her own. Her services to the cause of temperance and its great companion, the full suffrage, so that the freedom of the race may be complete, have not been surpassed.

Rev. S. W. Bush, who has prepared a very interesting review of the work and position of the denomination, concludes thus: "Whatever real service this body of Christians has rendered to the temperance cause, just so far has it aided in the establishment among men of the kingdom of God."

THE FREE BAPTIST CHURCH.

This denomination has always been in the advance of every reform. They belong to the light infantry — the Zouaves of heaven. Nor are they without cavalry and heavy artillery — an army complete, without bummers or stragglers, always fighting or on the march for another battle.

In the year 1828, the General Conference resolved "that we advise the members of our churches to abstain from the use of ardent spirits, on all occasions except when they are necessary as a medicine."

In 1837, they adopted a still stronger resolution, and spoke thus of the traffic: "The vending of intoxicating liquors is productive of poverty, ignorance, suffering, vice and crime of every description; also of disease and death; *that the dealer in intoxicating drinks is therefore responsible for the evils of which he is knowingly, unnecessarily and voluntarily the author, and should be regarded by the community as guilty of all the misery, crime and death which he produces; that our law-givers should, by the enactment of just laws, protect the community from this baneful and merciless traffic.*"

In 1853, the General Conference resolved "that the traffic in intoxicating liquors is, in its nature, nearly allied to theft and robbery; and in its consequences far exceeds them in enormity. That, while we do not discard moral suasion, but consider it an ally essential to the greatest ability of laws; yet, in our opinion, nothing but a prohibitory law enforced, and embodying the principles of the Maine law, will effectually suppress the abominable liquor traffic." On the organization of a Catholic Temperance Society in Dover, N. H., the *Morning Star*, the organ of the denomination, with a Christian liberality which points out the existence of feelings that should lead to the reunion of the great wings of Christendom in one grand army, published the following: "We rejoice at the stand our Catholic neighbors are taking against the use of all intoxicating drinks. . . . . The effectual remedy for intemperance is total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks."

Rev. B. D. Peck, D.D., in his sketch, arranges many

instances showing the red-hot energy of the leaders of this denomination in the temperance work. One of them says: "I identify myself with this reform, for better or for worse. Dear as is the blood which courses in my veins, I stand or fall with it." Another "took a load of barley ten miles to market; and when he learned that it was to be made into intoxicating liquors, he said to the purchaser, 'You can not have my barley for such a purpose,' reloaded it, and took it home, preferring to lose it rather than receive money from such a business." No wonder that Neal Dow says: "I have been well acquainted with the position of the Free Baptist denomination on the subject of temperance and prohibition, from the beginning of the organizations . . . . . and I do not remember one who was not thoroughly a friend of this great movement, as they are to-day. . . . . *Without them, the cause would not stand where it does to-day.*" And to this I will add that *with them it will not remain where it is to-day; it will march steadily on to the perfect day of national and international prohibition.*

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The Quadrennial Convention of this church, held in the year 1882, adopted the following report on temperance:

"*Whereas*, Intemperance is the greatest evil of the age, and liquor-selling the 'crime of crimes' against God and man; therefore,

"1. *Resolved*, That the United States government ought at once to withdraw its sanction and support from the manufacturers and traffickers in intoxicating liquors.

"2. That we favor, and will heartily work for, Constitutional amendments in the various States where we reside, until the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of all intoxicants as beverages is an accomplished fact.

"3. That, in all future political action, we will carefully consider our relation to the cause of temperance, and will insist that men and parties claiming our support shall stand square on this vital subject.

"4. That we condemn, as contrary to the Christian life, the renting of buildings for the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages.

"5. That we will, as far as possible, co-operate with all churches,

societies and individuals in advancing the true temperance cause, as voiced in the motto,

"'Total abstinence for the individual and total prohibition for the State.'"

The Rev. B. F. Knapp says "that no retrograde step has been taken . . . . . but if any difference upon the temperance question, by that body, its words upon it have since then been still more outspoken and emphatic . . . . . and that the present status of the Christian Church upon the temperance issue is of more healthful and vigorous growth, and that, too, from the prohibition stand-point, both by State and nation, than at any period during the century of its church work, 'and for which I feel to render praise to Almighty God.'"

THE CHURCH OF GOD.

The Rev. Geo. Sigler furnishes a sketch (see "One Hundred Years," etc., p. 412) quite full as to the attitude of this denomination upon the temperance question, showing that it is well advanced and strong for total abstinence and for prohibitory legislation in state and nation. Some of its utterances are very emphatic. In one they say "*that, since those who are engaged in the liquor traffic have formed combinations in the interests of this iniquitous work, it becomes the duty of the friends of temperance to lay aside all sectarian and political prejudices and unite in one solid compact by which they may counteract the influence of these organizations — either by demanding of existing political parties further legislation, or by constituting a party whose ultimate end shall be the entire prohibition of the liquor traffic.*"

The utterances of this denomination upon the work of woman and her influence, as well as upon the temperance question, show that it is living in modern times, and is full of energy for the great deeds of the coming years.

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

This is one of the very youngest of the denominations, having been organized in the year 1858. Her first General Assembly:

"*Resolved*, 1st, That the business of manufacturing and vending intoxicating liquors for drinking purposes is injurious to the best interests of society, and therefore inconsistent with the laws of God, which require, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'"

In 1877, the General Assembly:

"*Resolved*, That the license of the traffic is incompatible with the welfare of the State; and that the State should seek its entire prohibition."

In 1885:

"That there can be no compromise with this evil; that absolute, unconditional prohibition is . . . . . the ultimatum which alone we are willing to accept."

Rev. J. T. McCrary concludes his able sketch as follows: "As to the present sentiment of the church, we may speak quite definitely. Direct information from pastors in all parts of the church warrants the conclusion that the sentiment in favor of total abstinence and prohibition among the people is almost unanimous. Three-fourths of the ministers heard from favor the formation of a Prohibition party, and act with the third party. . . . . May God grant that before the United Presbyterian Church celebrates her semi-centennial she may, with all Christian people of this land, be called upon to rejoice in the triumph of the cause of Prohibition."

THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH

was organized in 1796 by colored Wesleyans. Their membership is at least 300,000, and has increased with great rapidity in the South since the abolition of slavery. The Hon. John C. Dancy has written a most interesting account of this church and its astonishing development:

"Rt. Rev. J. W. Hood, one of the present Board of Bishops, and Prof. Jos. C. Price, President of Zion Wesley College, at Salisbury, N. C., are foremost among the temperance advocates of this country, each having been heard on two continents — the latter being one of the most forcible temperance orators now living. Bishop Hood was at one time Grand Chaplain of the Independent Order of Good Templars of the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of the World. — Bishop J. J. Moore, D.D., is also a member of the Order

of Good Templars, having been initiated by the Chief Officers of Great Britain. While Bishops S. T. Jones, D.D., Thomas H. Lomax, and J. P. Thompson . . . . . are none the less fearless and uncompromising in their advocacy of temperance principles. To the promotion and success of the great movement they seem to have consecrated their lives, their best efforts, and the influence of their Christian example. Rev. C. R. Harris, the next highest officer, is a Good Templar and a total abstainer, and works unremittingly in behalf of the cause. The *Star of Zion*, the organ of the connection, is dedicated to Temperance, Education, Morality, Industrial Progress and Religion. . . . . Every member of the faculty of Zion Wesley College is a temperance man, and every student is required to abstain from the use of all intoxicating beverages."

This church "has declared in favor of total abstinence for the individual and opposition to intemperance on the part of the church." It is an immense power not alone with its own race, but among the white race as well. No man ever addressed white audiences with greater force and more thrilling effect than Rev. Dr. Price during his recent visit to the city of New York.

THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

was organized in 1816, by Rev. Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, and one of the provisions engrafted on the constitution forbade drunkenness, and the drinking of spirituous liquors unless ordered to do so by a physician. "Nor did the church veer from it one hair's-breadth while the old hero, Rev. Mr. Allen, lived; *nor has it veered since*. . . . . No drunkards! no drinkers!" In 1833, the Ohio Conference resolved, "as the sense of this conference, that common schools, Sunday-schools and temperance societies are of the highest importance to all people, but more especially to us as a people." The Philadelphia and New York conferences also strongly endorsed the temperance cause.

Rev. Dr. Tanner says: "The church, in the fifty years since these utterances were given, has multiplied her conferences by ten; then there were four, now there are forty-four. If we were to say that in intention to put down the rum fiend we, as a church, have kept full pace with our material growth, the fact would not be too strongly put. No session

Mrs. M. A. Bent,

Cornetist, National W. C. T. U.

of the conference is now held, anywhere within our borders, that rum ravages upon society, morally and religiously, socially and civilly, are not duly and carefully considered. This church now comprises four hundred thousand members, and is a mighty force for good in our country and world."

THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION

began with the century, and is described by Rev. G. W. Gross as "a child of Providence, called into existence by the Great Head of the church and by the force of circumstances," and similar in organization and church polity to the Methodist Episcopal Church. "It has an aggressive spirit, and claims to be in the pioneer corps of every moral reform." It has 130,000 members. The denomination is in itself a total-abstinence society, and is committed to the principles of absolute and everlasting prohibition of the liquor traffic.

The Pennsylvania conference, the oldest of the church, passed the following resolutions in 1835:

"*Whereas*, King Alcohol, the great destroyer of our fair land, is, notwithstanding the strenuous and multiplied efforts put forth against him, constantly enlarging his soul and body destroying work; and whereas his most loyal subjects, the distillers, brewers and saloonists, are every year becoming more solidified and determined in their opposition to the passage of temperance and Sunday laws; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we will, more than ever, devote our energies to the dethronement of this mighty foe. That for this purpose we will employ all fair and honorable means — such as the dissemination of sound temperance literature, the preaching of total-abstinence sermons, and the thorough indoctrination of the youth in our Sunday-schools.

"*Resolved*, That we are in favor of constitutional prohibition.

"*Resolved*, That we consider it a violation of the spirit of our 'Discipline' for any of our members either to sign applications for liquor license or to rent their property for the sale of liquors.

"*Resolved, That we consider the use of fermented wine in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper contrary to the total-abstinence principles of our church.*"

It would seem strange had Christ adopted what would be a sin if it were not a sacrament, and ordain it as the great institution by which to be remembered himself!

Mr. Gross says: "Many, if not most, of the more active, enthusiastic temperance workers give great prominence to the legislative and political phases of the question, and believe that license, high or low, can not be encouraged on any moral pretext of reaching the evil; but believe in the inherent wrongfulness of all liquor manufacturing and vending for drinking purposes, and do in no way sanction or countenance the part taken in the traffic by local, State or national authority."

This association is not one of the larger denominations, but it is of the kind of whom one member will chase a thousand and two put ten thousand to flight.

THE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

This church is the lineal descendent of the Covenanters of Scotland, so it is claimed by the Rev. T. P. Stevenson, who furnishes a brief but most interesting sketch. Eighty-two years since, "her supreme court decided that slaveholding was a crime, and appointed a commission to give effect to this decision in her congregations in the Southern States . . . . . and all her members who had acquired property in slaves set them at liberty at this behest. In something the same spirit she has dealt with intemperance." All through her history she has been clear, and radically opposed to this sin. In the year 1885, the synod declared that the temperance issue has come to the hour for its final decisive struggle, "when the facts are fully known; when all expedients have utterly failed; and when enlightened and matured public sentiment seeks to crystallize in the form of law, for the absolute and complete suppression of the evil." In such conflicts "the church is not a mere pulsometer, to measure moral forces; she is a living organism to originate and sustain them. The fact that a question has assumed a political and legislative aspect does not carry it out of the sphere of the church's action. The theory that, as soon as a moral issue becomes a political one, the church has nothing more to do with it, is political atheism. It is the theory that God and his law have no relation to the State. This is the hour of the church's high opportunity and grave responsibility. *The Christian ministry and the religious press can not keep silent on a false plea of*

non-partisanship while Christian men administer wicked license laws and sustain parties that are in alliance with the liquor traffic."

The whole license system is denounced as "wrong in principle and most pernicious in practice, involving the nation in the guilt and shame of the liquor traffic, to which it gives its consent; as ineffectual for the restraint or suppression of the evil, and an utter violation of the high trust God has committed to civil government as His ordinance"; and they recommend all the women of the church to "co-operate with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in its noble work of faith and labor of love." In short, I have read nothing in the declarations of any denomination written with more absolute disregard of the tenderest sensibilities of those engaged in the prosecution or in the hypocritical encouragement of the liquor traffic, than the utterances of these modern Scotch Covenanters.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOUTH.

The declarations of the great Southern branch of the Methodist Church have always been very clear and emphatic in denunciation of indulgence in intoxicating drinks, and in the inculcation of total abstinence from the use and participation in the manufacture or sale by its preachers and members. The temperance sentiment is "intense." "The Southern Methodist Church is really an immense prohibition society."

"In the last few years our people have come to believe that the evils growing out of the manufacture, sale and drinking of intoxicating liquors are of such dimensions and significance that specific action and laws are demanded with reference to them. The church has come to consider intemperance the greatest evil of the times — the source and cause of well nigh all the other evils which affect society and impede the progress of church work."

In 1882, the North Georgia annual conference adopted a report of Dr. A. G. Haygood, unanimously, in which they declare, among other things, "that it is now understood by all informed persons that the great majority of crimes have their genesis in drunkenness, and that nearly all crimes of violence are traceable to this source. Our jails and peniten-

tiaries are filled from the bar-rooms and other places where intoxicating liquors are sold. . . . . By every token it appears to your committee that it is the duty of all good men to unite in all wise and practicable methods for the suppression of the traffic. They also rejoice in the obviously growing sentiment in favor of the prohibition of the traffic that has wrought so much evil in the world.' In the year 1883 the conference denounces the traffic, and "thanks God" for encouraging indications: "local prohibition is sweeping over Georgia," etc. In 1884, the same conference resolves "that we regard prohibition the only rational and practical solution of the liquor problem. 2. That we will use our influence to create, organize and intensify prohibition sentiment. . . . . 4. That we will endeavor to have all prohibitory laws in the different counties of the State enforced."

The status of the whole forty conferences is indicated by the sentiments of the one from whose declarations these quotations are made:

"The Southern Methodist Church is a unit in its opinion on this subject. Our people throughout the church have reached the deliberate conclusion that prohibition is the only feasible solution of the liquor problem, and they do not propose to cease their efforts until the whole South is *solid* on this line."

As a Northern man, I beg our Southern friends to enlarge their sphere of action, to take in the North also, and continue their efforts until both North and South are solid on the same line of prohibition — even national prohibition. "Come over into Macedonia and help *us!*" I get this information from Rev. J. W. Lee's most excellent sketch in "One Hundred Years of Temperance," and feel that the following quotation should also be given, for the benefit of — everybody. He says: "Prohibition, as it presents itself to the minds of our people, is not so complex and delicate a question as it appears to be in many of the Northern States. We think this is due to the fact that, with us, prohibition has not become entangled with party issues nor blended with political measures and promises. We have not permitted the politicians to complicate it with Democracy or Republicanism, or with the measures of any party. . . . . It is a pity that anywhere this, the most important of moral

and social questions, should be tacked on to a political party. . . . . It is the earnest conviction of the Southern Methodist Church, then, that this question must be settled outside of political parties." He cites the result in Atlanta as an example of non-partisan success for prohibition.

It will be fortunate indeed when the prohibition sentiment is so strong that all parties compete for the first opportunity to deposit their votes for prohibition. But in some parts of the country no party will adopt prohibition; on the contrary, all parties strive to exclude it from the sphere of *political action*, which may be very different from partisan action.

The body-politic must act, or there can be no law. If there be strong opposition, there will be parties. So far, at the North, the temperance issue has been in search of a large party for its father. Sometimes, generally, the Republican party has been kindly disposed, but, at best, prohibition has been much out in the cold.

Prohibition will have ample accommodations, with all the modern improvements, in this country yet. If neither of the old parties will take her in, and treat her as one of the family, she will build a house to suit herself. In fact, she has already put up one wing of a building, with the largest plan, out of material obtained by tearing down portions of the houses whose occupants exclude her. The end is not yet. That party is wise which first gives her a permanent home.

Mr. Lee concludes thus: "We think it about time for the people of these United States to know that they have the power to rid themselves of the evil of intemperance. And as long as they have this power, and do not use it, they are responsible for the drunkenness, and the crimes growing out of drunkenness, which disgrace us."

"And Nathan said unto David, 'Thou art the man!'"

I have now stated the position of all the leading Protestant denominations of our country upon the temperance question. That position is almost unanimous for total abstinence of the individual and total prohibition by the law of the land. Here, then, is the solid Protestant church against the liquor traffic — thirsting for its destruction, and killing it.

Why is this?

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Important Factor, Seven Million American Adherents — American Catholic Total Abstinence Union — Leo XIII.'s Letter to Bishop Ireland, 1887 — Baltimore Council: Cardinal Gibbons — Murray's "Catechism of Intemperance" — Catholic Total Abstinence Union Established 1872 — Father Cleary at the Philadelphia Temperance Centennial — Powderly, Archbishop Ryan, Bishop Ireland; Father Mathew, Cardinal Manning, and Father Nugent — Catholic Temperance Magazine 1887: "The Loss of our Children" — Catholics in Labor Organizations — Father Conaty's Two Addresses — "Total Abstinence Organized on Catholic Principles" — The Catholic Church and her followers will eventually demand Prohibition.

I DEVOTE all the space possible to this sketch of the Catholic Church, because of the great population in our own and in other countries who are embraced within its influence; nor do I think the advanced ground it now occupies as a temperance body is generally understood. I may be pardoned for adding that I also cherish the hope that more knowledge will lessen prejudice, promote harmony, and lead to co-operative action among religious bodies, against an evil which threatens all.

The Christian population of the world is thus stated by Mr. Spofford, in the American Almanac for 1886 — it being an estimate from Schem's statistics of the world:

Roman Catholics, ...	201,000,000
Protestants, ...	106,000,000
Eastern Churches, ...	81,000,000
Total, ...	388,000,000

There are in the United States 7,000,000 adherents of th Catholic faith (as stated in the Catholic Directory, 1883), out of a total population of about 60,000,000. The temperance movement is probably more important to the welfare of the Catholic population of this country than to any other equal number of our people; while the relation of the church

to that movement, in the world at large, is one of the chief factors which must determine the future of the race.

I have, therefore, felt peculiar anxiety, in the preparation of this book, to secure authentic information and to state fairly the Catholic position in this great struggle with the foes of a common Christianity and civilization. Addressing Cardinal Gibbons upon the subject, that eminent prelate and most courteous gentleman referred my request to Rev. Father Mahony of St. Paul, to whom I am under special obligation for documents and references, from which much of this matter in regard to the Catholic Church is obtained.

The Pope is, in an important sense, the church; or, as the *Catholic Temperance Magazine* of May, 1887, expresses the idea, "Without the approval of Rome and the blessing of God's Vicar on earth, no Catholic cause can succeed. Every Catholic knows this, and it is thus his first anxiety to secure, in some form or other, the encouragement of the Holy Father for every good work in which he is interested." From the same number of the magazine, I take the following letter from Pope Leo XIII., in which he expresses his approval of the cause of temperance, and of the American Catholic Total Abstinence Union, with a completeness and power which even from a layman of the church should exert a wide-spread influence. I am sure that it must excite the gratitude and admiration of every lover of the cause of temperance to read this authoritative expression from the Pope in favor of the temperance work. The letter is addressed to Bishop Ireland, the Father Mathew of our time; who, in securing this important temperance paper alone, has rendered a greater service to the cause than could have been rendered by many a long life devoted to its promotion.

The following is a translation of the Pope's letter:

"*To Our Venerable Brother* JOHN IRELAND, *Bishop of St. Paul, Minn.;*
LEO XIII., *Pope.*

"VENERABLE BROTHER, HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION.

"The admirable works of piety and charity by which our faithful children in the United States labor to promote, not only their own temporal and eternal welfare, but also that of their fellow-citizens, and which you have recently related to us, give to us exceeding great consolation. And, above all, we have rejoiced to

learn with what energy and zeal, by means of various excellent associations, and especially through the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, you combat the destructive vice of intemperance. For it is well known to us how ruinous, how deplorable, is the injury, both to faith and to morals, that is to be feared from intemperance in drink. Nor can we sufficiently praise the prelates of the United States, who recently, in the Plenary Council of Baltimore, with weightiest words, condemned this abuse; declaring it to be a perpetual incentive to sin, and a fruitful root of all evils, plunging the families of the intemperate into direst ruin, and drawing numberless souls down to everlasting perdition; declaring, moreover, that the faithful who yield to this vice of intemperance become thereby a scandal to non-Catholics, and a great hindrance to the propagation of the true religion.

"Hence, we esteem worthy of commendation the noble resolve of our pious associations, by which they pledge themselves to abstain totally from every kind of intoxicating drink. Nor can it at all be doubted that this determination is the proper and the truly efficacious remedy for this very great evil; and that so much the more strongly will all be induced to put this bridle upon appetite, by how much the greater are the dignity and influence of those who give the example. But greatest of all in this matter should be the zeal of priests, who, as they are called to instruct the people in the word of life, and to mould them to Christian morality, should also, and above all, walk before them in the practice of virtue. Let pastors, therefore, do their best to drive the plague of intemperance from the fold of Christ, by assiduous preaching and exhortation, and to shine before all as models of abstinence, and so the many calamities with which this vice threatens both church and State may, by their strenuous endeavors, be averted.

"And we most earnestly beseech Almighty God that, in this important matter, He may graciously favor your desires, direct your counsels, and assist your endeavors; and, as a pledge of the divine protection and a testimony of our paternal affection, we most lovingly bestow upon you, venerable brother, and upon all your associates in this holy league, the Apostolic Benediction.

"Given at Rome, from St. Peter's, this 27th day of March, in the year 1887, the tenth year of our pontificate.

"Leo XIII., Pope."

To show the energetic interest of those directly in charge of the Catholic polity in the United States, in the temperance reform, I quote from the declaration of the council of

Baltimore, the home of Cardinal Gibbons, and which may be accepted as representing truly his views and policy at the present time:

"Keep away from drinking-places Saturday nights, and carry your wages home to your families, where the wages rightfully belong.

"The most shocking scandals we have to deplore spring from intemperance.

"We invoke a blessing on the cause of temperance and on all who are laboring for its advancement in a true Christian spirit.

"Let the exertions of Catholic temperance societies meet with the hearty co-operation of pastor and people, and they will go far towards strangling the *monstrous evil of intemperance*. Pastoral Letter, Acta, p. xciii. The misuse of intoxicating drinks is certainly one of the most deplorable evils of our age and country. Intemperance is a constant source of sin and a copious fountain of misery. It has brought to utter ruin countless multitudes and entire families, and has precipitated into eternal perdition very many souls. All should, therefore, be exhorted, by the love of God and country, to bend every energy to the extirpation of this baleful evil. To the clergy, to whom God has given the office of breaking unto men the Bread of Life and training them in Christian morality, we chiefly look for helpers in this great work. Let them never cease to raise their voices against drunkenness and the causes and occasions of it, especially in giving spiritual missions to the people.

"We approve as highly commendable, in our times, the practice of those who abstain entirely from the use of intoxicating liquors. We also recognize as worthy of great praise the Catholic Total Abstinence Union and the confraternity of 'The Sacred Thirst,' laboring as they are, by prayer and good works, for the promotion of temperance, and relying as they do more on the grace of God, the efficacy of prayer and the sacraments, than on the strength of the human will alone. We commend these associations, enjoying as they do the blessing of the Holy Father, to the paternal care of the clergy, so that they may flourish more and more, and always adhere to the truly Catholic methods they now follow."

As an illustration of the teachings of the church to children, I quote from the "small catechism of intemperance," by Dr. John O'Kane Murray.

"What, in brief, is the effect of intemperance on the mind?

"Intemperance gradually ruins the mind. It damages the whole nervous system. It is one of the chief causes of idiocy, insanity, epilepsy, paralysis, sleeplessness, and other diseases of the mind and nervous system.

"What is the effect of intemperance on the moral nature of man?

"Intemperance destroys morality. It weakens will power. Reason soon ceases to rule. Character vanishes. The abuse of alcohol over-stimulates the feelings, emotions, and baser passions; and thus opens the door to vice, crime, and every kind of temptation. It leads to idleness, impurity, profanity, scandal, quarrelling, gambling, irreligion, blasphemy, murder, suicide, and other crimes, nameless and numberless. It is stated that *seven-tenths* of all the crimes committed in New York City in the year 1882 came from drinking, and about *four-fifths* of all crimes of violence had their origin in intemperance.

"What terrible conclusions must be drawn from the foregoing statement?

"That so long as a man or a woman is intemperate, reformation of character is impossible.

"Mention some of the evil effects of intemperance on the human body?

"Intemperance strikes at the very root of good health. It soon gives the countenance a bloated, brutal aspect. It leads to chronic diseases of the heart, stomach, liver, eyes, arteries, lungs, bladder and kidneys. 'The nervous tissues,' says a late scientific writer, 'are perhaps the first to suffer; and the shaking hand and tottering gait are infallibly followed by a similar tottering of the intellectual and moral faculties. The stomach resents the constant introduction of ardent spirits, and soon refuses properly to digest food. The liver and kidneys give out in a similar way, and the impairment of their functions causes terrible dropsy. The heart gets fatty and weak, the lungs lose their fresh elasticity, and soon there is not a tissue in the body which has not, in one way or another, succumbed to the ill-treatment to which it has been subjected.'

"Intemperance, then, must greatly shorten life?

"Certainly it does. It brings death long before old age. The habitual drinker *must* decay prematurely. This is a just and solemn law, that cannot be repealed by any corrupt Legislature. Often death comes with the awful rapidity of a lightning flash, and the red nose and fiery face of the wretched toper disappear forever from the busy scenes of this world. No man can live *drunk* and live *long*.

James, Cardinal Gibbons.

By permission of Backrach & Bro., Baltimore.

"What is the effect of intemperance on society?

"It has filled the world with misery and scandal. It arrests the progress of religion and civilization. It fosters every kind of immorality. The millions spent on liquors are lost. Sober people are burdened with countless paupers and orphans. Two-thirds of the poor children in asylums are the offspring of drunken parents. The jails, almshouses, and penitentiaries are chiefly filled by those who have fallen victims to intemperance. The crime-stained wretch at the gallows commonly warns his hearers that rum brought him to such an elevation; and amongst the countless woes of the world, there are few indeed that can not be traced to intemperance.

"What is the chief cure for intemperance and its awful effects?

"*Total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks.* The vast majority of mankind can not use such drink in 'moderation.' Even in the hands of the wise and strong, alcohol is a dangerous instrument; but in the hands of the weak and foolish, it is a murderous, two-edged weapon. The drunkard must be a failure in this world; and, according to St. Paul, he has little to hope in the next."

The Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America was established in 1872 by delegates from the various total abstinence societies and State unions assembled in Baltimore. One of their resolutions was as follows:

"*Resolved*, That this convention, though not deeming it expedient to take part in any political or legislative action in reference to prohibitory liquor laws, recognizes, however, the great good that would accrue from the suppression of public drinking-places, and from such legislation as would restrain the manufacture of intoxicating liquors within bounds consistent with public morality, and will gladly hail such legislation whenever the proper authorities may grant it."

The caution exercised in avoiding open political demonstration would hardly permit the Union to go further in approval of prohibitory laws at that time — nor indeed is there occasion to do so, since this is sufficiently emphatic, and whatever is lacking in this resolution — if anything — is more than supplied by the Pope's letter cited at the beginning of this chapter. Not that his letter refers to political action any more than do the general teachings of the Christian religion — but it is evident that no Catholic, after

reading this strong letter from the head of his church, can doubt that the cause of temperance, and its promotion by every form of action, now has that "approval of Rome and blessing of God's Vicar upon earth" without which "no Catholic cause can succeed." Of late the Union has increased in zeal and numbers with astonishing rapidity, and, by the aid of an active literary propaganda, a Catholic temperance literature, in the form of books and pamphlets, etc., is being created, and the church press is devoting much attention to the cause. Father Elliott has written a memorial, which was revised by Bishop Ireland, and laid before the Council of Baltimore, which is said, "for vigorous language and plain presentation of the evils of liquor-selling, never to have been surpassed in the literary annals of America."

I have already quoted from the declaration of the council and the full letter of the Pope.

Father Cleary was a delegate from the C. T. A. Union of America to the Centennial Temperance Conference held at Philadelphia, September, 1885. In his address to the conference he stated:

"Our Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America comprises over 40,000 pledged total abstainers, and, of these 40,000, I think I am within the lines when I say that at least 39,999 are sworn enemies of alcohol until they go down to their graves. . . . . The object we have in view is to make our people the sworn enemies of alcohol. We believe in supporting every just measure that may be brought about by statutory enactment for the assistance of our cause. . . . . And we believe that as long as the saloon dares with brazen effrontery to demoralize our politics, that the church, with uprightness, with a clear and serene countenance, should enter the political arena to purify it." — ("One Hundred Years Temperance," pp. 54, 55.)

From the current press I gather the following: At the last (the seventeenth) annual meeting of the C. T. A. Union, held in Philadelphia, Mr. Powderly was present and made able speeches. Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia gave the cause of temperance hearty indorsement by administering the communion and by a very pointed speech in the Academy of Music. Father Cleary, now president of the Union,

made the leading speech of the occasion, and, among other things, said:

"There never was a time in the history of our country when it was more important that our Catholic people make no mistake in the discussion of the great social problem agitating the public mind. The rights and proper privileges of the honest laboring man are in danger, more, however, from the intrigues of the liquor-seller than from the encroachments of capital. It is a well recognized fact that the wide-spread evil of patronizing the saloon has much to do with delaying a settlement of the labor difficulties, as also of multiplying their number. If the giant curse of drink were removed, the way would be easy and plain to a solution of the labor problem. It is not surprising, therefore, that the leader of the laboring men declares he would prefer a following of 100,000 total abstainers to 12,000,000 moderate drinkers, patrons of the liquor saloon. The laboring man will never secure the rights and privileges due to honest labor so long as the saloon receives a large share of his earnings. The most prudent economy can suggest no more reliable safeguard against foolish and sinful extravagance than a total abstinence society. It is the most practical kind of an anti-poverty society."

Bishop Ireland has delivered many of the most powerful speeches for the cause of temperance ever spoken by man. I can find space for but a part of his address in St. Paul Cathedral, August 2, 1882:

"*Intemperance, an evil most heinous before God, most dreadful in its results, has grown among us to gigantic proportions. Into countless homes it shoots its venom-laden fangs, and annually, aye daily, it gathers into its deadly coils whole hecatombs of victims. Its presence is felt through the entire land, and everywhere it revels with demoniac nature in sin and misery.*

"Intemperance, of course, is not of recent date in the world. The frequency and virulence, however, of the evil, which alarms us so much to-day, are traits peculiar to our own times. The populations of the northern countries of Europe and of America in a special manner suffer from its ravages. A most unnatural thirst for alcohol, as the intoxicating fluid is called, devours them. . . . . .

"*The thesis is maintained by most able physicians that alcohol is no food, producing neither heat nor strength; that it is no stimulant, increasing the healthy activity of any organ of the body, although it may allow of a disorderly action.* . . . .

"*In the United States, the cost of alcoholic liquors to the consumers, in one year, has been* $750,000,000, *or an average of over* $15 *to every man, woman and child in the country.* In Great Britain, the cost in one year has been £142,000,000, or $710,000,000 — an average of over $20 to every person of the population. It is difficult for the mind, without some terms of comparison, to comprehend these figures. The sum spent in four years for alcoholic drinks in Great Britain would purchase all the railroads in the country; and the sum spent in six years would pay off the national debt. The aggregate of wages paid by all the manufacturing establishments in America during the year 1869 was only $775,584,000 — a sum but slightly in excess of the drink-bill for the same year. The total value of all church property in the country in 1870 was $354,483,000. Six months' abstinence from drink would buy it out. . . . .

"But what of the efficacy of total abstinence as a remedy for the prevailing intemperance? The tens of thousands whom you lead to the practice of total abstinence are saved. *A total-abstinence society is the harbor: within, the winds are still, the sea is calm; outside, the billows roar, and the rocks and shoals lie in wait.* Outside the harbor many escape shipwreck; but many too sink low and deep. All who are within have reason to rejoice. In the name of their most precious interests, invite those who are without to enter with you. They have perhaps already suffered from the storm, or, maybe, they are as yet unscathed. In either case, far better for them the harbor. The circumstances of the present time, we must ever remember, are peculiar. Society is honeycombed with temptations to drink; the stoutest and bravest are daily falling victims. Who, you can ask, is sure in advance of victory? To Irishmen particularly, because of their comparative native powerlessness to resist alcohol, because of the fatal habits in which past traditions have wrapped them, because their welfare is near to my heart, *I will never cease pointing out, with an undeviating finger, the harbor of peace and of security — total abstinence.* Believe not that it is a difficult task to lead men to total abstinence. Your records tell a different story. *Counting all Catholic total-abstinence societies in America, whether connected with the Union or not, we have* 100,000 *total abstainers.* Is this a small number, when we know that not very earnest, persistent effort has been made so far? Remember the magnificent success of FATHER MATHEW! See what CARDINAL MANNING and FATHER NUGENT have done in England! . . . .

"To the priests of the church who labor to further the cause of total abstinence, I offer in a special manner my congratulations

and my thanks. With them pre-eminently rests the future of their people. Their earnest co-operation is all that is needed to insure the success of the total-abstinence movement. . . . .

"May Heaven, my brethren, pour down its richest blessing upon your Union, and continuously add to its peaceful and glorious triumphs."

The destructive effect of intemperance upon moral conduct and religious faith is quite as apparent among Protestants as it is shown to be by the following matter, taken from the *Catholic Temperance Magazine* of February, 1887, in the Catholic Church.

This Moloch lives on children. It would be far better to throw them into the Thames, the Hudson and the Mississippi. The heathen mother needs no advice from sanctimonious, mercenary, drunken nations who give their own children to the fire.

If Christianity were no better than Christian nations, our missionaries would deserve to be mobbed out of every pagan country. It is strange — miraculous — that they have accomplished so much, while national policy and the practices of trade have given the continual lie to the precepts of our holy religion.

The extract referred to follows:

"THE LOSS OF OUR CHILDREN.

"It is a hopeful sign that Catholics in general are at last realizing what has been plain enough to some of us for a long time. The fact that our losses, from one cause or another, more than counterbalance our gains, and that our progress and prosperity for the last few years have been material rather than spiritual, has been put before the Catholic public, with more or less clearness, by more than one writer. . . . . And, now that the Bishop of Salford has brought the matter prominently forward in the most recent and not less important of his penny books, 'The Loss of Our Children' (which we hope each of our readers will obtain and study), the laity are waking up. . . . . Here is his lordship's summary:

"An analysis of the condition of the children under twenty-one years of age brings us to the following appalling conclusions, viz.:

"That there are in extreme danger of loss of faith, or practically lost to the faith, 5420; viz.:

Under 7,	2381
Under 16,	2130
Under 21,	909
Total,	5420

"In this category are classed those children whose parents were never at Mass, never made their Easter duties, and who were utterly callous of the religious welfare of their children; who, in their turn, never attended Mass or attended Catholic school.

"In great danger, 2341; viz.:

Under 7,	1208
Under 16,	819
Under 21,	314
Total,	2341

"In danger, 1912; viz.:

Under 7,	885
Under 16,	744
Under 21,	283
Total,	1912

"This unhappy residuum is thus apportioned:

To irreligious parents,	5738
To mixed marriages,	2584
To careless and indifferent parents,	1351
Total,	9673

"*This result, be it remembered, is for a part only of one diocese.*

"What are the causes of this loss? The Bishop of Salford gives many, but one demands our special attention: *The drinking habits of parents, producing thriftlessness, poverty, religious indifference, and a general degradation of mind and body, in which the children participate.* This cause is, indeed, only too obvious. *What are we doing to lessen it?* It is more than ten years since Cardinal Manning said: 'If we had begun the League of the Cross twenty-five years ago, we should have a hundred thousand more Catholics in London. If twenty-five years ago men and women had been sober, there would have been that number of Catholics more to-day than there is.' . . . . .

"There are thousands of the sons and daughters of Irish parents in the work-house. How did they get there? By drink. They went into the work-house to get bread, and their children were brought up without faith and without religion.

"And yet, so far as well-to-do Catholics are concerned, the Catholic temperance movement is practically ignored, if, indeed, it is not actually and openly despised; while even among those who abstain themselves, there is far too little zeal for the welfare of others."

The adherents of the Catholic Church are largely those who are personally connected with the labor organizations of the day, and to no class of our people is the temperance question more vital than to them. While I do not consider total abstinence a complete remedy, it is the largest directly available measure of relief for the ills of poverty and the misfortunes of life. It is a means of evolution which we can ourselves apply to better our condition; and we shall have a stronger claim to help from others when we have, to the utmost of our ability, helped ourselves. Other classes of men should, however, be slow to demand of the poor a higher standard of moral action or of self-restraint than they impose upon themselves: and least of all should they make the cheap indulgences of the manual toiler, which are often only the opiates which temporarily relieve physical or mental distress, the excuse for permitting the continuance of social and legal disabilities which humanity should remove.

Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, president of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, has recently published two very able addresses upon the relation of the liquor problem to that of labor, very brief extracts from which I reproduce from the *Catholic World*.

In the issue of the *Catholic World* of May, 1887, is the first address, in which he says: "Who support the saloons? Certainly not the wealthy classes; they seldom enter any establishment that may be called by that name. In one of our factory cities in Massachusetts, with 15,000 operatives, there are 375 saloons, or one in every forty. That is to say, forty working people are supposed to support a saloon. When you consider that out of those 15,000 operatives there must be several thousands who never use liquor, you can readily see how heavy this blood tax is upon the classes that drink. And we can also see why so many are in misery and degradation, perfect strangers to happiness, contentment or independence, always paying rent, and always in

debt. Workingmen, open your eyes! Protect your labor, save your earnings. You are in a great contest for your rights: you need clear heads: you need manhood, which teaches to make the most of every day, which enables you to earn and to enjoy. Labor is the badge of manhood. Labor is the noblest title in America. It is the key to American success. Intemperance has already swept out of life more than war and famine have destroyed. Its scythe is still deep in the harvest. Men are falling beneath it. Be men. Break off every chain of slavery. Protect your labor from the tyranny of drink. If you are going to be Knights of Labor and struggle for your rights, be also knights of temperance. Preserve the powers given by God to enable you to labor and to earn, and, when you have earned, to purchase happiness, comfort and independence, and not misery, misfortune and slavery, for these are the fruits of intemperance. Labor has too noble a mission to be allowed to become a handmaid of intemperance."

Pursuing the same subject in the *Catholic World* of August, 1887, Father Conaty says: "The battle is really between the saloon and the home. The saloon has fastened itself upon society as an ulcer living upon the life-blood of the people. The saloon, building itself upon the ruin of broken lives and shattered homes, spreads desolation everywhere, respecting no class or sex. The union recalls the countless boys ruined, the fathers changed into destroyers of their little ones, the industry paralyzed, the prisons filled, and it asks each saloon how much of this is its work. It calls on the law to place about the saloon such reasonable restrictions as will remove as far as possible the evils that spring up from it. It demands the enforcement of those laws for the protection of home. The arrogance of the saloon and the power it wields in political affairs, all for its own interests and against those of society, have awakened a stronger interest in the cause of total abstinence organized on Catholic principles."

With these citations I close the chapter. Such high authority and eloquent utterances must move not only those to whom they are specially addressed, but the whole body-politic. Experience will demonstrate the necessity of

adopting fully the plan, not only of total abstinence by the individual, but also of absolute prohibition by the State. May we not hope — I feel sure that it is coming — that the mighty power of the Catholic Church, with her followers, will demand it in the nation as well as in every commonwealth wherein her influence can be exerted. It will be the easier to abstain from that which does not exist; no one is tempted by that which he cannot get. Every lover of his country, and of his fellow-men, will thank God when the whole Christian Church shall demand that the law require of society what conscience and religion demand of the individual — total abstinence from all beverages which intoxicate and destroy.

CHAPTER XXIII.

TEMPERANCE ORGANIZATIONS.

The National Temperance Society and Publication House: Agitation and Literature; "Total Abstinence and Prohibition"; William E. Dodge and Theodore Cuyler; the *Temperance Advocate* — Independent Order of Good Templars; Five Million Members; an Organization which Belts the Globe; Six Hundred Thousand Meetings a Year; the Ritual in a Dozen Languages; the Lamented Hon. John B. Finch — The Sons of Temperance; the Oldest Secret Temperance Society, Organized 1842; Gen. Sam. Cary: "Seal up the Fountain of Death"; Growth in Southern States; Eugene H. Clapp, "Responsibility of the Individual for Inebriety" — Templars of Honor and Temperance — Citizens' Law and Order League of the United States; the Object to Enforce Existing Laws; Charles C. Bonney, President; Platform of Convention, 1885 — Royal Templars of Temperance — Cadets of Temperance — United Temperance Association — United Kingdom Alliance — British Temperance League — Scottish Temperance League — Irish Temperance League — Political Parties and the Reform — Through Parties or Above Parties, the People Should Extirpate the Evil from the Land.

THE great work of temperance education — moral suasion and legal reform — is largely promoted by various voluntary associations created for that purpose, of which the principal are the National Temperance Society and Publication House, the Independent Order of Good Templars, the Sons of Temperance, Templars of Honor and Temperance, the Citizens' Law and Order League, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. There are other organizations of importance which deserve mention, that my limits will not permit. But this work would be incomplete without some account of what may be styled the secular wing of the Army of the Lord.

THE NATIONAL TEMPERANCE SOCIETY AND PUBLICATION HOUSE.

This society is the creator of modern temperance literature. It was organized at Saratoga in the year 1865, by 325

delegates, gathered from twenty-five different States. Committees were chosen, the one to conduct the general work of temperance agitation and reform, the other to produce a literature — books, pamphlets, tracts, newspapers — for distribution among the people. The exceeding ignorance of the country and of the world upon the subject, twenty years ago, would hardly be credited now. It can not be said that the ignorance is even yet dispelled — it is less dense. Some are cured and have gone about their business; a few are running, leaping and praising God, which is being a "crank"; a large number see men as trees walking; some have glass eyes, and look well, but are stone-blind, and some are blind beyond pretense of hope or even of miracle; and many fear the light because their deeds are evil — their eyes are good, but they keep them shut.

The committees, after much deliberation, were consolidated. Hon. William E. Dodge of New York city was made the first president, and the committee had its place of meeting in his office. The constitution was drawn by Rev. Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler, now the president of the society, and for all these years a tower of strength to the cause. Others have died, but he has not. How many thank God that he "still lives"!

"The basis of the society is total abstinence for the individual and total prohibition for the State." The pledge is as follows:

"No person shall be a member of this society who does not subscribe to the following pledge — namely:

"'We, the undersigned, do agree that we will not use intoxicating liquors as a beverage, nor traffic in them; that we will not provide them as an article of entertainment, or for persons in our employment; and that in all suitable ways we will discountenance their use throughout the country.'"

The receipts of the society have been about $1,100,000, "every dollar of which has been expended in creating and circulating a sound temperance literature, and carrying on its missionary operations. . . . . Its work covers the nation, and its literature permeates every part of the country. . . . . It furnishes physiological investigation, social appeal, religious instruction, political argument, scientific experiment,

legislative discussion, Bible truth, pulpit preparation, platform oratory, drawing-room readings, lyceum and lodge exhortations, and, in short, supplies for every rank in life and every condition in society." The society has now on its catalogue more than 1600 publications, from the pens of more than 250 different writers, covering every conceivable aspect of the temperance discussion. It publishes the *National Temperance Advocate*, now twenty-two years old, of which, up to May, 1885, more than 2,000,000 copies had been published. One-third of its publications are for children. About 30,000,000 copies of the *Youth's Temperance Banner* have been distributed already. It has printed more than 100,000,000 pages of temperance Sabbath-school matter, and 4,000,000 pages of children's tracts. Of various temperance tracts 90,000,000 pages and tons of music-books and books of temperance songs, and 711,417,427 pages of temperance matter printed since the organization of the society.

The missionary work of the society comprises:

1. The work among the freedmen of the South, sending missionaries and literature, etc.

2. The work in Congress for national commission of inquiry into the results of the liquor traffic, Constitutional prohibition, and other legislation concerning the temperance reform.

3. Holding mass meetings, conferences, conventions, etc., in all parts of the country.

4. The introduction of temperance text-books into the public schools.

5. To scatter a literature in prisons, hospitals, shops and jails, and other needy localities.

6. To send a specially prepared volume upon the various phases of the temperance question, to the pastor of every colored church in the South.

All this has been prosecuted upon a gigantic scale, almost without money and without price. This society has made temperance salvation about as free as any. Its managers have passed through the valley of the shadow of death, in the dark and bitter years of the past, in order to continue their great and sacred work. Of all this there is a full

account in "One Hundred Years of Temperance." Those who sometimes sneer that the statue of Mr. Dodge stands in the city of New York, should know more of the work done by himself and his associates. If they realized the benefactions which he was instrumental in conferring upon mankind, such men would kiss the ground at the foot of his monument in humble apology — if they did their duty. It is a great shame that this institution, which has been *the great instrumentality of them all* in producing and shaping the mighty temperance movement of to-day, and is all-important for the future, should ever suffer from want — like one of God's poor.

In all these years — for many I have known it of him myself — Mr. J. N. Stearns, the able and indefatigable corresponding secretary and publishing agent, often under the utmost stress of difficulties, has worn out body and soul to promote the great cause and to hasten the day of sunrise upon a drunken world. If I could pay him a suitable tribute in this book, I would do it. But God knows his jewels, and that is enough.

Mr. A. M. Powell has long been connected with the society, and the *Temperance Advocate* is his sufficient monument. His literary work has been of the first order, and his clear and vigorous mind has long been devoted to legislative measures of both State and nation.

The true friends of temperance should strengthen and support the National Temperance Society, and uphold the hands of these two men who have charge of its practical work, as one of their first duties to the cause.

In the thick-coming events of the future this great arsenal should be kept full. The army has need of abundant stores, and means for their distribution.

THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.

The thirty-third annual session of this order was held at Saratoga in June, 1887, with 161 representatives and post representatives from 46 Grand Lodges. The order has 483,103 members and 139,951 Juvenile Templars, and is by far the largest temperance organization in the world. It has initiated over five millions of members. The order exists in

every State and Territory of the United States; in all the provinces in Canada; in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales; in Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Holland, Iceland, Switzerland, and all other localities in Europe; in Arabia, China, India, and other countries in Asia; in Cape Colony, Egypt, Gold Coast, Natal, St. Helena, Sierra Leone, and other localities in Africa; throughout the West Indies and South America; and in Australia, New South Wales, New Zealand, and wheresoever else civilization and rum, its natural foe, are to be found. The peaceful influence of this great order is as widespread as the sunshine; and its prayers and songs, and the incense of its good works, ascend everywhere under the whole heaven.

It is simply a temperance society doing business under the laws of God everywhere throughout the world, with an eye single to one great underlying principle, total abstinence for the individual and total prohibition for the State. The pledge is perpetual. The order is inflexibly opposed to license laws and to any form of legal recognition of the liquor traffic.

Over 12,000 meetings throughout the world are held each week, in connection with the order; over 600,000 each year, and besides these thousands more of public meetings. Its annual expenditures for the temperance cause far exceed those of any other temperance organization, and are nearly or quite $600,000. In this order a woman is as good as a man. She can do or be anything for which she has capacity, and it is not necessary that she be far superior to man so that she may receive the same recognition. She has frequently held the highest offices in Grand Lodges. She votes just like a man — yet the order grows constantly in widespread influence and beneficent power. Experience in this great international republic seems to demonstrate that woman is woman just as man is man; that both constitute the human race, which is a unit, and that the soul is of no sex. "The Good Templars are essentially a religious organization, although there is no religious test for membership, any further than that no one who does not believe in a Supreme Being can belong to the order."

"The ritual of the order has been translated into some ten or twelve different languages," and "in all parts of the world

Mrs. Esther T. Housh,

of Vermont.

the same ritual is in use, the same songs are sung; the members of the order everywhere enter their lodge-rooms with the same pass-word, the pass-word being changed all over the world every three months. A Good Templar would be just as much at ease in a lodge-room in China, in Africa, or New Zealand, as he would at his own home."

The order was founded by a few earnest young men — some of them reformed, in central New York during the year 1851. The following is the general platform or statement of principles:

1. Total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors as a beverage.

2. No license in any form or under any circumstances for the sale of such liquors to be used as a beverage.

3. The absolute prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquors for such purposes; prohibition by the will of the people, expressed in due form of law, with the penalties deserved for a crime of such enormity.

4. The creation of a healthy public opinion upon the subject by the active dissemination of truth in all the modes known to an enlightened philanthropy.

5. The election of good honest men to administer the laws.

6. Persistence in efforts to save individuals and communities from so direful a scourge against all forms of opposition and difficulty, until our success is complete and universal.

I must refer the reader to the centennial volume, "One Hundred Years of Temperance," addresses by Hon. S. D. Hastings, Geo. A. Bailey, Esq., and other leading members of the order, to whom I am indebted, for more complete information.

It is impossible to estimate the good accomplished by Good Templars already, not alone in temperance reform and in teaching by example the great lesson of the equality of woman with man, but also in foreshadowing by the universality of its organization, its work and its sympathies, the new order of things when:

> "Man to man, the warld o'er,
> Shall brothers be for a' that."

It is with grief that, in closing this imperfect notice of one of the principal agencies in past and future conflicts between

man and alcohol, I must record the great blow which it has suffered, in common with the whole temperance movement, by the startling death of the Chief Officer of the Order for the world, Hon. John B. Finch of Illinois. In the presence of such an event, the voice is mute and the pen will not move. God rest his soul, while millions bless his memory!

THE SONS OF TEMPERANCE.

This is the oldest of the important secret temperance organizations, and was established to remedy the great imperfection in the Washingtonian movement, which sought and found but unfortunately saved only a fraction of that which was lost. Of the 600,000 inebriates reformed by the Washingtonian movement, 450,000 fell, never to rise again. It was a gale which blew from heaven briefly across the faces of the sick nations; many revived and a few recovered. But soon the windows closed; and poisoned air from the sewers, and distilleries reeking with disease and death, filled the hospitals of mankind, and hell and the grave were again merry over their own.

There was no organization — there was no law. Enthusiasm, from its very nature, can not stay. An explosion may, after a while, be repeated, but it is a poor organizer. It can not wait, and, without waiting, it can not save. All the same, the explosion is good; it rends the rock and is indispensable. To have created the necessity and to have made the way for such an order as the Sons of Temperance, was, of itself, an incalculable good; and the one hundred and fifty thousand who were steadfast have been a mighty power in subsequent reform. Rev. R. Alder Temple, Most Worthy Scribe, says: "A society was therefore needed which should offer a refuge to reformed men, and shield them from temptation . . . . . another conspicuous necessity had its influence in originating the new order. A large proportion of the inebriates had emerged from the deepest poverty, and must begin life anew. It was requisite that they should be furnished with the means of support in time of sickness. The popular beneficial societies of the day were accessible; but none of these required total abstinence as a condition of membership, nor could their benefits be made available by

the reformed, without serious peril. A society was therefore needed which would offer its benefits and highest distinctions, without prejudice, to the humblest as well as the loftiest, and apply the balm of healing to the wounds inflicted by ignorance, improvidence and intemperance."

Therefore were the Sons of Temperance organized on the twenty-ninth day of September, 1842, the object being thus declared upon the official records of the society: "To shield its members from the evils of intemperance; to afford mutual assistance in case of sickness, and to elevate their characters as men." Although its meetings are private, it disclaims being an oath-bound society, "unless the simple repetition of the pledge be an oath." "The progress of the order during its first decade was a triumphal march." "At the close of 1846, the membership numbered 100,000; an increase of 60,000 in one year."

In 1849, Gen. Cary, the chief officer, said: "We must have a nobler, higher, holier ambition than to reform one generation of drunkards after another. We must seal up the fountain whence flows the desolating stream of death!" And the National Division declared that "the *mission* of the order is to secure the utter annihilation of the manufacture of and traffic in intoxicating drinks," and that "we desire, will have and will enforce laws, in our respective localities, for the suppression of this man-destroying, God-dishonoring business," and that has been the policy and aim of the order until the present time. In 1850 the order had a membership of 230,000, and was in the zenith of its power.

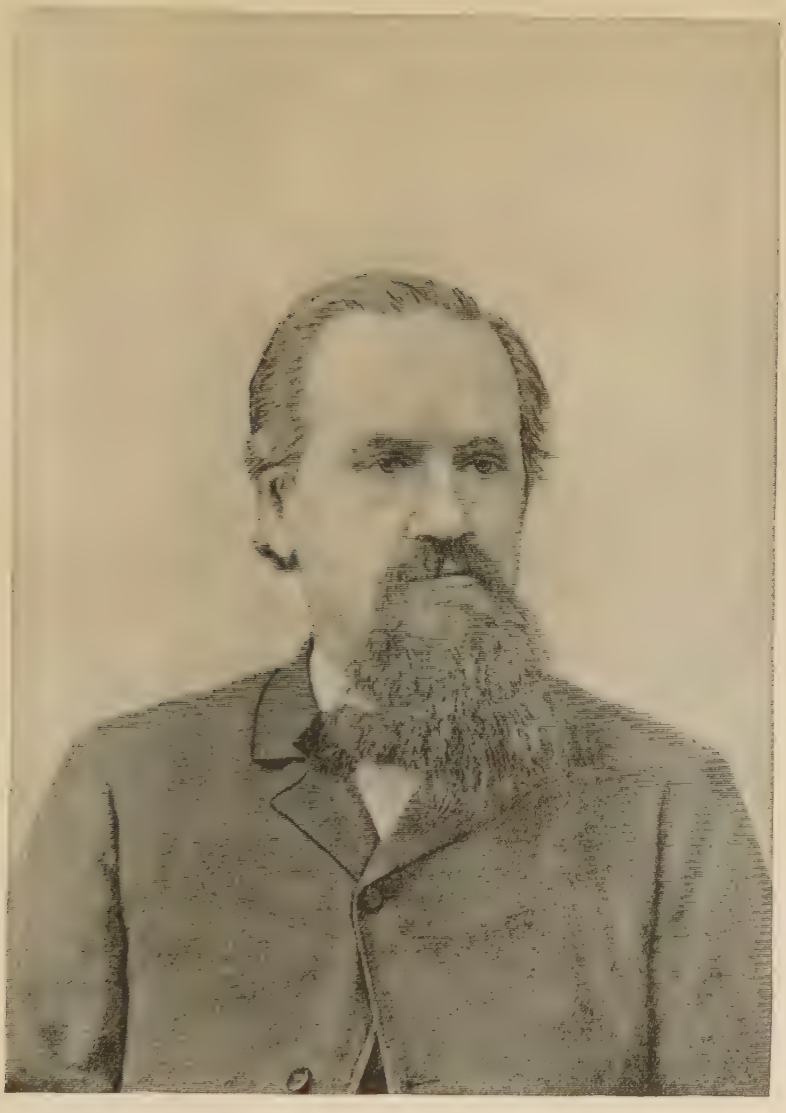
In 1866, all distinctions between man and woman, so far as relates to membership and advancement, were abolished, "and woman took her seat beside the lord of creation as his equal and complement, like 'perfect music set to noble words.'" During the war, "wide-spread paralysis settled upon the order. Disintegration stared it in the face," and, aside from the influence of the war, general apathy and reaction existed in the temperance movement. This might have been foretold, because in accordance with the laws of human nature. In just the same way, the general interest and zeal in the movement now manifest all over the country, and its benefits, will disappear in reaction, unless they are

secured and locked up in the granaries of State and especially of national law. The seven years of famine will surely come, when we shall starve, unless we save the corn raised in these years of enthusiastic production.

During the third decade the order nearly disappeared from the Southern States, but as soon as the war was over it began to revive, and in 1872 it numbered nearly 94,000 members. Various other organizations have arisen which have divided with the "Sons" their peculiar work, and, although they do not exhibit the growth of former years, and, in fact, declined greatly in numbers for a while, there is no decrease in their real vitality nor in the cause to which they are devoted. The membership in 1882 was 73,000, a gain in the three preceding years of 33,200 members; and at the forty-third annual session of the National Division, held in Boston, July, 1887, the membership was reported to be 84,379.

The Most Worthy Patriarch, Eugene H. Clapp of Boston, in his report to the Division, took a position which has been advocated in this book — and which I believe to be indispensable to the success of the temperance reform — that of the responsibility of the individual for inebriety, as well as for any other offense which injures society. When the individual ceases to be responsible for his conduct he should be confined. Mr. Clapp says:

"For some time past there has been growing in my mind a conviction that, in one phase at least of this temperance reformation, we have been making a grave mistake during the past. In my experience as a manufacturer, employing large numbers of men, I have noted personally (and my attention has been called to it by other large employers) the increasing tendency to drunkenness among a certain class of our population. The remedy has been sought in different directions, and to-day this remedy is being applied much more strictly than ever before, and the feeling is very strongly marked to discharge from one's employment the man who allows himself to become a drunkard. Now, I know that the whole tendency has been in the past to devote a large amount of sympathy to the man who drinks, and a still larger amount of reprobation for the man who furnishes the drink. While I would not abate one jot or tittle of the denunciation of the drunkard-maker, yet I believe that the time has come that we



James H. Roberts,

Chairman Prohibitory Committee of Massachusetts.

ought, for our own protection at least, to equally denounce the dram-drinker. I believe much of the sympathy which has been devoted in this way in the past has been wrongly placed, and much of the consequences of evil habits of the drinking portion of our community, for the sympathy has thus been expressed for the man who drinks. We have been accustomed to say that the drinker is a poor unfortunate and needs all our sympathies, and who is to be aided and upheld, and we are taught to regard him as a victim rather than a sinner. The time has come, in my judgment, when we should teach that the sin of drunkenness is just as vile and degrading as any other vice to which mankind is addicted; and as we hold the violator of law responsible in every other direction, so we should hold equally the man who drinks for the responsibility of his acts. While we teach him, as we have in many cases, that he is not responsible for the acts he does or crimes he commits, we are simply leading him into ways of false security and rendering it so much easier for him to drink and so much harder for him to stop. Let us, then, hold the drinker up in the full measure of his responsibility in the acts he commits, and let us no longer waste any false sympathy upon him unless he is in a position to deserve it. Raise to-day a new standard of reform, and say that the drunkard deserves nothing at our hands, unless he recognizes the evils of the past and is willing to do something himself to aid in the bettering of his life. Without this we can hope for nothing permanent in his future in this direction. And I desire to call your attention to-day to the thought that, if we are to make men sober, it is not by wasting our energies by telling them they can not help themselves, but by telling them unless they do help themselves it is impossible for us to aid them. I have found, as a result of inquiry and personal attention to this matter, that when men are taught that as a result of their drinking habits they will be punished, either by loss of situation or by legal methods, it becomes a strong element of control over them, holding them more nearly in the line of duty. I know, undoubtedly, I shall be classed as one having no sympathy for the man who drinks; but I believe that the position I have given you is the proper one, and the sooner we recognize the responsibility of the drinker, to himself and society, the sooner we shall begin to do something to stay this mighty flood of intemperance which has swept over the land for so many years. I would, then, hold the inebriate to a strict account for his acts, and I believe that, in view of such an accounting, we shall find a better sentiment, a stronger desire to do better, and a general lessening of the evils which afflict the community."

This is all gospel truth; but the primary duty is upon society to outlaw the traffic and cleanse itself of the crime by State, national and international law. Society manufactures, society sells, society distributes, society creates and supplies the appetite; and, then, as to the individual — let him go hang. And as to the individual, that is all right. In no other way can public order be preserved. But it is society which commits the greatest of all crimes, and upon society at large justly fall the awful penalties.

TEMPLARS OF HONOR AND TEMPERANCE.

This order seems to be the very poetry of secret organization applied to temperance. Rev. C. S. Woodruff, Most Worthy Templar, says:

"The Temple of Honor is a child of Providence, born at a time when there was a lagging in the great temperance reformation, and a lack of something was unmistakably felt; it came into existence, not only to help the inebriate in his desire to reform, but to confirm and establish him in his honest endeavors, — to throw around him strong arms of fraternal help and sympathy, to educate him in purer principles of life and character; and, more than all this, to inaugurate those great educational forces which should make the individual an abstainer, and the State a protector and hence a prohibitor."

The Sons of Temperance, as we have seen, were conservative and simple in their organization, well adapted to their great purpose of giving permanent rescue to the reformed.

Their order was the common school of reformation while the Templars of Honor and Temperance sought to develop a higher, broader, but at the same time more select culture, which they clothed in an elaborate and highly refined symbolism.

The name Temple of Honor is the embodiment of the great principles which underlie this order.

A most interesting account of it is given by Mr. Woodruff in "One Hundred Years of Temperance," p. 505.

THE CITIZENS' LAW AND ORDER LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The object of this organization is the enforcement of existing laws, particularly those in restriction of the liquor traffic. Its general idea is that the public good requires the

enforcement of whatever is, for the time being, the law of the land; that the supremacy of the law should be demonstrated for the sake of example, and for the preservation of that respect for the personified public will without which anarchy must usurp the place of government and destroy the very cement of society. It demands only obedience to the laws. The Law and Order movement originated in Chicago, in 1877; its operations were directed to the enforcement of the laws for the suppression of the sale of liquor to minors. Says Mr. Charles C. Bonney, President of the National League: "Obstacles were encountered, but they were speedily overcome, and soon the penalty of fine or imprisonment followed the complaint so swiftly that the then 3006 liquor saloons of Chicago practically surrendered, and have ever since acknowledged the power of the Citizens' League. It is believed that fully five-sixths of the sale of liquors to minors has been effectually suppressed."

The National Law and Order League set forth its object and principles at length in the annual convention of 1885. The following extracts illustrate their spirit and the purpose of the League.

1. We believe it an admitted fact that drunkenness inflicts upon the people of this country more misery, pauperism and crime than all other causes combined. . . . .

3. We have witnessed, in all sections of the country, the humiliating fact that while the people generally yield a cheerful obedience to all laws enacted for the protection of society, the dealers in intoxicating liquors have become confirmed in the habit of disregarding and disobeying all laws enacted for the restriction of their business, in the interest of good order, good morals, and a higher and better prosperity for person, family, state and nation. . . . .

6. We invite all good citizens, irrespective of religious faith, of all political parties, without regard to their opinions upon questions of legislation, without respect to their views upon any other question whatever, to unite with us, and to labor for the complete enforcement of all laws placing restrictions upon the traffic in acoholic drinks. . . . .

8. We adopt as the motto of the organization these words, "We ask only obedience to law"; and as our watchword, "Save the boys"; and upon the platform here indicated, and with these

inscriptions upon our banner, we go forth to battle, with full faith that He who is the Author of all law will in the end crown our efforts with complete victory."

This organization supplies a new and greatly needed force in the temperance reform, and, quietly but effectually, has put vitality into the existing anti-liquor laws in many parts of the country, demonstrating the existence of a power for good in the law itself, where a lax public sentiment or corrupt alliance between officials and the criminals whom they sought to protect, in spite of its provisions, had brought a disgrace upon the statute, which belonged to the community.

The organization is alert and efficient, although quiet in its operations, and an increasing power.

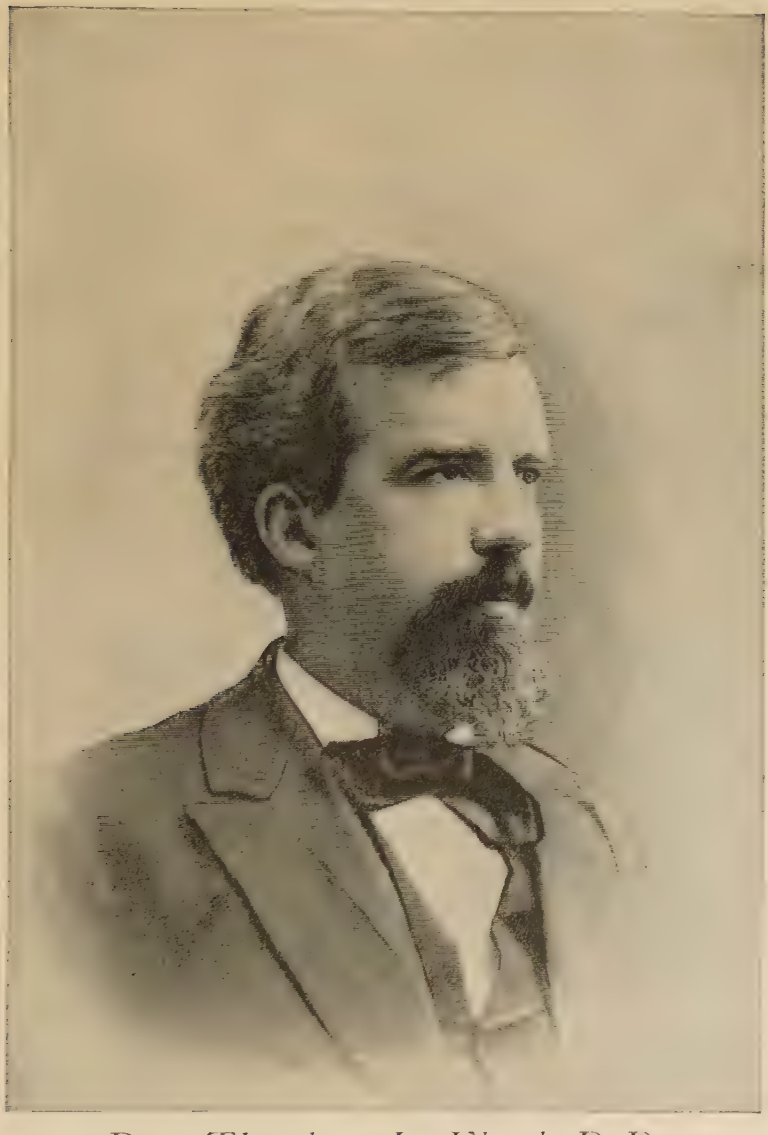
THE CHAUTAUQUA LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC CIRCLE

is an immense educational system with ganglia or nerve-centers in many parts of the country, and rapidly spreading, and likely to cover the whole of it, all connected with the parent organization in such way as to secure the harmonious and intelligent supervision necessary to efficiency.

The institution already has more than 60,000 members. It is unique and remarkable although very simple in its conception and practical working, and is capable of universal application to a great public want. It should become, and, I believe, will become, one of the permanent institutions of the country.

The Circle is filling the space between the common schools and the higher institutions of learning with the omnipresence and flexibility of water, rather than with the inadaptability of a solid substance, giving to all the opportunity of home reading study and culture under only so much of supervisory help as is required for obtaining a thorough acquaintance with all the great departments of popular knowledge. In this way every spare moment of a whole life may be economized and invested in a constantly accumulating fund of information and mental discipline.

The Circle is, in fact, becoming a great popular college, and I believe it will be permanent and one of the most influential forces of the country.



Rev. Theodore L. Flood, D.D.,

Editor of "The Chautauquan."

Physiology and hygiene are necessarily included in its course of reading and study, and the character of its membership leads to the special investigation of the relation of intemperance to health and the public welfare.

I anticipate that this new and growing institution of our country will, directly and indirectly, exert a powerful influence in the coming struggles for temperance reform.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS.

There are other very excellent and important organizations of growing strength and corresponding usefulness in this country, of which the principal are the Royal Templars of Temperance, which from the year of its formation, in 1877, to 1884, had paid as benefits to the heirs of its deceased members, and to its totally disabled members, $1,169,501. It is a total-abstinence order. Also the order of Cadets of Temperance, which saves the old by gathering in the young. This order is fully described in "One Hundred Years of Temperance," and it is to be hoped that it may become widely established in the country. Of these and other associations I must omit further mention, for want of space. They each perform their part in the great work, and will find ample scope for all their zeal and energy in the conflict which is upon us, to rescue our country and our world.

For the same reason I must omit all detailed description of the United Temperance Association, which covers the Dominion of Canada, as do the United Kingdom Alliance, the British Temperance League, the Scottish Temperance League and the Irish Temperance League their respective countries, and other like associations in all the civilized countries and provinces of the earth. They all are at work, and all have more than enough to do. But the hour of redemption cometh.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE REFORM.

The political parties of the day have the issue between man and alcohol to meet. The evil is a mighty fact; resolutions will not remove it, although good to begin with. There is an issue because there is an evil, and the issue will remain until the evil is triumphant or destroyed. There are but

two sides to the issue, and there are two great party organizations. They can both take part with alcohol against man, or one of them for alcohol and the other for man, or both can stand for man as against his great enemy. But neither can evade the issue much longer, for wherever they take to concealment, even if it be in the uttermost parts of the earth, the issue will find them there. It has found them both already, and they will never escape from it again until it is settled. If they, or either of them, choose to be destroyed, the opportunity is open, and an alliance with the cause of intemperance, or an attempted evasion of the issue, will shatter the strongest political organization which ever existed. New parties will arise when old ones fail to promote the public good. The most patient and long-enduring people will tire under the load this nation has carried, lo! now these hundred years. Political action, by State and nation, is indispensable to the success of the temperance movement, to the victory of man in his conflict with appetite and with an accursed trade which is buttressed in all the fortifications of sin, defended by all the disciplined enginery of the bottomless pit, and strengthened with billions of the golden sinews of war.

The political party which espouses the cause of alcohol must defeat both God and man, or it must die. No matter how pure and glorious its past record, there is no political organization in existence in this country to-day which can uphold the traffic in intoxicating drinks and survive. Whatever party shall thus prostitute its organization will soon perish from the earth, and fortunate will it be for its memory that it can rot.

I write from the stand-point of a Republican who would gladly die to promote the good of his party when he can do so and remain a patriot, but who also realizes that to him no special responsibility or prescience is given, and that the whole people are interested as well as he to be right. And because the people are becoming informed, and when informed will be right, he feels sure that ere long they will destroy any party organization which does not assist to "pulverize the rum power."

But when various important problems concern vitally the

public welfare, and all are connected each with the other, no one issue, however great, no one "cause," however good, can isolate itself and succeed in a party which has no occasion to be save only on account of that one. A party with one plank in its platform may destroy existing organizations, or force them to purchase life by adopting a neglected issue the consideration of which the public welfare demands. But it is not in the power of new organizations to substitute themselves at pleasure in the body-politic, except for the mere purposes of agitation and the creation of opinion, for parties which have become historic, upon which have become concentrated the interests, affections and confidence of the people, and through and by which the government has been administered, and the nation led on its triumphant career of prosperity and glory.

The people will cling to their old associations and adhere to their tried agencies and methods until compelled to change for the public good. But the people will not wait forever. While we lag our children perish. The whole problem, after all, is in the answer to one question: In what way can the public mind be most readily convinced, and the vote of a majority obtained?

That is a question which every man must, and which I hope every woman soon may, decide in the forum of private conscience, under the inspiration of the largest patriotism and for the welfare of mankind.

God or Baal! which?

I purposely say no more on the subject in this book, and as nearly four years ago, at the Chicago convention, I warned the party to which I belong of impending danger, albeit without avail, so I do now entreat not one but all parties, and the whole people, to rise in their might, and by spontaneous, patriotic and righteous action, either through the parties to which they now belong or in new organizations, to remove from the land this great evil, which impartially curses and ruins all we love; and to call upon mankind everywhere to join with them in its extirpation from the face of the earth.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

The W. C. T. U. both a Religious and Secular Organization — Exhortation, Enlightenment, Administration, Charity — It is Woman Organized — Ten Thousand Local Unions — National W. C. T. U. — The Woman's Crusade — Dr. Dio Lewis — History of the Crusade, by Sarah K. Bolton — The Story of the Crusade — Graphic Incidents — The Woman's Crusade becomes the Woman's Christian Temperance Union — The Chautauqua Meeting — Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, President — Cincinnati First Annual Meeting, 1875 — Minneapolis Annual Meeting, 1886 — Thirty or Forty Departments of their Temperance Activity — Miss Francis E. Willard President since 1879 — Department of Organization — Preventive Department — Educational Department; Mrs. Mary Hunt — Social Department — Legal Department — The World's W. C. T. U., John Bright's Sister President — Organizers and Superintendents — The *Union Signal* — Song as a Power in the Work; Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, Miss Anna Gordon — A Few Names of Leaders.

THE Woman's Christian Temperance Union is now the leading force in the temperance reform. It is the greatest exclusively woman's association that exists, or ever has existed, in the world. As woman and woman's possessions — child, husband, home — are the prey of alcohol, it is fitting that her sex should organize *en masse* for defensive and offensive warfare against the destroyer of all that she holds dear. The W. C. T. U. is both a religious and a secular organization. In this respect it differs from any other with which I am acquainted. It can do anything of which God will approve, within the powers of humanity, to accomplish its great end.

It can preach and sing psalms; it can watch and pray; it can lecture, print, and raise money; it can command all times and all seasons; the Sabbath or the week day, there is no hour when its work is not in order, nor in which it is not proceeding; all agencies belong to it, every profession and every occupation pay it tribute when the Union summons for assistance in its work of exhortation, enlightenment, administration and charity. As woman is a part and force

in everything, the Union seeks to utilize all that she is or can be made to be, and all that she can appropriate from the world around her, in the great conflict that is to make her free indeed.

There are ten thousand local unions in this country; forty-eight which embrace these local unions, each having jurisdiction of a State or Territory, save one for the District of Columbia. The whole are merged in the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, with two hundred thousand active members, who have also become the great rallying and directing force of church action for the cause of temperance in this country; and already existing, expanding, and rising like a city of palaces, or a universal republic in the air resting upon the pillars of the earth, is the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the world.

This organization is the death of the liquor traffic, and of its associated vices and crimes. The traffic never before met such a foe as educated, organized Christian American womanhood. This is the great embarrassment to those who are engaged in it. None realize as they do the certainty of its destruction. They feel and know it to be sure, for woman is against it, and you will be told by any candid and intelligent man in the trade that he believes, for this reason, if for no other, the traffic to be doomed, and its disappearance to be but a question of comparatively brief time.

The advent of woman upon the battle-field has planted the bloody ground all over with flowers of hope, and filled the murky air with the ascending incense of prayers and praise, which are answered by the descending balms and perfumes of paradise. It is a war for life — not against it; the great enemy we seek to destroy is death.

The Woman's Crusade is now the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The Crusade was a miracle. There is no precedent for it in history; and, as I read the account of its birth and growth and career, I am impressed with the feeling that this thing was supernatural. Here is a new force, or an old one operating under new conditions, impelled and guided by a head and hand that I wot not of. It has not been repeated. There does not seem to be necessity for its repetition, because now the Woman's Christian Temperance

Union is abroad in the world. The Union can perform the field-work of the Crusade even better than the mother,—but how could the Union ever have been organized, how could it have come to exist at all, but for a movement like the Crusade? More and more the Crusade, to my mind, ceases to be primarily an assault upon the liquor traffic. Was it not rather a new creation which, now that the fullness of time had come, was to be born into the world, and were not the strange, rapt and enthusiastic labors, in which man took no part, save only as an attendant, the maternal struggle by which the whole sex brought forth a new institution, a woman force, which should be perpetual, and should work out the higher, the supreme life of the womanhood of the future? I feel sure that this institution is as permanent as the church; its work will never be done, because it turns its hand to everything which improves the nature and promotes the happiness of the race, assailing and destroying first that which injures most.

Such an institution will wax more and more unto the perfect day, when the finer and more spiritual powers of woman shall be the directing influence to elevate both sexes to higher standards of conduct and to more abundant fruitions of a better life.

Dr. Dio Lewis was one of a family of five children, whose pious mother defended her little brood as best she could against the rum demon which dwelt in a saloon hard by, where the husband and father devoted soul, body and substance to destruction, and his family to abuse, starvation and despair. But that mother would not despair: and she, with a few other women, surrounded the saloon-keeper, turned his den for a time into a house of prayer, and besought him to abandon the business which was destroying their homes. They were successful. Forty years later, Mr. Lewis, who had become an eminent educator, was speaking in a small town in Ohio upon the subject of temperance. Relating this incident of his early life, he requested all who would follow the example of his mother to rise. It is said that the whole congregation rose. At once a meeting was appointed to be held in the Presbyterian Church the next morning. Dr. Lewis was a guest at the mansion of

Mrs. E. J. Thompson,

Mother of the Crusade.

Ex-Governor Trimble, the father of Mrs. E. J. Thompson, the wife of Judge James H. Thompson of Hillsboro, Ohio, one of the leading lawyers of the State. Mrs. Thompson is a highly accomplished, devoted, Christian woman, the mother of eight children.

I must quote the facts mainly from the history of the Crusade written by Mrs. Sarah K. Bolton, and published in the centennial volume of 1876, who was a principal part of the wonderful story she relates. Mrs. Thompson was not present at the lecture of the evening of December 23, by Dr. Lewis, but was "prepared," as she herself writes, "'as those who watch for the morning,' for the first gray light upon this dark night of sorrow. Few comments were made in our house upon this new line of policy, until after breakfast the next morning, when, just as we gathered about the hearth-stone, my daughter Mary said, very gently, 'Mother, will you go to the meeting this morning?' Hesitatingly I replied: 'I don't know *yet* what I shall do.' My husband, fully appreciating the responsibility of the moment, said: 'Children, let us leave your mother alone; for you know where she goes with all vexed questions,' and, pointing to the old family Bible, left the room. The awful responsibility of the step that I must needs next take was wonderfully relieved by the thought of the 'cloudy pillar' and 'parted waters' of the past; hence, with confidence, I was about turning my eye of faith 'up to the hills' from whence had come my help, when, in response to a gentle tap at my door, I met my dear Mary, who, with her Bible in her hand, and tearful eyes, said 'Mother, I opened to the 146th Psalm, and I believe it is for you.' She withdrew, and I sat down to read the wonderful message from God. As I read what I had so often read before, the spirit so strangely 'took of the things of God,' and showed me new meaning, I no longer hesitated, but, on the strength thus imparted, started to the scene of action."

This is the Psalm that she read:

"Praise ye the Lord. Praise the Lord, O my soul.

"While I live will I praise the Lord: I will sing praises unto my God while I have any being.

"Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help.

"His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish.

"Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God:

"Which made heaven, and earth, the sea, and all that therein is: which keepeth truth forever:

"Which executeth judgment for the oppressed: which giveth food to the hungry. The Lord looseth the prisoners:

"The Lord openeth the eyes of the blind: the Lord raiseth them that are bowed down: the Lord loveth the righteous:

"The Lord preserveth the strangers; he relieveth the fatherless and widow: but the way of the wicked he turneth upside down.

"The Lord shall reign forever, even thy God, O Zion, unto all generations. Praise ye the Lord."

The Crusade was born. The Mother of it proceeds:

"Upon entering the church, I was startled to find myself chosen their leader. The old Bible was taken from the desk, and the 146th Psalm was read. Mrs. Gen. McDowell, by request, led in prayer, and, although she had never before heard her own voice in a public prayer, on this occasion the 'tongue of fire' sat upon her, and all were deeply affected. Mrs. Cowden, our Methodist minister's wife, was then requested to sing a familiar air:

"'Give to the winds thy fears,
Hope and be undismayed:
God hears thy sighs and counts thy tears:
He will lift up thy head.'

and, whilst thus engaged, the women (seventy-five in number) fell in line, two and two, and proceeded first to the drug-stores and then to the hotels and saloons."

Oh! Mother of the Woman's Crusade! But one mother ever bore greater blessing to this heart-broken world — and the Crusade was the child of inspiration too! For more than six months this sacred band visited the saloons almost daily. The incidents which follow I select from Mrs. Bolton's history, which is intensely interesting, and I am sorry that I am obliged, by unavoidable condensation, to omit so much.

"One man, a druggist, selling illegally, and refusing to discontinue, 'a tabernacle' was built in front of his store, where, day after day, the women held a continuous prayer-meeting from early morning till late at night. An injunction was procured by him, through the courts, and the women sued for $10,000 damages, resulting in good, because it arrested the attention of the entire country. This delayed the street work, as the women did not desire to defy the law, but other temperance work was actively engaged in."

Immediately the women organized in Washington Court House, an adjoining town, led by Mrs. M. G. Carpenter, who drew up an appeal, which was also used much in other States. Mrs. M. V. Ustick, the secretary, writes as follows:

"The following morning, after an hour of prayer, forty-four women filed slowly and solemnly down the aisle, and started forth on their strange mission with fear and trembling, while the male portion of the audience remained at the church to pray for the success of this new undertaking — the tolling of the church bell keeping time to the solemn march of the women as they wended their way to the first drug-store on the list (the number of places within the city limits where intoxicating drinks were sold was fourteen — eleven saloons and three drug-stores). Here, as in every place, they entered singing, every woman taking up the sacred strain as she crossed the threshold. This was followed by the reading of the appeal and prayer; then earnest pleading to desist from their soul-destroying traffic and to sign the dealers' pledge. Thus, all day long, going from place to place, without stopping even for dinner or lunch, till five o'clock, meeting with no marked success, but invariable courtesy extended to them. The next day an increased number of women went forth, leaving the men in church, in prayer, all day long. On this day the contest really began, and at the first place the doors were found locked. With hearts full of compassion, the women knelt in the snow upon the pavement, to plead for the divine influence upon the heart of the liquor-dealer, and there held their first street prayer-meeting.

"There was a long resistance, but finally the liquor-dealer surrendered his stock of liquors of every kind and variety to the women, in answer to their prayers and entreaties, and it was by them poured into the street. Nearly a thousand men, women and children witnessed the mingling of beer, ale, wine and whisky

as they filled the gutters and were drunk up by the earth, while bells were ringing, men and boys shouting, and women singing and praying to God, who had given the victory.

"On the fourth day the campaign reached its height—the town being filled with visitors from all parts of the country and adjoining villages. Another public surrender and pouring into the street of a larger stock of liquors than on the previous day, and more intense excitement and enthusiasm. In eight days all the saloons, eleven in number, had been closed, and the three drug-stores pledged to sell only on prescription."

This was a complete victory over the local liquor power — but the end was not yet. The organized capital and personal combinations behind now came to the rescue of their endangered craft.

"Early in the third week the discouraging intelligence came that a new man had taken out license to sell liquor in one of the deserted saloons, and that he was backed by a whisky house in Cincinnati, to the amount of $5000, to break down this movement. On Wednesday, the 14th, the whisky was unloaded at his room. About forty women were on the ground, and followed the liquor in, and remained holding an uninterrupted prayer-meeting all day and until eleven o'clock at night.

"The next day — bitterly cold — was spent in the same place and manner, without fire or chairs, two hours of that time the women being locked in, while the proprietor was off attending a trial.

"On the following day, *the coldest of all the winter of* 1874, the women were locked out, and stood on the street, holding religious services all day long. Next morning a 'tabernacle' was built in the street, just in front of the house, and was occupied for the double purpose of *watching* and prayer, through the day; but before night the sheriff closed the saloon, and the proprietor surrendered.

"A short time after, on a dying bed, this four-days liquor dealer sent for some of these women, telling them their songs and prayers had never ceased to ring in his ears, and urging them to pray again in his behalf; so he passed away."

Such was the nature of the work. No one will say that this was an ordinary manifestation of the working of human nature. Contemplate it as we will, search for precedents and historical parallels as we may — and there are none of

which I have any knowledge. The movement rapidly spread through many States. "In Waynesburg, where there had been open saloons for seventy-six years, every one was closed." In Xenia, a city of 10,000 people, after a long struggle, in which wholesale dealers were present urging resistance, and offering capital and liquor free of cost, "hour after hour, the women, keeping guard on three sides of the house, continued their singing and praying." At last human nature could resist no longer, the keeper yielded, "and, amid the ringing of church-bells, and the laughing and crying, singing and thanksgiving of the people, barrels of beer, whisky and brandy were poured together into the streets. He at once opened a meat market, and was well patronized."

In Bellefontaine, a large dealer threatened to shoot the women if he was disturbed — there was a great fight with him and his men — but after a week he "made his appearance at a mass meeting, signed the pledge, and the following Sabbath attended church — the first time in five years." In Clyde, the proprietor of a large saloon informed the band that he would spill the last drop of his blood for his liquor and his trade, and threw a pail of water upon the head of the one who was praying.

"Without stopping an instant, she said, 'O Lord, we are now baptized for the work.' The effect was magical. All were quiet, and the victory was complete. The saloon-keeper went with them to church, where the most earnest prayers were offered for him."

In the larger places — the cities — the work was more difficult; but much was accomplished even there. In Cincinnati, forty-three devoted women were lodged in jail for obstructing the sidewalks. While there they went about doing good among the other prisoners. They conquered in Cleveland, but not without being subjected to insult and violence; some even lost their lives from exposure.

It will be impossible to give more of detail of the Crusade either in Ohio or in Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, California, Oregon, New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland and the South, in all which States it greatly prevailed. Nor is it necessary.

I wish to call attention to the events and the state of mind

in which the people were when the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was formed, and but for which such an organization would have been as impossible as to have organized the government of the United States without its being preceded by the Revolutionary war. In this great moral commotion woman escaped and learned her power. You will never cage her again. Enthusiasm is but an intermittent spring or spouting geyser, and, after a few months of tidal-wave-like activity, which swept away indeed all movable structures, and, as water will, developed the symptoms of hydrophobia in the liquor traffic, the Crusaders found that intemperance was a part of the solid continent itself; that the foundations of its empire were interblended with the settled habits of the people, and with the customs, constitutions and laws of the republic; that the Crusaders were, in fact, contending with geological formations, and must remove the foundations of the everlasting hills. And what were these gentle women, after all, with their prayers and psalms and tears and ribbons? Certainly they were as valiant as ever. They still had flags and sacred fury, and they had conquered and converted the saloon-keeper. But the trade did not cease. There seemed to be inexhaustible supplies, which came in at every point and moment of relaxation. In fact, the Crusade had come to solid rock, which cared no more for them than the Rocky Mountains care for the summer rain. And so these isolated groups of armed women stood all over the country, amazed and looking up; and, as they gazed, the Spirit of Organization descended upon them and filled the whole place.

The Woman's Crusade was now the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Early in the year 1874, the women in several of the crusading States called conventions and organized temperance leagues. In August, the first National Sunday-School Convention was held, at Chautauqua Lake. The same kind of people were there that were engaged in the Crusade, and, during the progress of this Sunday-school convention, several temperance meetings were held, and the women were moved to undertake the crystallization of the Crusade into a

Miss Frances E. Willard,

President National W. C. T. U.

permanent force by its nationalization. They created a committee of organization, and issued an address, signed by Jennie F. Willing, chairman, and Emily Huntington Miller, secretary, of the Chautauqua meeting. I quote a portion of this important instrument:

". . . . . Many of the most earnest workers in the woman's temperance movement, from different parts of the Union and different denominations of Christians, were present, and the conviction was general that a more favorable opportunity would not soon be presented for taking the preliminary steps toward organizing a national league, to make permanent the grand work of the last few months. After much deliberation and prayer, a committee of organization was appointed, consisting of one lady from each State, to interest temperance workers in this effort. A national convention was appointed to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, during the month of November, the exact date to be fixed by the committee of organization. The chairman and secretary of the Chautauqua meeting were authorized to issue a circular letter, asking the Woman's Temperance Leagues to hold conventions for the purpose of electing one woman from each Congressional district as a delegate to the Cleveland convention.

"It is hardly necessary to remind those who have worked so nobly in the grand temperance uprising that in union and organization are its success and permanence, and the consequent redemption of this land from the curse of intemperance.

"In the name of our Master — in behalf of the thousands of women who suffer from this terrible evil — we call upon all to unite in an earnest, continued effort to hold the ground already won, and move onward together to a complete victory over the foes we fight."

I quote now from Miss Willard:

"The convention was held in Cleveland November 18, 19, 20, 1874, and was attended by delegates representing sixteen States. . . . . A constitution was adopted, also a plan of organization intended to reach every hamlet, town and city in the land. There was a declaration of principles, of which Christianity alone could have furnished the animus. An appeal to the women of our country was provided for; another to the girls of America; a third to lands beyond the sea; a memorial to Congress was ordered, and a deputation to carry it appointed; a national temperance paper, to be edited and published by women, was agreed upon, also a finan-

cial plan, asking *a cent a week* from members; and last, not least, was appointed a special committee on temperance work among children. Four large mass meetings were held during the convention, all of them addressed by women, though the chief meetings were held in a Presbyterian church,* as was the convention itself. Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer of Philadelphia was elected president; Miss Frances E. Willard of Chicago, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Mary C. Johnson of Brooklyn, recording secretary; Mrs. Mary A. Ingham of Cleveland, treasurer; with one vice-president from each State represented in the convention."

These names are now well known not only in our own land, but in other lands, and are as immortal as those of the fathers of the republic.

The spirit of the convention was thus voiced by "a prominent member," Miss Willard, I suppose:

"Woman is ordained to lead the vanguard of this great movement, until the American public is borne across the abysmal transition from the superstitious notion that 'alcohol is food,' to the scientific fact that alcohol is poison, from the pusillanimous concession that intemperance is a great evil, to the responsible conviction that the liquor traffic is a crime."

The word "league" soon disappeared in "union." After passing the following wonderful resolution, which every member seems to know by heart, and with which they conjure all "difficulties and dangers," and "conquer a peace" with everybody, including themselves, if there be occasion for it, the convention adjourned; and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union entered upon its great career:

"*Resolved*, That, recognizing the fact that our cause is and is to be combated by mighty, determined and relentless forces, we will, trusting in Him who is the Prince of Peace, meet argument with argument, misjudgment with patience, denunciation with kindness, and all our difficulties and dangers with prayer."

The first annual meeting of the Union was held in Cincinnati, November 17, 18, 19, 1875. Delegates from twenty-two States furnished their credentials. Just read the following embodiment of what these women were doing, and of their own conception of the greatness and sublimity of

* That cradle ought to be kept in the family.

their work. It is the opening of the first annual report of Miss Willard, the corresponding secretary:

"To-day we reach a milestone in our slow but steadfast march toward victory. On this sacred battle-ground of the Crusade, the procession of States pauses for roll-call. In stately senate chamber and on heroic field, their dear familiar names, 'from Maine to California,' have thrilled the ears of patriots in the glorious days of old. The hurrying crowd would smile to hear it said — if indeed the utterance should gain its ear at all — that never did the sisterhood of States pass in review on an occasion more full of inspiration and hope than at this quiet hour and in this solemn place, where, for the sake of cross and flag, we meet to pray. But history shall yet bear witness that the enthusiasm of the prediction has crystallized into the blessed fact of its fulfillment. We first call

MAINE,

which long ago achieved for its time-honored motto, 'I direct,' the proud significance of leading where the Union shall yet follow, into the safe harbor of prohibitory law."

And so she proceeds with the roll-call, giving a sketch of the work in each State during the year. At this meeting, the following resolution was adopted. Such things — and worse — will continue to happen unless women are again chained. But it is not as bad or heterodox as were similar demands by men a century and a quarter ago. Political freedom consists in permitting to all who are fitted to exercise it his or her aliquot part of that sovereignty which, under the divine-right rule, we now vest in men only (pretty tough custodians of a divine right they are, many of them; but it is better that they all have it) and which, in despotic governments, is, by a still more grievous theft, vested in one man alone.

"*Resolved finally*, That, whereas women are the greatest sufferers from the liquor traffic, and realizing that it is to be ultimately suppressed by means of the ballot, we, the Christian women of the land, in convention assembled, do pray Almighty God, and all true men, that the question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic should be submitted to all the adult citizens of this country, irrespective of sex, not as a means of enlarging our

rights or of antagonizing the sexes, but as a means of protecting ourselves, our children and homes, from the ravages of the rum power."

And that appeal was made twelve years ago. There has never been a moment since when woman's ballot would not have destroyed the rum traffic, and ended all this tremendous conflict which engrosses heaven and earth and hell at a blow. Yet nowhere has woman voted on the question. Statesmen, philanthropists, clergymen, priests and jurists, men generally, hesitate, but the producer and consumer of strong drink do not hesitate. Avarice, ignorance and drunkenness know what would destroy them; and these "sovereigns" still dominate in nation, state and municipality — still drag civilization and Christianity and the "angel sex" — "dear, lovely woman," as they are pleased to call her — at the chariot wheels of rum's Juggernaut.

This is not a history; if it were, volumes, instead of pages, should be given to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It is now thirteen years since its organization. They have been years of extraordinary enthusiasm, expansion and success. I have before me the minutes of the last annual meeting, which was held in Minneapolis from October 22 to 27, 1886. A volume larger than this, and full of tersely expressed and valuable matter to the bursting, describing the work and progress of the Union for a single year.

Twenty-two large, closely printed pages are occupied by the mere list of the names of the superintendents of the various branches of work in the States, each superintendent having an allotted subject or branch of labor, and often requiring assistance in the discharge of the duty of *superintendence*. On one page I count the names of forty-three superintendents. To give an idea of the work itself, read the list of subjects over which the Union takes jurisdiction in the State of Ohio. For each there is a superintendent, but I omit the name for want of space.

Juvenile work, Sunday-school work, Scientific Temperance Instruction, Sabbath Observance, Legislative work, Young Women's work, Bible Readings, Evangelistic work among Railroad Employees, Efforts to induce Corporations to re-

quire Total Abstinence in their Employees, Friendly Inns, Flower Mission, Woman's Exchange, Prison and Police work, Health and Heredity, Unfermented Wine on Lord's Table, Department of Statistics, work among Colored People, State and County Fairs, Conference with Ecclesiastical, Educational, Medical and other bodies, Franchise, Suppression of Impure Literature, Railroad Rates, Agent for *Union Signal* and Memorial Book, Parlor Meetings, Relative Statistics, Literature, Peace, Social Purity. Every State and Territory is organized, with president, secretary and other officers, a large number with about the same division of work as in Ohio, and all of them so as to bring to bear the power of the Union for the good of the people, in almost every way in which that good can be promoted, and all striking home directly at intemperance and social vice. Nor is the work reformatory alone; it is far more preventive and creative. It begins with the dawn of new life and guards the generations as they rise.

All this work in the States and Territories, with the exterior and foreign relations of the Union, is under the general control of the national organization, the headquarters of which are in New York and Chicago. Of the national organization Miss Frances E. Willard has been president since the retirement of Mrs. Wittenmyer, who, with great zeal, vigor and success, held this exacting and responsible office during the first five years of its existence. Mrs. Caroline B. Buell is corresponding secretary, Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge recording secretary, Mrs. L. M. N. Stevens assistant recording secretary, and Miss Esther Pugh is treasurer. It is safe to say that these five women perform as much labor, probably more than has been done by the President and Cabinet of any national administration; and who shall dare to say that, with the exception of the great emergencies which involved national existence, their work has not been as important for the welfare of mankind, and that it has not been performed with as much ability as the work of any administration in our history. The work of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union is divided into departments, each of which has a superintendent, and sometimes several.

I. *Department of Organization.* — Superintendents, Miss Willard and Mrs. Caroline B. Buell. Work in the Southern States, Mrs. Sallie F. Chapin, who is at the South what Miss Willard is at the North, and who has done as much to promote peace in the hearts of an estranged people as any single personal influence of our time. Then, there is a corps of organizers, consisting of eight women, located at proper points throughout the country ; three national lecturers ; then, "Reconnoissance for World's W. C. T. U.," by Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt, who just now sends a message from Rangoon. A year since she had travelled more than twenty-seven thousand miles, besides frequently unnoted distances, about her Master's business, had held 493 meetings, forming unions and interviewing rulers or writing to them, and having been refused audiences in but two instances — by the Empress of Japan and by the royal governor of Tasmania — one a heathen. I am in doubt about the other, but both refused to entertain an angel unawares. Mrs. Leavitt will soon reach Africa. She is belting the globe with signal-stations of heavenly light. Such a voyage is an era in maritime affairs, and will accomplish more for the honor and glory of our country, and for the good of man, than to rebuild a navy by the expenditure of hundreds of millions of gold, and exhibit our flag and our emblems of destruction in every port of the world.

Next comes Work among Foreign-Speaking People, with two superintendents and assistants, among Germans, Scandinavians, Hollanders, Chinese, Poles and Spaniards. Then Work among Colored People North. Then Young Women's Work, of which it is to be said that it is not only most efficient for the actual work of to-day in all departments — but here is the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the future, the W. C. T. U. *in perpetuam*, as the lawyers say. It is the training-school, the recruiting-ground of the army, of which Mrs. Frances J. Barnes is the indefatigable and efficient superintendent. A department organizer, the Juvenile Work and Chalk Talker, this completes the divisions of the Department of Organization.

II. *Preventive Department.* — Divisions : Heredity, Dr. Mary Weeks Burnett, superintendent ; Health, Dr. Bessie

Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge,

Recording Secretary, National W. C. T. U.

F. Cushman, superintendent; Day Nurseries, Miss Ellen Hood, superintendent; — two able physicians in this department.

III. *Educational Department.* — Divisions: Scientific Temperance Instruction, Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, superintendent, with secretary and advisory committee of five persons. The work accomplished in this department already is of incalculable importance to the country and to the world. This is holy ground. I can write somewhat from personal knowledge of the work of Mrs. Hunt in the Division of Scientific Temperance Instruction. Under her wise and able leadership, laws requiring the compulsory study of the principles of temperance, in text-books properly adapted to the capacity of the pupil, already have been enacted in seventeen States, while an excellent national law carries scientific temperance into the common schools of the District of Columbia, into all the Territories, and into the military and naval schools of the United States. Great service has been rendered by Mrs. Hunt in promotion of the bill providing national aid to common schools, and the final success of which I doubt not under her able management in carrying out the instruction of the National Union, which has adopted the bill as a most important temperance measure. Indeed, it seems to be time wasted to secure laws for the study of temperance in schools, unless there be first provided suitable and sufficient schools.

The Division for Organization and Instruction in Schools of Higher Education, Kindergarten Work, Kitchen Garden, and Industrial Training, Sunday-School Work, a very important and successful division, at the head of which I have long been proud to see the name of Miss Lucia E. F. Kimball, a native of my own State, whom I have known from her childhood, and whose numerous friends have watched her useful career with constantly increasing admiration and regard. Woman's Temperance Publication Association, which employs sixty persons, five editors, and is *out of debt*. Temperance Literature, Advisory Committee for Dime Collection (eight members), the *Union Signal*, — the organ of the Union, — the Press, Suppression of Impure Literature, Relation of Temperance to Labor, National Hospital and Train-

ing-School for Nurses, Training-School for Temperance Workers, Narcotics.

IV. *Evangelistic Department.* — Divisions: Evangelistic Work, Work in Prison, Jails, Police and Almshouses, Work among Railroad Employees, Work among Soldiers and Sailors, Work among Lumber Men, Work among Miners, to secure the use of Unfermented Wine at the Lord's Table, Day of Prayer and Week of Prayer, Social Purity, Work among Mormon Women, Sabbath Observance, Flower Mission.

V. *Social Department.* — Divisions: Parlor Meetings, State and County Fairs.

VI. *Legal Department.* — Divisions: Legislation and Petitions, Franchise, Railroad Rates, Standing Committees on Music, on the Status of the Bible in the Public Schools, on Co-operation of National W. C. T. U. with Associated Charities.

This enumeration gives the outline of the work, but conveys little conception of the vast numbers engaged in it, or the mighty play of the two hundred thousand selected spirits who are the living stones in this fairest earthly temple of God.

Out of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union has grown that of the world. Mrs. Margaret B. Lucas, sister to John Bright, president; Miss Frances E. Willard, vice-president for the United States; Mrs. Letitia Youmans, for the Dominion of Canada; Mrs. Dr. Whitney, for the Hawaiian Islands, New Zealand; Mrs. Judge Ward, New Zealand; Madame Andersson Meijerhelm, Sweden; Mrs. W. E. Locke, Bulgaria; Miss M. W. Leitch, Ceylon; Mrs. Brenthnall, Brisbane, Queensland, Australia; American secretary, Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith; British secretary, Mrs. Mary Whitall Costelloe; American treasurer, Miss Esther Pugh; British treasurer, Mrs. E. Gregson.

Organizers for Europe. — Miss Charlotte A. Gray; Madame Andersson Meijerhelm, for Northern Europe.

Superintendents. — Mrs. Mary B. Willard, general superintendent press department, Berlin, Prussia.

American Superintendents. — Legal Department, Mrs. John P. Newman; Press Department, Mrs. Clara L. Roach; Bible-Reading Department, Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith.

The *Union Signal*, for several years, and until failing health compelled her retirement, so ably edited by Mrs. Mary B. Willard, is now under the literary management of Miss Mary Allen West. It is a perfect clearing-house of temperance information, especially of all that relates to the work and condition of the union. The cause of temperance has no more able, aggressive or judicious pen in its service than that of Miss West.

The *Signal* was founded through the efforts of Mrs. Matilda B. Carse, a woman of extraordinary energy and ability, who has demonstrated that her sex has unsurpassed business powers. Her life, one of bereavement and much personal sorrow, is now wholly devoted to the relief of others' woes, and to comprehensive plans to promote the growth and permanency of the Union and the welfare of humanity.

The *Signal* is organized in the interest of the W. C. T. U., has $25,000 capital stock, divided into shares of $25 each; nearly 50,000 weekly circulation, which is rapidly increasing. Mrs. Carse, who is the publisher and business manager of the Woman's Temperance Publication Association, is now engaged in the erection of the Woman's Christian Union Home in Chicago. The lot, already purchased, is in a most eligible location in the city. The structure, the plans of which are drawn already, is to be twelve stories high, and the income is to be devoted to the work of the Union. The estimated cost is one million dollars, and will furnish complete business accommodations to the Union, and much space in addition for rent. The Home of the Union is going up. It would be pronounced impossible by mere mortals, but anything seems to be possible to Mrs. Carse, and in Chicago. And now I am to state the most astonishing fact of the whole, that is, to a man. During the first eight years of the work of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, its income averaged not over one thousand dollars a year. During all that time, it had not a single salaried officer, and now has but one — its corresponding secretary, at $1000 per year, while a private secretary is furnished the president at $600.

The present income of the society is but from eight to ten thousand dollars yearly, and with all this immense labor and

expenditure the Union is of course greatly embarrassed at times, and in fact nearly always, with arrearages which are the source of great anxiety to its leaders. The generous philanthropy of this country, often praying to God to know how to invest money so as to yield the largest returns to His cause and for the happiness of the race, should fill the treasury of the Union to overflowing, and provide for its future as well as present wants, by contributions and permanent benefactions. This work has so far been done by the consecration of the highest and best gifts of the thousands who are engaged in it, for now these thirteen years, without money and without price for their personal services. The human race has no story like it; and the men of this proud and wealthy American nation can point to a lofty type of womanhood, developed by Christianity and republican institutions, of whom the world has no other example. What a pity — should I say shame? — that these women want for mere money, when with them so little does so much! Think of a woman, like Frances E. Willard, going through our country and world — doing what she does, and as she does it, without a dollar reward for the expenditure of this consecrated life, worried for money — half the time fed by God's ravens, with nothing but faith, hope and love to live on now, and no provision whatever for age, when this brilliant career shall halt and this voice from heaven shall fail from the earth!

And she is but one of so many. It is at once their glory and our shame. I sometimes wish I was not a man; or that, being one, I had more money. I hope those who have will read this chapter. What would not these women accomplish with a million a year!

The superintendent of Southern work, one of the most accomplished women the country ever knew, Mrs. Sallie F. Chapin of Charleston, S. C., has, during twelve years last past, labored night and day for the redemption of that portion of our common country from the worst plague that ever afflicted it, and the astonishing prevalence of prohibition sentiment in the South is the abundant reward of her labors. With her have been associated Mrs. Sibley of Georgia, and Mrs. Merrick of New Orleans, Mrs. Meriwether of Tennessee, Mrs. Snell of Mississippi, and many other of the

Mrs. C. B. Buell,

Corresponding Secretary National W. C. T. U.

selectest women of the South, whose prayers and tears during the long night of weary waiting are now turning into songs of praise and victory. Sometime it will be known how the real union of these States was first restored in the hearts of the women of the North and the South, whose souls first fused together in this great struggle to rescue the whole country from an evil compared with which the war, with all its causes, was a trifle. Whatever foreign complications may arise, so long as the National Christian Temperance Union lasts, this nation shall learn *civil* war no more. If brotherhood will not keep the peace, then sisterhood will preserve it.

The Crusade was half song. In fact, music is the vehicle of moral transitions. It is both an accompaniment and a weapon of revolution. Lately the Union has turned attention more and more to its neglected power as an agent for the regeneration of human nature.

I am not about to write of it, but I wish to say that I do not think this force is as yet fully comprehended, certainly not utilized, as a creative and elevating influence upon the whole human being. It will perhaps be remembered that Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, the philanthropist, whose benefactions and personal inspiration have vitalized the energies of so many willing workers for the welfare of the race, and lifted up many a "heart bowed down with grief," while every good cause shall rise up to call her memory blessed, has lately started the idea of song-service among the poor. In various parts of the country it has been adopted, with remarkable results. I quote from Prof. Alfred Andrews, who has lately published a simple and valuable lesson-book for the easy training of the old and young "to lift up their voices in praise or song":

"The author of a great work on moral education has given the philosophical explanation why vocal music affects the moral nature, and among other things says that there is no moral power in education equal to the voice of the pupil; that the chief and most beneficent moral exercise is that in which the voice goes forth, with all its emotional strength, in the expression of feeling in song; and that the school in which song is not a prominent part of its exercises is not a moral school, for song is a great moral element.

"True song is a gush of feeling, and is therefore moral education in its purity. Songs are the highways of angels to human hearts; and when you close these highways and shut out the angels the devils are free to come in their place."

Mrs. Thompson's idea was lately utilized by the Baptist Social Union of Boston, in its social and missionary work. A district was selected in which many workmen lived, and there was a strong desire to get them more interested in religious affairs. Special invitations were sent to five thousand — all men and American workmen — to be present at a "sacred concert." Eight hundred came. They were delighted, and brought many more with them to the next concert, and after that one came again, when, by invitation, they brought their wives. I quote from the press account: "The church was now crowded to overflowing. . . . . The best singers and the best music that could be had were none too good for the working-men and the working-women of the South End." The concert was so arranged that often all could take part — singing "America" and like tunes. The result has been to fill the church, and keep it full of its new occupants, whom the best preaching alone never would have allured to the sanctuary.

Mrs. Thompson writes:

"If a nation may be made to drift into war by the influence of martial music, why may not the spirit of peace be generated and infused by the influence of sacred music and song?

"The poet Lowell says: 'One of His sweetest charities is music.'

"In our poor-houses there are old men and women, sad, hopeless, weary — long strangers to any gentle ministrations. In our prisons there are dull intellects, and hearts hardened against open religious efforts; in our hospitals there are suffering ones so worn with pain, so weak, so near the world for which, alas! they have received no preparation, — to all these might be borne on the wings of song the words of life from Him who came 'to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to set at liberty them that are bruised.'

"A Christian song has this advantage over a sermon — the truth in it touches the heart of the hearer unawares, when he is not on the defensive against the gospel.

Miss Esther Pugh,
Treas. National W. C. T. U.

"Specially successful may the hymn be if some helpful thought is repeated over and over, as in the refrains of the choruses. This will fasten on many a hearer, and sing itself in his mind hours and days after it was heard.

"Educate the hearts of the people by sacred music, and the heart will readily educate the head."

And she adds in a note to me last July:

"I wish you could see the need and the use of giving the people *music*. Could you make the American people a singing people, you would soon see a change in their morals. Sing! — I wish *every one* could and would sing, and I pray God to inspire you with the idea of making music and temperance go together, and so help each other along."

Now, there is more in this than may be dreamed of in our philosophy. Both praise and prayer appeal to primary elements and emotions of the soul — and the most of us are more accessible through praise than prayer. Even sinners feel that they have a right to help along the singing; but as for prayer, that is a different thing — only for the saints — very few are good enough to pray in public — only the minister, the deacons, and a few of the very best. However all this is to be explained, if it can be explained, the fact is a whole congregation and "innumerable multitudes" will yield to song, and sing themselves also, when nothing else seems to stir them at all. I am inclined to think the poet had an impression of what is coming when he broke forth as though he began to hear it:

"When shall the sound of singing
Flow joyfully along!
When hill and valley, ringing
With one triumphant song,
Proclaim the contest ended,
And He who once was slain,
Again to earth descended,
Returns in bliss to reign."

And the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is developing more and more the idea to which Mrs. Thompson calls attention in this timely way.

Miss Anna Gordon, who is like another right arm to Miss Willard (but she has one for her own use also), and others

are utilizing more and more this comparatively unused agency of song. If I could write a word which would encourage the feeling that they are developing a new sense, as it were, or rather one of which the world has vaguely known, and conceived to belong to the few, but which now is to become the possession of the many, and as much a means of reform, regeneration and happiness as reading, preaching, praying or the universal development of artistic powers, I should deem myself most fortunate. But this chapter must close with mention of scarce any of the great leaders of the Union; for the time would fail me to speak of Mrs. Woodbridge, Mrs. Foster, Mrs. Buell, Mrs. Burt, Mrs. Lathrop and Miss Coleman, who has created a temperance literature almost of her own intellectual and business powers, Mrs. Stevens, Miss Pugh, Mrs. Newman of Washington and Mrs. Newman of Nebraska, Mrs. Barnes, Dr. Burnett, Mrs. Barney, Miss Smith, Mrs. Wallace, Mrs. White, Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Gordon, Miss Briggs and Miss Brown, whom I have personally known, and seen in the prosecution of their mighty work, and a thousand others who in every State and Territory and on every inch of our national soil — and beyond it — have wrought and still are working for the good of man and the glory of God, in season and out of season, accomplishing their great mission on earth — who by their faith have removed mountains — of whom the world is not worthy.

And some are not, for God has taken them.

Of Miss Francis E. Willard, the President of the Woman's National Christian Temperance Union, I had intended to write; but I will not mar the felicity of her fame by an attempted portrayal of her accomplishments, her powers and her worth. She leads the wonderful organization, selected from the world's Christian womanhood, and embracing the highest forces operating in the forefront of civilization, with the valor of Alexander, the sagacity of Fabius, the patience and piety of Washington. She is a woman. To belong to the Union is a high honor. To lead it is a still higher honor. To lead it as it is led is almost impossible to human powers. It would be quite so but for the fact that this Grand Army is right, both by instinct and inspiration.

Let us hope for the permanence of this great organization. I believe it to be indestructible because it is the creation or result of causes operating from the beginning of time, and which in a true sense ordain whatsoever comes to pass, and is a necessary means to the great end of millennial transformation.

The true history of our time is being made by woman. It is her age. We are fortunate to live in it. Let the next, which can look back upon their full proportions, record its wonders. Meanwhile, let the actors in these great events wait for the verdict of posterity, who

"Long shall seek their likeness — long in vain."

CHAPTER XXV.

WHAT SHALL WE DO NEXT?

Since Waterloo no Year in which Rum has not been the Great Destroyer — Governor St. John's Speech at Worcester — The New Century of Temperance Reform — A Look Backward on the Past — Means of the Past Successes — Helps and Hindrances — One Hundred Years have Wrought Conviction — The Removal of the Evil is now the Problem — The Question Everywhere, North and South, East and West — The American People must Act — What to do Next? — Washingtonian Moral Suasion not Sufficient — Constitutional Amendment — Not of what Party, but will the Member of Congress Vote Prohibitory Amendment? — In 1890 Submit the Amendment to the People — No more Mistakes — Unanimity and Efficiency — Caucuses, Primaries and Nominating Conventions — National Prohibition our Watchword — Then, America the Temperance Leader and Redeemer of the Nations.

AS we turn our faces to the foe and move for the promised land, we feel the force of the question, — What shall we do next? Let us briefly review the past and consider a few suggestions in answer to this question.

It must be conceded that the use of intoxicating, that is to say of poisonous liquors as a beverage is the chief source and immediate cause of more hurt to society and to individuals than any other agency which can be named. The war of the rebellion cost us fewer lives and less treasure year by year during its term of death and devastation than the nation has sacrificed annually to the Moloch of alcohol during the halcyon period which has elapsed since its close. Pestilence has not slain sixty thousand victims in any one year since the settlement of this country. If cholera and small-pox, combined, should sweep away one hundred thousand of our countrymen in a season, the nation would organize as one vast funeral procession and hang the heavens with the emblems of despair. Famine is with us unknown, or at least unnecessary, and whenever it exists it is a crime either of the victim or of the community, and not an excusable misfortune in any case whatever; but in other civilized lands

starvation, even during the last fifty years, has occasionally taught mankind that the terrible word can not yet be dropped from the human vocabulary as descriptive of an evil liability to which is extant among men.

Yet it may safely be said that since the battle of Waterloo, now the full period of the life of man, there has been no one year in which the combined suffering and pecuniary losses inflicted upon the Caucasian race by war, pestilence and famine, have equalled the total of destruction chargeable to alcohol in the same lapse of time. Beyond this the curse of the latter has been not intermittent and occasional, but perpetual and inexorable, and, I think, on the whole, increasing like the everlasting and unyielding pressure of gravitation and depravity. In this work we have become familiar with the mathematical statements which come to us from statisticians, municipal authorities, from the leading luminaries of all the professions and from every source of authentic information, by which we learn that at least two-thirds of the pauperism, insanity and crime, and of the public and private burdens which these great evils impose upon us, are directly chargeable to intoxicating drink. Such facts are as familiar as corpses upon a battlefield, and seem to attract no more attention. I hazard nothing in appealing to the consciousness of every one who reads these lines to attest that he has seen more of evil flowing from this than from any other one cause during his whole lifetime, and I should hardly fail if I asserted that the personal sorrows and afflictions which he has most to bewail among friends, kindred and the community where he may dwell are traceable to the same omnipresent curse. Those who preach, preach against it, and those who pray, pray against it. Platform orators denounce it. The press recounts its daily crimes and deviltries, and those who drink, as well as those who abstain, vie with each other in stigmatizing rum as the worst thing there is extant. Yet, somehow, the old king does most wonderfully hold his own. He is the popular curse. He has round billions of money invested in his business, one-tenth, perhaps, of the property and labor of the country, producing and distributing death and misery to the American people. His market is as sure as that for cotton, corn or

beef. The unnatural appetite which constitutes the demand has become as insatiable, and almost as universal, as the demand for healthy foods. This appetite descends with the blood, and the parent thus tends bar, even after death, for his child. Multitudes bewail the evils of intoxication, attend temperance meetings, sing temperance songs and pay a dollar a year to help along the blessed cause, and then lease their real estate for saloons, protest against the insertion of prohibition planks in political platforms lest remonstrance against evil shall upset party supremacy; or, it may be, with upright purpose, influenced by profound discouragement and disgust, they break down and destroy an organization which they created and which belongs to them, which they might control and save and use as a mighty power for the removal of the evils which they deplore. So it goes, and the evil expands until, as Governor St. John tells us, no doubt truly, in a speech at Worcester, Mass., in the year 1885, that the production, which in the year 1862 was said to have been 16,000,000 gallons of distilled liquors, and 62,000,000 gallons of beer, perhaps an exceptionally unproductive year, was, according to a recent report of the commissioner of internal revenue, 69,000,000 gallons of distilled spirits, 19,000,000 barrels or 700,000,000 gallons of malt liquors, and over 2,000,000 gallons of wine, all which went into the consumption of this country during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1885. Well, really, we do not seem to be progressing very rapidly according to these figures, but I suspect that the returns of 1862 were imperfect. There is, however, I think, no doubt that the consumption of all kinds of intoxicating liquors has increased quite as rapidly as population in the United States during the last quarter of a century. This is true of malt liquors, unquestionably, and perhaps of wines. The rum traffic is now the great menacing danger of America and of civilization.

What, then, shall we do? I do not assume that I can answer this question. I can state what seems to my vision to be the better way; that is all that any man can do, and the Supreme Ruler of events will direct the pathway of action for the new century and in the ages to come as he has from the beginning until now.

Mrs. Clara Hoffman,

President W. C. T. U., of Missouri.

We stand upon an elevation at the opening of a new century of the temperance reform. It is an hour of retrospect and of forecast. Something is revealed by the lamp of experience for the guidance of our feet in the century to come. What has been done in the last hundred years? By what means has it been accomplished? What remains to do, and by what means and methods shall the remaining work be wrought? These questions are the all-important ones before us now. They have largely been answered already, and space forbids any save the most cursory view of so vast a theme.

In the first place, during the century just closed we have learned that the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, simply as a beverage and not as a medicine, is an evil both useless and hurtful. We have learned that alcohol is a poison and not a food; that it is never useful to the human system save under circumstances when a poison may be useful, never to produce or improve health only as it may remove an obstruction to the natural and proper action of this vital machine, so fearfully and wonderfully made. We gravely doubt whether it be ever useful or necessary. Science has become our ally, and fortifies our cause impregnably with her demonstrations. The Byronic phrase, "Rum and True Religion," was hardly blasphemous sixty years ago. A venerable Christian once told me that when he was six years old, his sainted mother became converted and joined the Congregational Church in one of the best towns in my own State. Among his most vivid recollections was the memory of the visits of the distinguished divine, who came, on two or more occasions to his father's house, for the purpose of testing the theological soundness as well as practical piety of his mother during the probationary period which preceded her admission to the church, every such interview in the discharge of his sacred calling being opened by a liberal drink of New England rum, administered by the hands of the candidate for admission. It was not only the way of the world, but it was the way of the church. Drinking which did not result in actual helplessness was hardly considered an offense, while, as to social custom, its indulgence was as universal as it was deemed to be delightful, and its dangerous tendency

was overlooked most strangely and wickedly by the great majority of the best of men. Now the Christian ministry, Protestant and Catholic, is almost a unit against rum. The medical profession is against rum; the judiciary is against rum: science, religion, the learned professions as a whole, which one hundred years ago were for rum, are now against it. The substantial press of the country is against it; intelligence, conscience, all the great forces and agencies of society are against it. Whenever and wherever any of them advocate its cause, the work is accompanied by a concession of the evil, and the hypocritical or ignorant pretense that it can best be suppressed by some policy which increases the evil. You cannot conceive of a political platform which advocates or justifies the liquor traffic because it does any good. All opposition to the evil is deprecated, or its license is sought only upon the ground that stringent and prohibitory measures increase the evil, or that such alleged invasions of personal liberty are dangerous to individuals or to the State. It seems to be forgotten that the very essence of all government is an invasion of personal liberty to do wrong, and there can be no personal liberty to perform any action hurtful to society and to the State, which is beyond the jurisdiction and the power of the government established for the preservation of both. In short, this much (and it is everything in that it is the major premise of the syllogism whose conclusion is the destruction of the traffic), has been established by the agitation of the century just closed: that the manufacture, sale and use of alcohol as a beverage is the greatest crime and curse of modern times. All the great conservative and preservative forces of society are now arrayed against it. That means its ultimate and inevitable extinction.

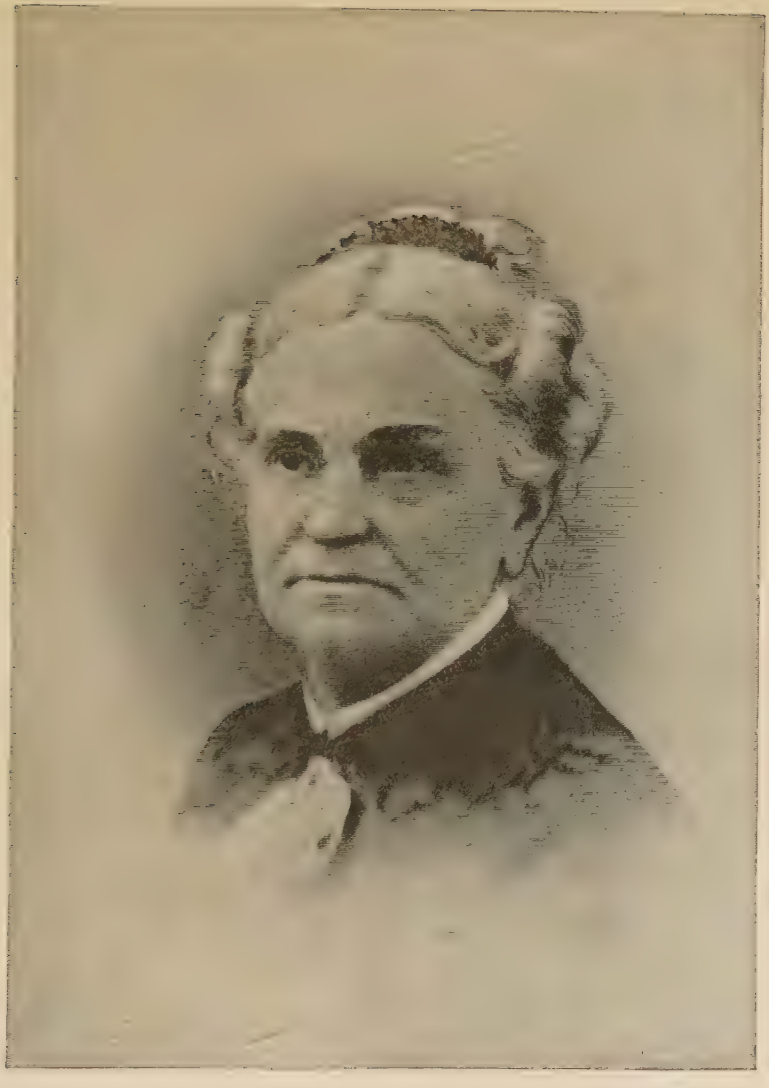
There never was an evil, which has passed away, that was not destroyed by public opinion. There is not, there never will be, an evil which can withstand the assaults of the enlightened condemnation of a free people who suffer from it. We have, then, this impregnable fact and supreme consolation which the past century has bequeathed to us, more precious to humanity than a diadem of morning-stars, that the liquor traffic is doomed, and shall be destroyed. The

demon has been tried, and condemned to death in the highest court, the court of public opinion. To us is assigned the work of execution. Let us proceed to perform that duty faithfully, relentlessly and *now*.

For a moment let us consider the means by which the achievements of the past have been won.

There seem to be two agencies which influence human action, persuasion and force, — the action of individuals upon each other and upon the community by facts and motives addressed to the understanding and to the will, or, in other words, moral suasion; and the will of the community — the result of moral suasion, embodied in law. The law itself becomes, in its turn, the fortress and re-enforcement of the moral sentiment and opinion of the community; and by the sanctions which belong to its administration, and the reverence which a free people must always entertain for the laws which have once been enacted, even when the reasons which may have led to it have become forgotten or obscured in the agitation of fresh issues concerning the public weal, the law preserves and maintains the good to secure which it was enacted. After popular enthusiasm has passed away, the enemy comes in again like a flood. Then it is that a vigilant and determined minority can rally under the ægis of an existing law, and summon its sanctions as a means of recalling the former acuteness of a now blunted public sentiment, as well as to directly suppress or restrain the evil prohibited. True it is that when a law is really wrong, or by the nature of things has become obsolete, the reason thereof failing, it is impossible for a minority long to enforce it. But, on the other hand, if the evil remain, and the law be right, the fact that it is on the statute-book is a very great advantage, especially in times of declension in public zeal for the right. Both these forces, moral suasion and public law, have been employed in the promotion of the temperance reform during the century past. It is so patent that moral suasion, by education and argument, has been and always must be the great preliminary, all-causing and controlling agency in moulding public opinion, which alone makes laws and gives permanent efficiency after their enactment, that for my present purpose I need not press its importance,

to the future as well as to the past, further upon the attention. I wish to consider, however, briefly, the character of the legal enactments which in the past have been relied upon to promote the temperance reform. These have been by license or by prohibition of the sale for immediate consumption, either by the State or by some subdivision of the State, as a town or county, by authority derived from the State. The general government has never passed, as it might do, for the District of Columbia and the Territories any form whatever of prohibitory law against the rum traffic. License laws are based upon the idea of taxation for revenue, and imply a sanction of the trade, as well as participation in the profits thereof by the whole people, who, for the general good alone, can exercise the taxing power. A license gives the right to sell in consideration of the fee paid to the people, and prohibits such right to those who will not pay the tax. The same sum imposed as a penalty for selling in violation of a prohibitory law, is payable for each and every sale, and there is no consent to the act on the part of the public whatever. The fact that the penalty, like the fee for the license, goes into the public treasury, is of no consequence at all. These license laws, or excise laws, although for a while they may restrain, are no ultimate help to the temperance reform. They are, in fact, one of the chief defenses of the traffic, and, whether high or low, are of most pernicious final tendency. They bribe the public conscience, they bewilder the public intelligence, and they never are long enforced in those provisions which are sometimes honestly, but more generally with bad design, attached for the apparent purpose of restriction. The licensee soon violates all these restrictions, and then is as liable to prosecution, at the instigation of the common seller without any license at all, as is the latter at the suit of the licensee himself. One violator of law will not prosecute another violator of law. Then where is the motive for prosecution on his part, the creation of which is said to be the great excellence of the license law as a means of regulating the trade? It has disappeared, and the license law is no law at all in its practical effect, save only as it does the general coffers fill with the price of blood. So far as it promotes the gilded saloon by closing the low grog-



Mother Stewart.

gery, I have only to say, the latter seems to me to be far more respectable, and a less curse in the community than the former. Ten groggeries will not work the ruin wrought by a single palace of strong drink. Treason should be made odious. Every lover of his country should vote for the groggery as against the saloon. The license law, high or low, is no device of the temperance reform nor of the temperance agitation. It was not developed by it. The moral sentiment of the community had nothing to do with its origin, nor, unless under a grievous misapprehension, with its present support. It has existed ever since there was a traffic, and for the sole purpose of getting money out of it for the public pocket, and might just as well be applied to the commission of any other offense against the public welfare by those who would pay for the liberty, as to the trade in rum. A license law seems to me to be radically wrong in principle, pernicious in practice, and, so far as I know, no one has ever imposed any real or permanent restraint upon the gigantic evil with which civilization is now called upon to contend. The only permanent good effect of such a law is to undeceive the confidence of the enemies of the traffic in the efficacy of such devices. Some people will only learn from an experiment.

There remain to be considered only the State and local option laws, which have assumed to prohibit the sale of alcohol for drinking purposes. The amendments to State constitutions have as yet become hardly an operative force.

These prohibitory laws have partially succeeded and they have partially failed. Why have they so far succeeded? Because they were founded upon the right principle, and hence rallied conscience and humanity to their support. Why have they so far failed? Because they were, save in the principle involved, in no just sense prohibitory laws at all. They did not, and they do not, and they can not, when enacted by a State only, prevent the traffic in intoxicating liquor. The liquor traffic comprises vastly more than the retail sale, or even the wholesale and retail transaction. The liquor traffic is practically independent, in a large degree, of any State, and in an absolute degree of most of the States. True, if the drinking habit were not so power-

ful and universal, it might be somewhat different. But now every little hamlet and almost every house sends forth its cry and holds out its money to the whole land and to the whole earth, begging for strong drink. It can be made everywhere, and, under the protection of the armies and navies of the nation, and of the world if it come from beyond the seas, alcohol, in the original packages, can be rolled into the cellar of every cabin as well as every palace in the country. But how inadequate and what a misnomer is any such thing as a prohibitory law which can only forbid the sale to the consumer in a State! and how much more so one which is operative only for the same purpose in a county or town! Even the State constitutional amendments, which prohibit the manufacture as well as the sale, must fail — inevitably fail. In the very nature of things, there is and there can be no remedy but in a national constitutional prohibitory law. It will be time enough to cry that prohibition does not prohibit when prohibition has been tried. The State of Maine has very greatly improved the condition of her people by the operation of her quasi-prohibitory law; so of New Hampshire and Vermont. Ask any old resident of any one of these States and he will tell you, *yea*. A politician with a flask in his pocket or a liquor drummer from Boston might bewail the failure of the prohibitory law in those States, but I consider these laws, imperfect as they are in all save their motive, in their practical operation miracles of good; and, considering the existing appetite, — which antedated the law and the existence of which was the cause of the attempted reform,— the enormous and concentrated capital and action protected by nearly all State and the overwhelming power of national law which makes the stuff anywhere and carries it everywhere, I say deliberately that not even the law against murder is any better enforced than these poor, halting paragraphs of infantile legislation, nicknamed prohibitory laws. A truly prohibitory law must have jurisdiction of the evil, and of its physical causes from their origin to their end. The nation alone can assert that full jurisdiction and exercise the necessary power.

We have been one hundred years convincing science, religion, the professions, the judges who administer the crim-

inal laws, and the great mass of the people, that alcohol is poison, and that its manufacture, sale and use is the organized destruction of individuals and the body-politic. The nature of the legislation which is to remove and renovate all is now to be considered and enacted and enforced. Whoever believes that the destruction of the liquor traffic is not a national issue has made a mistake. Whoever does not comprehend that the removal of that evil is a duty, which the nation is about to perform, fails to discern the signs of the times. Everywhere the question is up. In the North and in the South; in Massachusetts, New York and Ohio; throughout the West and the South-west; in every State the agitation is irrepressible, because the evil is gigantic and omnipresent. It is impossible to suppress these convulsive efforts of the social system to free itself of this foreign and destructive element. It must be eliminated or society will die. It is of no use to cry peace, for there is no peace. Peace without a complete cure would be the most dangerous symptom. It would indicate the destruction of vital power, presaging decline and death.

The American people must do something.

What had we best do next?

The Washingtonian movement swept over the country, some fifty years ago, like a tidal wave from the sea of life. That movement was moral suasion in its most powerful manifestation. The great wave subsided, and the enemy came in once more like a flood of fire, and there be those who believe that the last state was worse than the first. Was, then, the Washingtonian movement wrong? Nay, verily, but it was incomplete. The tremendous public opinion which the discussion evoked should have been crystallized into the enduring forms of State and national law. The triumph then would have been complete and the work secure. We have at last learned something; and we are still learning more and more, that it is what we save that makes us rich. Deposit all the savings of reform in the solid banks of constitutional and statutory legislation, State and national, and the liquor traffic will not pauperize this generation of laborers in the field of temperance reform. We shall have a most precious inheritance to leave to the generation which comes after us.

We shall not repeat the mistake of our fathers. Whatever we advance we shall hold by the authority of law. The one all-essential thing remaining to be done is to put forth every effort to secure political action. State political action is important, but national political action is all-important. I have endeavored to indicate why it is indispensable, and the only action which can render that of the States either permanent or efficient. If either should wait for the other, by all means let the States wait on the nation; let all the people of all the States concentrate upon one grand effort to amend the national constitution, so as to prohibit the manufacture, the sale, the importation, the exportation and the transportation of alcoholic beverages anywhere within the limits of the national domain. That is the way to rescue and preserve the States. It is easy thus to create the popular sentiment which must exist within the States in order that legislation may be secured in their several jurisdictions. The evil is national, and the war which saves the nation must be fought by the nation. The constitution, now the charter of the rum power, is to be amended by securing a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress, submitting a proposition for that purpose to the States for their action, and its approval by three-fourths of the entire number of the States. The President has nothing to do with the submission of the proposed amendment to the States, because he legislates only by veto, which is nullified by a two-thirds vote of the two houses, and a two-thirds vote must be secured in its favor in the first place. Between the submission to the States and ratification by three-fourths of the States, a considerable period might, undoubtedly would, elapse, but we should succeed in the end. All the energy of the reform throughout the nation could be concentrated upon the States one after another, and I sincerely believe that, once before the people, we can complete the work in five years time. Nationally, little comparatively important, can be done now but to get two-thirds of both houses of Congress to vote to submit the proposed amendment to the people. It is nothing to us whether a senator or a representative be a Democrat or a Republican, a Prohibitory party man or a Labor man, whether he is for license or prohibition, provided he will vote to take the

Mrs. J. K. Barney,
of Rhode Island.

sense of the people upon such a proposed amendment. *That* is what we want of him *now*. Only this and nothing more. What honest man can say that this request is unreasonable? What political party which cares for political freedom can deny to the millions who desire to be heard upon this tremendous question of the amendment of the constitution of the country, so as to preserve the existence of our nation and of our civilization before the only tribunal which can decide it, the exercise of this fundamental right? We ask no man or party now to pledge himself to advocate the amendment before the people; we will take care of that when we get to the people. But we demand that he shall give to us and that political parties shall give to us a chance to be heard in the proper forum — the forum of the people — which is our right. It is our concern, not his or theirs, whether we are defeated or not when we reach the people of the several States. This is the temperance issue now rising in this whole land, and, until this is decided, no party, man or faction can project one of comparatively serious importance into national politics. There is temperance sentiment enough to choose a two-thirds vote in favor of submitting such an amendment to the people in the very next House of Representatives, provided it would go into the primaries and the conventions of political parties now existing, and then support in good faith at the polls the man who should have been pledged to submit the amendment to the people of the States. The Senate would surely vote immediately with the House upon this proposition. This amendment might be thus submitted to the people in 1890, and the amendment itself become a part of the law of the land before the close of the century.

Oh, fools and blind! Can we not discern the signs of the times?

No more mistakes should be made. The working people of this country are with us, and the whole temperance vote should combine for the submission of such an amendment. Control the primaries and nominating conventions. They are the hiding-places of political power. This ought not to be a party question; there should be unanimity in a matter like this, but I fear we can not hope so much as this for

our country. It would be the millennium. But let us try. Some party will adopt the issue and in this sign conquer.

I have thus endeavored to answer the question, what had better next be done in the temperance reform. Every man, woman and child is interested in the answer; future generations depend upon that answer for their destiny of weal or of woe. Without undervaluing local and State agitation and legislation, let us concentrate every energy and effort upon the one great work of securing the submission of a proposed national amendment to the people of the States. Then we shall have before us a period of agitation in the States for its ratification there. Thus we shall have regenerated the constitution, and the tremendous powers of the nation will soon throttle this Giant Despair, who is feeding by day and by night upon the bodies and souls of our countrymen. Let us wisely conserve our forces and our votes. Peaceful agencies, if wisely employed, will accomplish the grand result. Numerous issues, essential to the public welfare, are always pending, and great parties which are entrusted with national control must embrace and simultaneously deal with them all or perish, for they have no right to exist after they decline or fail to promote the public good.

Each man must decide for himself the method of his action. Let us, however, at least concentrate upon the things to be done, that the tremendous forces now dissipated in the sand may become a mighty torrent of beneficence and sweep away the nation's curse. Abating no whit of effort in the way of instruction or persuasion, increasing the activity of all the agencies now employed to influence individual municipal organizations and States, let us lift up the mighty banner of National Constitutional Prohibition. Let us ourselves contemplate the subject from this higher elevation.

The nation refuses to permit the importation of criminals — then let us prohibit the importation of the cause of criminals and of crimes. We refuse to receive the paupers and outcasts of surrounding nations — then let us repel from our borders the primal source of poverty, wretchedness and despair. What we refuse to receive from abroad shall we continue to manufacture and export? What we refuse, or ought to refuse to import or export, because of its malignant

and destructive work, shall we as a nation continue to manufacture, distribute and consume among ourselves? Shall we longer divide and destroy the result of our most zealous efforts among the people and in the States by permitting the national constitution and national power, within their sphere the supreme law of the land, to protect the manufacture, the distribution and the wholesale trade in this merchandise of death? Nay, verily, if the new century is to complete the temperance reform there is but one way to accomplish it — National Prohibition must be our watchword.

Let this issue be carried into every caucus and primary for choice of delegates, and into every congressional convention of every party at the next election and every election; and let every voter make this issue one of the great tests of party fealty. Let the same issue be made in the caucuses which nominate the Legislatures who make senators of the United States, and thus choose members of both Houses of Congress who will demand for the people whom they represent, the opportunity to be heard in the forum of the States for the amendment and regeneration of the constitution of the country, so that this sacred instrument shall become the warrant for the destruction, and no longer the charter of life and liberty to the most terrible curse and crime of civilization. This seems to me to be what we had better do next. The first great national step taken, the amendment to the national constitution submitted, the amendment ratified by three-fourths of the States, the general government clothed with jurisdiction to prohibit the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation and transportation of intoxicating drinks to be used as a beverage, legislation to that end placed upon the statute-book of the land, both State and national authorities harmoniously combining for the destruction of the traffic, public sentiment awakened everywhere by this broad and universal agitation, fused and consolidated and hurled by the arm of the whole people, will strike with the unity and power of the thunderbolt; and, when the deafening crash and blinding glare and sulphurous smoke and smell have passed away, we or our children shall behold King Alcohol prone and dead in his own gutter — slain by the lightnings of God.

But there is one thing more that must be done. We must not be satisfied with our own redemption. Our nation must become an active agency in the great family of nations, for the destruction of the traffic throughout the world.

The business must be placed in the process of ultimate extinction everywhere. One nation in earnest can set all the needed machinery in motion. Let us build our navy, outlaw the liquor traffic, declare it piracy when conducted on the high seas, and suppress it with shot and shell. It is worse than the trade in slaves. Capture or sink every ship that carries the contraband article, and give it to the waves. No nation will long contend for this traffic against the sincere and aggressive action of the American people. Nearly or quite every Christian nation would, after a brief period of agitation, join in a general international declaration against the trade and for its suppression. Whatever the world will not tolerate on the high seas, or as an article of international exchange, will soon cease to be tolerated within the home jurisdiction of the separate nations which make up the whole.

Let America take her position. Ah! if we only were in possession of our own government! If we were only in earnest ourselves! Then, what might we not do next?

APPENDIX.

THE KANSAS CASES.

DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Nos. 19, 20, and 934.—October Term, 1887.

Peter Mugler, Plaintiff in Error, *vs.* The State of Kansas.	In error to the Supreme Court of the State of Kansas.
Peter Mugler, Plaintiff in Error, *vs.* The State of Kansas.	In error to the Supreme Court of the State of Kansas.
The State of Kansas, *ex rel.* J. F. Tufts, Assistant Attorney-General of the State of Kansas for Atchison County, Kansas, Appellant, *vs.* Herman Ziebold and Joseph Hagelin, partners as Ziebold & Hagelin.	Appeal from the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Kansas.

[*December* 5th, 1887.]

Mr. Justice Harlan delivered the opinion of the Court.

These cases involve an inquiry into the validity of certain statutes of Kansas relating to the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors.

The first two are indictments, charging Mugler, the plaintiff in error, in one case, with having sold, and in the other, with having manufactured, spirituous, vinous, malt, fermented, and other intoxicating liquors, in Saline County, Kansas, without having the license

or permit required by the statute. The defendant, having been found guilty, was fined, in each case, one hundred dollars, and ordered to be committed to the county jail until the fine was paid. Each judgment was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Kansas, and thereby, it is contended, the defendant was denied rights, privileges, and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

The third case—*Kansas* v. *Ziebold & Hagelin*—was commenced by petition filed in one of the courts of the State. The relief sought is: 1. That the group of buildings in Atchison County, Kansas, constituting the brewery of the defendants, partners as Ziebold & Hagelin, be adjudged a common nuisance, and the sheriff or other proper officer directed to shut up and abate the same. 2. That the defendants be enjoined from using, or permitting to be used, the said premises as a place where intoxicating liquors may be sold, bartered, or given away, or kept for barter, sale, or gift, otherwise than by authority of law.

The defendants answered, denying the allegations of the petition, and averring: *First.* That said buildings were erected by them prior to the adoption, by the people of Kansas, of the constitutional amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for other than medicinal, scientific, and mechanical purposes, and before the passage of the prohibitory liquor statute of that State. *Second.* That they were erected for the purpose of manufacturing beer, and cannot be put to any other use; and, if not so used, they will be of little value. *Third.* That the statute under which said suit is brought is void under the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Upon the petition and bond of the defendants the cause was removed into the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Kansas upon the ground that the suit was one arising under the Constitution of the United States. A motion to remand it to the State court was denied. The pleadings were recast so as to conform to the equity practice in the courts of the United States; and, the cause having been heard upon bill and answer, the suit was dismissed. From that decree the State prosecutes an appeal.

By a statute of Kansas, approved March 3, 1868, it was made a

misdemeador, punishable by fine and imprisonment, for any one, directly or indirectly, to sell spirituous, vinous, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors, without having a dram-shop, tavern, or grocery license. It was, also, enacted, among other things, that every place where intoxicating liquors were sold in violation of the statute should be taken, held, and deemed to be a common nuisance; and it was required that all rooms, taverns, eating-houses, bazaars, restaurants, groceries, coffee-houses, cellars, or other places of public resort where intoxicating liquors were sold, in violation of law, should be abated as public nuisances. *Gen. Stat. Kansas, 1868, ch. 35.*

But, in 1880, the people of Kansas adopted a more stringent policy. On the 2d of November of that year, they ratified an amendment to the State constitution, which declared that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors should be forever prohibited in that State, except for medical, scientific, and mechanical purposes.

In order to give effect to that amendment, the legislature repealed the act of 1868, and passed an act, approved February 19, 1881, to take effect May 1, 1881, entitled "An act to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, except for medical, scientific, and mechanical purposes, and to regulate the manufacture and sale thereof for such excepted purposes." Its first section provides "that any person or persons who shall manufacture, sell, or barter any spirituous, malt, vinous, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors shall be guilty of a misdemeanor: *Provided, however,* That such liquors may be sold for medical, scientific, and mechanical purposes, as provided in this act." The second section makes it unlawful for any person to sell or barter for either of such excepted purposes any malt, vinous, spirituous, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors without having procured a druggist's permit therefor, and prescribes the conditions upon which such permit may be granted. The third section relates to the giving by physicians of prescriptions for intoxicating liquors to be used by their patients; and the fourth, to the sale of such liquors by druggists. The fifth section forbids any person from manufacturing or assisting in the manufacture of intoxicating liquors in the State, except

for medical, scientific, and mechanical purposes, and makes provision for the granting of licenses to engage in the business of manufacturing liquors for such excepted purposes. The seventh section declares it to be a misdemeanor for any person, not having the required permit, to sell or barter, directly or indirectly, spirituous, malt, vinous, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors; the punishment prescribed being, for the first offence, a fine of not less than one hundred nor more than five hundred dollars, or imprisonment in the county jail not less than twenty nor more than ninety days; for the second offence, a fine of not less than two hundred nor more than than five hundred dollars, or imprisonment in the county jail not less than sixty days nor more than six months; and for every subsequent offence, a fine not less than five hundred nor more than one thousand dollars, or imprisnoment in the county jail not less than three months nor more than one year, or both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court. The eighth section provides for similar fines and punishments against persons who manufacture, or aid, assist, or abet the manufacture of any intoxicating liquors without having the required permit. The thirteenth section declares, among other things, all places where intoxicating liquors are manufactured, sold, bartered, or given away, or are kept for sale, barter, or use, in violation of the act, to be common nuisances; and provides that upon the judgment of any court having jurisdiction finding such place to be a nuisance, the proper officer shall be directed to shut up and abate the same.

Under that statute, the prosecutions against Mugler were instituted. It contains other sections in addition to those above referred to; but as they embody merely the details of the general scheme adopted by the State for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, except for the purposes specified, it is unnecessary to set them out.

On the 7th of March, 1885, the legislature passed an act amendatory and supplementary to that of 1881. The thirteenth section of the former act, being the one upon which the suit against Ziebold & Hagelin is founded, will be given in full in a subsequent part of this opinion.

The facts necessary to a clear understanding of the questions,

common to these cases, are the following: Mugler and Ziebold & Hagelin were engaged in manufacturing beer at their respective establishments, (constructed specially for that purpose) for several years prior to the adoption of the constitutional amendment of 1880. They continued in such business in defiance of the statute of 1881, and without having the required permit. Nor did Mugler have a license or permit to sell beer. The single sale of which he was found guilty occurred in the State, and after May 1, 1881, that is, after the act of February 19, 1881, took effect, and was of beer manufactured before its passage.

The buildings and machinery constituting these breweries are of little value if not used for the purpose of manufacturing beer; that is to say, if the statutes are enforced against the defendants the value of their property will be very materially diminished.

The general question in each case is, whether the foregoing statutes of Kansas are in conflict with that clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which provides that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

That legislation by a State prohibiting the manufacture within her limits of intoxicating liquors, to be there sold or bartered for general use as a beverage, does not necessarily infringe any right, privilege, or immunity secured by the Constitution of the United States, is made clear by the decisions of this court, rendered before and since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment; to some of which, in view of questions to be presently considered, it will be well to refer.

In the *License Cases*, 5 *How.* 504, the question was, whether certain statutes of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, relating to the sale of spirituous liquors were repugnant to the Constitution of the United States. In determining that question, it became necessary to inquire whether there was any conflict between the exercise by Congress of its power to regulate commerce with foreign countries, or among the several States, and the exercise by a State of what are called police powers. Although the members of the court did not fully agree as to the grounds upon which the

decision should be placed, they were unanimous in holding that the statutes then under examination were not inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, or with any act of Congress. Chief Justice TANEY said: "If any State deems the retail and internal traffic in ardent spirits injurious to its citizens, and calculated to produce idleness, vice, or debauchery, I see nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent it from regulating and restraining the traffic, or from prohibiting it altogether, if it thinks proper." Mr. Justice MCLEAN, among other things, said: "A State regulates its domestic commerce, contracts, the transmission of estates, real and personal, and acts upon internal matters which relate to its moral and political welfare. Over these subjects the Federal government has no power. . . . The acknowledged police power of a State extends often to the destruction of property. A nuisance may be abated. Everything prejudicial to the health or morals of a city may be removed." Mr. Justice WOODBURY observed: "How can they [the States] be sovereign within their respective spheres, without power to regulate all their internal commerce, as well as police, and direct how, when and where it shall be conducted in articles intimately connected either with public morals or public safety or public prosperity?" Mr. Justice GRIER, in still more emphatic language, said: "The true question presented by these cases, and one which I am not disposed to evade, is whether the States have a right to prohibit the sale and consumption of an article of commerce which they believe to be pernicious in its effects, and the cause of disease, pauperism, and crime. . . Without attempting to define what are the peculiar subjects or limits of this power, it may safely be affirmed, that every law for the restraint or punishment of crime, for the preservation of the public peace, health and morals must come within this category. . . It is not necessary, for the sake of justifying the State legislation now under consideration, to array the appalling statistics of misery, pauperism and crime which have their origin in the use or abuse of ardent spirits. The police power, which is exclusively in the States, is alone competent to the correction of these great evils, and all measures of restraint or prohibition necessary to effect the purpose are within the scope of that authority."

In *Bartemeyer* v. *Iowa*, 18 Wall. 129, it was said that prior to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, State enactments, regulating or prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating liquors, raised no question under the Constitution of the United States; and that such legislation was left to the discretion of the respective States, subject to no other limitations than those imposed by their own constitutions, or by the general principles supposed to limit all legislative power. Referring to the contention that the right to sell intoxicating liquors was secured by the Fourteenth Amendment, the court said that "so far as such a right exists, it is not one of the rights growing out of citizenship of the United States." In *Beer Co.* v. *Massachusetts*, 97 U. S. 33, it was said, that, "as a measure of police regulation, looking to the preservation of public morals, a State law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors is not repugnant to any clause of the Constitution of the United States." Finally, in *Foster* v. *Kansas*, 112 U. S. 206, the court said that the question as to the constitutional power of a State to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors was no longer an open one in this court. These cases rest upon the acknowledged right of the States of the Union to control their purely internal affairs, and, in so doing, to protect the health, morals, and safety of their people by regulations that do not interfere with the execution of the powers of the general government, or violate rights secured by the Constitution of the United States. The power to establish such regulations, as was said in *Gibbons* v. *Ogden*, 9 Wheat. 203, reaches everything within the territory of a State not surrendered to the national government.

It is, however, contended, that, although the State may prohibit the manufacture of intoxicating liquors for sale or barter within her limits, for general use as a beverage, "no convention or legislature has the right, under our form of government, to prohibit any citizen from manufacturing for his own use, or for export, or storage, any article of food or drink not endangering or affecting the rights of others." The argument made in support of the first branch of this proposition, briefly stated, is, that in the implied compact between the State and the citizen certain rights are reserved by the latter, which are guaranteed by the constitutional provision protect-

ing persons against being deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, and with which the State cannot interfere; that among those rights is that of manufacturing for one's use either food or drink; and that while, according to the doctrines of the Commune, the State may control the tastes, appetites, habits, dress, food, and drink of the people, our system of government, based upon the individuality and intelligence of the citizen, does not claim to control him, except as to his conduct to others, leaving him the sole judge as to all that only affects himself.

It will be observed that the proposition, and the argument made in support of it, equally concede that the right to manufacture drink for one's personal use is subject to the condition that such manufacture does not endanger or affect the rights of others. If such manufacture does prejudicially affect the right and interests of the community, it follows, from the very premises stated, that society has the power to protect itself, by legislation, against the injurious consequences of that business. As was said in *Munn* v. *Illinois*, 94 U. S. 124, while power does not exist with the whole people to control rights that are purely and exclusively private, government may require "each citizen to so conduct himself, and so use his own property, as not unnecessarily to injure another."

But by whom, or by what authority, is it to be determined whether the manufacture of particular articles of drink, either for general use or for the personal use of the maker, will injuriously affect the public? Power to determine such questions, so as to bind all, must exist somewhere; else society will be at the mercy of the few, who, regarding only their own appetites or passions, may be willing to imperil the peace and security of the many, provided only they are permitted to do as they please. Under our system that power is lodged with the legislative branch of the government. It belongs to that department to exert what are known as the police powers of the State, and to determine, primarily, what measures are appropriate or needful for the protection of the public morals, the public health, or the public safety.

It does not at all follow that every statute enacted ostensibly for the promotion of these ends, is to be accepted as a legitimate exercise of the police powers of the State. There are, of necessity,

limits beyond which legislation cannot rightfully go. While every possible presumption is to be indulged in favor of the validity of a statute, (*Sinking Fund Cases*, 99 U. S. 718,) the courts must obey the Constitution rather than the law-making department of government, and must, upon their own responsibility, determine whether, in any particular case, these limits have been passed. "To what purpose," it was said in *Marbury* v. *Madison*, 1 Cranch, 137, 167, "are powers limited, and to what purpose is that limitation committed to writing, if these limits may, at any time, be passed by those intended to be restrained? The distinction between a government with limited and unlimited powers is abolished, if those limits do not confine the persons on whom they are imposed, and if acts prohibited and acts allowed are of equal obligation." The courts are not bound by mere forms, nor are they to be misled by mere pretenses. They are at liberty—indeed, are under a solemn duty—to look at the substance of things, whenever they enter upon the inquiry whether the legislature has transcended the limits of its authority. If, therefore, a statute purporting to have been enacted to protect the public health, the public morals, or the public safety, has no real or substantial relation to those objects, or is a palpable invasion of rights secured by the fundamental law, it is the duty of the courts to so adjudge, and thereby give effect to the Constitution.

Keeping in view these principles, as governing the relations of the judicial and legislative departments of government with each other, it is difficult to perceive any ground for the judiciary to declare that the prohibition by Kansas of the manufacture or sale, within her limits, of intoxicating liquors for general use there as a beverage, is not fairly adapted to the end of protecting the community against the evils which confessedly result from the excessive use of ardent spirits. There is no justification for holding that the State, under the guise merely of police regulations, is here aiming to deprive the citizen of his constitutional rights; for we cannot shut out of view the fact, within the knowledge of all, that the public health, the public morals, and the public safety, may be endangered by the general use of intoxicating drinks; nor the fact, established by statistics accessible to every one, that the idle-

ness, disorder, pauperism, and crime existing in the country are, in some degree at least, traceable to this evil. If, therefore, a State deems the absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale, within her limits, of intoxicating liquors for other than medical, scientific, and manufacturing purposes, to be necessary to the peace and security of society, the courts cannot, without usurping legislative functions, override the will of the people as thus expressed by their chosen representatives. They have nothing to do with the mere policy of legislation. Indeed, it is a fundamental principle in our institutions, indispensable to the preservation of public liberty, that one of the separate departments of government shall not usurp powers committed by the Constitution to another department. And so, if in the judgment of the legislature, the manufacture of intoxicating liquors for the maker's own use, as a beverage, would tend to cripple, if it did not defeat, the effort to guard the community against the evils attending the excessive use of such liquors, it is not for the courts, upon their views as to what is best and safest for the community, to disregard the legislative determination of that question. So far from such a regulation having no relation to the general end sought to be accomplished, the entire scheme of prohibition, as embodied in the constitution and laws of Kansas, might fail, if the right of each citizen to manufacture intoxicating liquors for his own use as a beverage were recognized. Such a right does not inhere in citizenship. Nor can it be said that government interferes with or impairs any one's constitutional rights of liberty or of property, when it determines that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks, for general or individual use, as a beverage, are, or may become, hurtful to society, and constitute, therefore, a business in which no one may lawfully engage. Those rights are best secured, in our government, by the observance, upon the part of all, of such regulations as are established by competent authority to promote the common good. No one may rightfully do that which the law-making power, upon reasonable grounds, declares to be prejudicial to the general welfare.

This conclusion is unavoidable, unless the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution takes from the States of the Union those powers of police that were reserved at the time the original Consti-

tution was adopted. But this court has declared, upon full consideration, in *Barbier* v. *Connolly*, 113 U. S. 31, that the Fourteenth Amendment had no such effect. After observing, among other things, that that amendment forbade the arbitrary deprivation of life or liberty, and the arbitrary spoliation of property, and secured equal protection to all under like circumstances, in respect as well to their personal and civil rights as to their acquisition and enjoyment of property, the court said: "But neither the amendment—broad and comprehensive as it is—nor any other amendment, was designed to interfere with the power of the State, sometimes termed its police power, to prescribe regulations to promote the health, peace, morals, education, and good order of the people, and to legislate so as to increase the industries of the State, develop its resources, and add to its wealth and prosperity."

Undoubtedly the State, when providing, by legislation, for the protection of the public health, the public morals, or the public safety, is subject to the paramount authority of the Constitution of the United States, and may not violate rights secured or guaranteed by that instrument, or interfere with the execution of the powers confided to the general government. *Henderson* v. *Mayor of New York*, 92 U. S. 259; *Railroad Co.* v. *Husen*, 95 Id. 465; *New Orleans Gas Light Co.* v. *Louisiana Light Co.*, 115 Id. 650; *Walling* v. *Michigan*, 116 Id. 446; *Yick Wo* v. *Hopkins*, 118 Id. 356; *Morgan's Steamship Co.* v. *Louisiana Board of Health*, Id. 455.

Upon this ground—if we do not misapprehend the position of defendants—it is contended that, as the primary and principal use of beer is as a beverage; as their respective breweries were erected when it was lawful to engage in the manufacture of beer for every purpose; as such establishments will become of no value as property, or, at least, will be materially diminished in value, if not employed in the manufacture of beer for every purpose; the prohibition upon their being so employed is, in effect, a taking of property for public use without compensation, and depriving the citizen of his property without due process of law. In other words, although the State, in the exercise of her police powers, may lawfully prohibit the manufacture and sale, within her limits, of intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage, legislation having that

object in view cannot be enforced against those who, at the time, happen to own property, the chief value of which consists in its fitness for such manufacturing purposes, unless compensation is first made for the diminution in the value of their property, resulting from such prohibitory enactments.

This interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment is inadmissible. It cannot be supposed that the State imtended, by adopting that amendment, to impose restraints upon the exercise of their powers for the protection of the safety, health, or morals of the community. In respect to contracts, the obligations of which are protected against hostile State legislation, this court in *Butchers' Union Co.* v. *Crescent City Co.*, 111 U. S. 751, said that the State could not, by any contract, limit the exercise of her power to the prejudice of the public health and the public morals. So, in *Stone* v. *Mississippi*, 101 U. S. 816, where the Constitution was invoked against the repeal by the State of a charter, granted to a private corporation, to conduct a lottery, and for which that corporation paid to the State a valuable consideration in money, the court said: "No legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals. The people themselves cannot do it, much less their servants. Government is organized with a view to their preservation, and cannot divest itself of the power to provide for them." Again, in *New Orleans Gas Co.* v. *Louisiana Light Co.*, 115 U. S. 650, 672: "The constitutional prohibition upon State laws impairing the obligation of contracts does not restrict the power of the State to protect the public health, the public morals, or the public safety, as the one or the other may be involved in the execution of such contracts. Rights and privileges arising from contracts with a State are subject to regulations for the protection of the public health, the public morals, and the public safety, in the same sense, and to the same extent, as are all contracts and all property, whether owned by natural persons or corporations."

The principle, that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, was embodied, in substance, in the constitutions of nearly all, if not all, of the States at the time of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment; and it has never been regarded as incompatible with the principle equally

vital, because essential to the peace and safety of society, that all property in this country is held under the implied obligation that the owner's use of it shall not be injurious to the community. *Beer Co.* v. *Massachusetts*, 97 U. S. 32; *Commonwealth* v. *Alger*, 7 Cush. 53. An illustration of this doctrine is afforded by *Patterson* v. *Kentucky*, 97 U. S. 501. The question there was as to the validity of a statute of Kentucky, enacted in 1874, imposing a penalty upon any one selling or offering for sale oils and fluids, the product of coal, petroleum, or other bituminous substances, which would burn or ignite at a temperature below 130° Fahrenheit. Patterson having sold, within that commonwealth, a certain oil, for which letters-patent were issued in 1867, but which did not come up to the standard required by said statute, and having been indicted therefor, disputed the State's authority to prevent or obstruct the exercise of that right. This court upheld the legislation of Kentucky, upon the ground, that while the State could not impair the exclusive right of the patentee, or of his assignee, in the discovery described in the letters-patent, the tangible property, the fruit of the discovery, was not beyond control in the exercise of her police powers. It was said: "By the settled doctrines of this court the police power extends, at least, to the protection of the lives, the health, and the property of the community against the injurious exercise by any citizen of his own rights. State legislation, strictly and legitimately for police purposes, does not, in the sense of the Constitution, necessarily intrench upon any authority which has been confided, expressly or by implication, to the national government. The Kentucky statute under examination manifestly belongs to that class of legislation. It is, in the best sense, a mere police regulation, deemed essential to the protection of the lives and property of citizens." Referring to the numerous decisions of this court guarding the power of Congress to regulate commerce against encroachment, under the guise of State regulations, established for the purpose and with the effect of destroying or impairing rights secured by the Constitution, it was further said: "It has, nevertheless, with marked distinctness and uniformity, recognized the necessity, growing out of the fundamental conditions of civil society, of upholding State police regulations which were enacted in good faith, and had appropriate

and direct connection with that protection to life, health, and property which each State owes to her citizens." See also *United States* v. *Dewitt*, 9 Wall. 41; *License Tax Cases*, 5 Id. 462; *Pervear* v. *Commonwealth*, Id. 475.

Another decision, very much in point upon this branch of the case, is *Fertilizing Co.* v. *Hyde Park*, 97 U. S. 659, 667, also decided after the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court there sustained the validity of an ordinance of the village of Hyde Park, in Cook County, Illinois, passed under legislative authority, forbidding any person from transporting through that village offal or other offensive or unwholesome matter, or from maintaining or carrying on an offensive or unwholesome business or establishment within its limits. The Fertilizing Company had, at large expense, and under authority expressly conferred by its charter, located its works at a particular point in the county. Besides, the charter of the village, at that time, provided that it should not interfere with parties engaged in transporting animal matter from Chicago, or from manufacturing it into a fertilizer or other chemical product. The enforcement of the ordinance in question operated to destroy the business of the company, and seriously to impair the value of its property. As, however, its business had become a nuisance to the community in which it was conducted, producing discomfort, and often sickness, among large masses of people, the court maintained the authority of the village, acting under legislative sanction, to protect the public health against such nuisance. It said: "We cannot doubt that the police power of the State was applicable and adequate to give an effectual remedy. That power belonged to the States when the Federal Constitution was adopted. They did not surrender it, and they all have it now. It extends to the entire property and business within their local jurisdiction. Both are subject to it in all proper cases. It rests upon the fundamental principle that every one shall so use his own as not to wrong and injure another. To regulate and abate nuisances is one of its ordinary functions."

It is supposed by the defendants that the doctrine for which they contend is sustained by *Pumpelly* v. *Green Bay Co.*, 13 Wall. 168. But in that view we do not concur. That was an action for the re-

covery of damages for the overflowing of the plaintiff's land by water, resulting from the construction of a dam across a river. The defence was that the dam constituted a part of the system adopted by the State for improving the navigation of Fox and Wisconsin rivers; and it was contended that as the damages of which the plaintiff complained were only the result of the improvement, under legislative sanction, of a navigable stream, he was not entitled to compensation from the State or its agents. The case, therefore, involved the question whether the overflowing of the plaintiff's land, to such an extent that it became practically unfit to be used, was a taking of property, within the meaning of the constitution of Wisconsin, providing that "the property of no person shall be taken for public use without just compensation therefor." This court said it would be a very curious and unsatisfactory result, were it held that, "if the government refrains from the absolute conversion of real property to the uses of the public, it can destroy its value entirely, can inflict irreparable and permanent injury to any extent, can, in effect, subject it to total destruction, without making any compensation, because, in the narrowest sense of that word, it is not *taken* for the public use. Such a construction would pervert the constitutional provision into a restriction upon the rights of the citizen, as those rights stood at the common law, instead of the government, and make it an authority for the invasion of private rights under the pretext of the public good, which had no warrant in the laws or practices of our ancestors."

These principles have no application to the case under consideration. The question in *Pumpelly* v. *Green Bay Company* arose under the State's power of eminent domain; while the question now before us arises under what are, strictly, the police powers of the State, exerted for the protection of the health, morals, and safety of the people. That case, as this court said in *Transportation Co.* v. *Chicago*, 99 U. S. 642, was an extreme qualification of the doctrine, universally held, that "acts done in the proper exercise of governmental powers, and not directly encroaching upon private property, though these consequences may impair its use," do not constitute a taking within the meaning of the constitutional provision, or entitle the owner of such property to compensation from

the State or its agents, or give him any right of action. It was a case in which there was a "permanent flooding of private property," a "physical invasion of the real estate of the private owner, and a practical ouster of his possession." His property was, in effect, required to be devoted to the use of the public, and, consequently, he was entitled to compensation.

As already stated, the present case must be governed by principles that do not involve the power of eminent domain, in the exercise of which property may not be taken for public use without compensation. A prohibition simply upon the use of property for purposes that are declared, by valid legislation, to be injurious to the health, morals, or safety of the community, cannot in any just sense, be deemed a taking or an appropriation of property for the public benefit. Such legislation does not disturb the owner in the control or use of his property for lawful purposes, nor restrict his right to dispose of it, but is only a declaration by the State that its use by any one, for certain forbidden purposes, is prejudicial to the public interests. Nor can legislation of that character come within the Fourteenth Amendment, in any case, unless it is apparent that its real object is not to protect the community, or to promote the general well-being, but, under the guise of police regulation, to deprive the owner of his liberty and property, without due process of law. The power which the States have of prohibiting such use by individuals of their property as will be prejudicial to the health, the morals, or the safety of the public, is not—and, consistently with the existence and safety of organized society, cannot be, burdened with the condition that the State must compensate such individual owners for pecuniary losses they may sustain, by reason of their not being permitted, by a noxious use of their property, to inflict injury upon the community. The exercise of the police power by the destruction of property which is itself a public nuisance, or the prohibition of its use in a particular way, whereby its value becomes depreciated, is very different from taking property for public use, or from depriving a person of his property without due process of law. In the one case, a nuisance only is abated; in the other, unoffending property is taken away from an innocent owner.

It is true, that, when the defendants in these cases purchased or

erected their breweries, the laws of the State did not forbid the manufacture of intoxicating liquors. But the state did not thereby give any assurance, or come under an obligation, that its legislation upon that subject would remain unchanged. Indeed, as was said in *Stone* v *Mississippi*, 101 U. S., the supervision of the public health and the public morals is a governmental power, "continuing in its nature," and "to be dealt with as the special exigencies of the moment may require;" and that, "for this purpose, the largest legislative discretion is allowed, and the discretion cannot be parted with any more than the power itself." So in *Beer Co.* v. *Massachusetts*, 97 U. S. 32: "If the public safety or the public morals require the discontinuance of any manufacture or traffic, the hand of the legislature cannot be stayed from providing for its discontinuance by any incidental inconvenience which individuals or corporations may suffer."

It now remains to consider certain questions relating particularly to the thirteenth section of the act of 1885. That section—which takes the place of section 13 of the act of 1881—is as follows:

"SEC. 13. All places where intoxicating liquors are manufactured, sold, bartered, or given away in violation of any of the provisions of this act, or where intoxicating liquors are kept for sale, barter or delivery in violation of this act, are hereby declared to be common nuisances, and upon the judgment of any court having jurisdiction finding such place to be a nuisance under this section, the sheriff, his deputy, or under sheriff, or any constable of the proper county, or marshal of any city where the same is located, shall be directed to shut up and abate such place by taking possession thereof and destroying all intoxicating liquors found therein, together with all signs, screens, bars, bottles, glasses, and other property used in keeping and maintaining said nuisance, and the owner or keeper thereof shall, upon conviction, be adjudged guilty of maintaining a common nuisance, and shall be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five hundred dollars, and by imprisonment in the county jail not less than thirty days nor more than ninety days. The attorney-general, county attorney, or any citizen of the county where such nuisance exists, or is kept, or is maintained, may maintain an action in the name of the

State to abate and perpetually enjoin the same. The injunction shall be granted at the commencement of the action, and no bond shall be required. Any person violating the terms of any injunction granted in such proceeding, shall be punished as for contempt, by a fine of not less than one hundred nor more than five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment in the county jail not less than thirty days nor more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court."

It is contended by counsel in the case of *Kansas* v. *Ziebold & Hagelin*, that the entire scheme of this section is an attempt to deprive persons who come within its provisions of their property and of their liberty without due process of law; especially, when taken in connection with that clause of section fourteen (amendatory of section 21 of the act of 1881) which provides that "in prosecutions under this act, by indictment or otherwise, . . . it shall not be necessary in the first instance for the State to prove that the party charged did not have a permit to sell intoxicating liquors for the excepted purposes."

We are unable to perceive anything in these regulations inconsistent with the constitutional guarantees of liberty and property. The State having authority to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for other than medical, scientific, and mechanical purposes, we do not doubt her power to declare that any place, kept and maintained for the illegal manufacture and sale of such liquors, shall be deemed a common nuisance, and be abated, and, at the same time, to provide for the indictment and trial of the offender. One is a proceeding against the property used for forbidden purposes, while the other is for the punishment of the offender.

It is said that by the 13th section of the act of 1885, the legislature, finding a brewery within the State in actual operation, without notice, trial, or hearing, by the mere exercise of its arbitrary caprice, declares it to be a common nuisance, and then prescribes the consequences which are to follow inevitably by judicial mandate required by the statute, and involving and permitting the exercise of no judicial discretion or judgment; that the brewery being found in operation, the court is not to *determine* whether it is a common nuisance, but, under the command of the statute, is to

find it to be one; that it is not the liquor made, or the making of it, which is thus enacted to be a common nuisance, but the place itself, including all the property used in keeping and maintaining the common nuisance; that the judge having thus signed without inquiry—and, it may be, contrary to the fact and against his own judgment—the edict of the legislature, the court is commanded to take possession by its officers of the place and shut it up; nor is all this destruction of property, by legislative edict, to be made as a forfeiture consequent upon conviction of any offence, but merely because the legislature so commands; and it is done by a *court of equity*, without any previous conviction first had, or any trial known to the law.

This, certainly, is a formidable arraignment of the legislation of Kansas, and if it were founded upon a just interpretation of her statutes, the court would have no difficulty in declaring that they could not be enforced without infringing the constitutional rights of the citizen. But those statutes have no such scope and are attended with no such results as the defendants suppose. The court is not required to give effect to a legislative "decree" or "edict," unless every enactment by the law-making power of a State is to be so characterized. It is not declared that every establishment is to be deemed a common nuisance because it may have been maintained prior to the passage of the statute as a place for manufacturing intoxicating liquors. The statute is prospective in its operation, that is, it does not put the brand of a common nuisance upon any place, unless, after its passage, that place is kept and maintained for purposes declared by the legislature to be injurious to the community. Nor is the court required to adjudge any place to be a common nuisance simply because it is charged by the State to be such. It must first find it to be of that character; that is, must ascertain, in some legal mode, whether since the statute was passed the place in question has been, or is being, so used, as to make it a common nuisance.

Equally untenable is the proposition that proceedings in equity for the purposes indicated in the thirteenth section of the statutes are inconsistent with due process of law. "In regard to public nuisances," Mr. Justice STORY says, "the jurisdiction of courts of

equity seems to be of a very ancient date, and has been distinctly traced back to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The jurisdiction is applicable not only to public nuisances, strictly so called, but also to purprestures upon public rights and property. . . . In case of public nuisances, properly so called, an indictment lies to abate them, and to punish the offenders. But an information, also, lies in equity to redress the grievance by way of injunction." 2 *Story's Eq.* §§ 921, 922. The ground of this jurisdiction in cases of purpresture, as well as of public nuisances, is the ability of courts of equity to give a more speedy, effectual, and permanent remedy, than can be had at law. They can not only prevent nuisances that are threatened, and before irreparable mischief ensues, but arrest or abate those in progress, and, by prepetual injunction, protect the public against them in the future; whereas courts of law can only reach existing nuisances, leaving future acts to be the subject of new prosecutions or proceedings. This is a salutary jurisdiction, especially where a nuisance affects the health, morals, or safety of the community. Though not frequently exercised, the power undoubtedly exists in courts of equity thus to protect the public against injury. *District Attorney* v. *Lynn and Boston R. R. Co.*, 16 Gray, 245; *Atty-Gen'l* v. *N. J. Railroad*, 3 Green's Ch. 139; *Atty-General* v. *Tudor Ice Co.*, 104 Mass. 244; *State* v. *Mayor*, 5 Porter (Ala.), 279, 294; *Hoole* v. *Atty-General*, 22 Ala. 194; *Atty-General* v. *Hunter*, 1 Dev. Eq. 13; *Atty-Gen'l* v. *Forbes*, 2 Mylne & Craig, 123, 129, 133; *Atty-Gen'l* v. *Great Northern Railway Co.*, 1 Dr. & Sm. 161; Eden on Injunctions, 259; Kerr on Injunctions (2d ed.), 168.

As to the objection that the statute makes no provision for a jury trial in cases like this one, it is sufficient to say that such a mode of trial is not required in suits in equity brought to abate a public nuisance. The statutory direction that an injunction issue at the commencement of the action is not to be construed as dispensing with such preliminary proof as is necessary to authorize an injunction pending the suit. The court is not to issue an injunction simply because one is asked, or because the charge is made that a common nuisance is maintained in violation of law. The statute leaves the court at liberty to give effect to the principle that an injunc-

tion will not be granted to restrain a nuisance, except upon clear and satisfactory evidence that one exists. Here the fact to be ascertained was, not whether a place, kept and maintained for purposes forbidden by the statute, was, *per se*, a nuisance—that fact being conclusively determined by the statute itself—but whether the place in question was so kept and maintained. If the proof upon that point is not full or sufficient, the court can refuse an injunction, or postpone action until the State first obtains the verdict of a jury in her favor. In this case, it cannot be denied that the defendants kept and maintained a place that is within the statutory definition of a common nuisance. Their petition for the removal of the cause from the State court, and their answer to the bill, admitted every fact necessary to maintain this suit, if the statute, under which it was brought, was constitutional.

Touching the provision that in prosecutions, by indictment or otherwise, the State need not, in the first instance, prove that the defendant has not the permit required by the statute, we may remark that, if it has any application to a proceeding like this, it does not deprive him of the presumption that he is innocent of any violation of law. It is only a declaration that when the State has proven that the place described is kept and maintained for the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors—such manufacture or sale being unlawful except for specified purposes, and then only under a permit—the prosecution need not prove a negative, namely, that the defendant has not the required license or permit. If the defendant has such license or permit, he can easily produce it, and thus overthrow the *prima facie* case established by the State.

A portion of the argument in behalf of the defendants is to the effect that the statutes of Kansas forbid the manufacture of intoxicating liquors to be exported, or to be carried to other States, and, upon that ground, are repugnant to the clause of the Constitution of the United States, giving Congress power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States. We need only say, upon this point, that there is no intimation in the record that the beer which the respective defendants manufactured was intended to be carried out of the State or to foreign countries. And, without expressing an opinion as to whether such facts would have

constituted a good defence, we observe that it will be time enough to decide a case of that character when it shall come before us.

For the reason stated, we are of opinion that the judgments of the Supreme Court of Kansas have not denied to Mugler, the plaintiff in error, any right, privilege, or immunity secured to him by the Constitution of the United States, and its judgment, in each case, is, accordingly, affirmed. We are, also, of opinion that the Circuit Court of the United States erred in dismissing the bill of the State against Ziebold & Hagelin. The decree in that case is reversed, and the cause remanded, with directions to enter a decree granting to the State such relief as the act of March 7, 1885, authorizes.

It is so ordered.

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